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THE BAHMANĪ KINGDOM ON MAḤMŪD GĀWĀN'S ARRIVAL AT BĪDAR

WHEN Maḥmūd Gāwān arrived at Bīdar the Bahmanī kingdom was ruled by 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II (28-7-838/27-2-835—24-9-862/9-4-1458) and its capital was removed from Aḥsanābād Gulbargah to Muḥammadābād Bīdar¹ by his father Aḥmad Shāh I, surnamed Walī (15-10-825/3-10-1422—28-7-838/27-2-1435).

BĪDAR—As Ferishta notices, “ the new capital was situated in the centre of the Deccan Kingdom ” and was favoured with a climate which had made it one of the best parts of India. He says that although he had travelled throughout the length and breadth of the land he had not found any portion of India which was so rich in crops, so that “ most of the fruits of the earth are grown there.”² The citadel of Bīdar, which is still one of the strongest redoubts in the Deccan, was completed within three years of the removal of the capital and was built on the site of an ancient fortress connected with the romantic story of Nala and Damayantī.³ When the royal palace was completed by Aḥmad Shāh Walī, Shaikh Āzarī Isfarāīnī,⁴ the author of the Bahman Nāmah, composed the following lines in honour of the occasion :

1. As will be seen later under the heading, Coinage, it is clear that the names Aḥsanābād and Muḥammadābād were given to Gulbargah and Bīdar, not Ḥasanābād and Aḥmadābād as Ferishta says. Aḥsanābād simply means ‘ City of Beauty,’ while Muḥammadābād was probably named after Muḥammad, one of Aḥmad Shāh's sons. Bur. 55, is clear that it was named Muḥammadābād, and that the capital had shifted there in Rajab 826/July 1423.

2. *Fer.*, Lucknow, 325 : We must remember that *Fer.* was writing when Bīdar had long ceased to be the capital of the Deccan, and this enhances the value of its estimation of the place. Bīdar is situated on 77° 55' N, 77° 32' E.

3. This story was made still more famous by the mathnawī of Nal and Daman by Faizī.

4. This *savant* came to India in the time of Aḥmad Shāh Walī, became preceptor to the Crown Prince and died at Isfarāin in Persia in 866/1462 at the ripe age of 82. He commenced writing the Bahman Nāmah but could not go further than the reign of Humāyūn Shāh. The Bahman Nāmah was continued by Mulla Naẓīrī and Sam'ī. It is one of those histories of the Deccan which have disappeared.

حبذا قصر مشيد که ز فرط عظمت آسمان سده از پايه اين درگاه است
 آسمان هم نتوان گفت که ترک ادبست قصر سلطان جهان احمد بهمن شاه است¹

The love of architecture and other useful public works had really been passed on by Fīrōz to his brother, for we find an observatory built on an eminence near Daulatābād under the supervision of the eminent astronomers Ḥakīm Ḥasan Gilānī, Syed Muḥammad Kārzuni and others, but this edifice was never entirely completed.² 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II's reign saw the building of a fine hospital at the capital city, for which the King gave as endowment a number of villages from the revenue of which the cost of medicines, food and drink of the patients was disbursed, and also appointed Muslim and Hindu Ḥakīms and Vāids to look after them.³

Extent of the Kingdom.—The Bahmanī frontiers fluctuated to a certain extent about this period, mainly because the conquest of the frontier territories did not really entail any effective occupation but was little more than raids for the purpose of collecting tribute. It is related that the first Bahmanī, 'Alāu'd-dīn Ḥasan (24-4-748/12-8-1347—1-3-759/10-2-1358) "as well by wise policy as by force of arms... subdued every part of the Deccan previously subject to the throne of Dehly,"⁴ but we find that his effective sway extended only from the river Bhīmā to the vicinity of Adōnī, and from Chaul to Bīdar.⁵ The same potentate is said to have gone further south and captured Goa, Kolhāpūr and Kalhār making the Rāyas south of the Krishna his tributaries,⁶ still we find Goa and Belgām under Vijiānagar in the reign of Mujahid Shāh Bahmanī (19-10-776/21-3-1375—17-12-779/14-4-1338).⁷ There were not many additions to the Kingdom effected till the reign of Fīrōz who conquered Bankāpūr and a large part of Tilangānah, but the later conquest was probably only a raid, for we find that Tilangānah (with Warangal) is again captured by Aḥmad Shāh Walī in 828/1425,⁸ while there is always some disturbance or other in that quarter for a long time to come.

The contact with Mālwa came as early as the first years of Aḥmad Shāh I when Narsingh Rāo of Kherlā petitioned the King that his territory might be taken under the royal protection. But when the King arrived at Kherlā, the Rāo changed sides and went over to Hōshang Shāh of Mālwa.

1. 'What a grandeur! What a strength! that the very sky appears but the top of the foundation of the edifice;

And even this comparison is improper, for we must remember that we have in our mind the palace of the Sultan of the World, Aḥmad Bahman Shāh.'

2. *Fer.*, 316: The ruins of the observatory existed in Ferīhtah's time, but Mr. G. Yazdani, Director of His Exalted Highness's Government says that there are no traces left now.

3. *Fer.*, 333.

4. Briggs, *Fer.*, Calcutta, 1909, II, 292.

5. *Fer.*, 277.

6. Burhānu'l-Maāthir, Delhi, 1936, 28.

7. *Fer.*, 299.

8. *Ibid.*, 322.

Aḥmad, who was perhaps loath to shed human blood for such a fickle prize, retreated, but was followed by Hōshang's troops which he defeated, and the whole country as far as Māhūr was annexed to the Bahmanī State. But a quarrel between Mālwā and the Deccan again cropped up, and Aḥmad, wishing to make permanent peace with the former, finally made over Kherlā to his northern neighbour while he himself kept Berār as a part of his Dominions, and the two powers entered into definite treaty relations with each other which lasted for nearly half a century.

In the west, although the Bahmanīs were in permanent occupation of the northern parts of the coastline such as Dābōl and Chaul, so that King Firōz's fleet was sent in all directions from these ports "to bring commodities to the kingdom from all maritime centres,"¹ the rest of the Konkan coast had to be constantly subdued. We have just noted the conquest of Goa, Kōlhāpūr and Kalhār by the first Bahmanī. Konkan had again to be pacified in 833/1430 when Khalaf Ḥasan Baṣri Maliku't-tujjār was ordered by Aḥmad Shāh Walī to put an end to disorder in those parts, which he did in a short while and put down all recalcitrants and rebels.² This was followed by a campaign against Gujrāt over the island of Mahāim³ but the Deccani army was defeated, mainly owing to the rift which already begun to appear between the Oldcomers and the Newcomers.⁴ The King, Aḥmad Shāh, now hurried to the battlefield himself, but Kherlā history was repeated and the humane and peace-loving Bahmanī signed a treaty of perpetual peace with his name sake of Gujrāt ceding Mahāim to the latter. This alliance proved to be far more permanent than that entered into with Hōshang of Mālwā and indeed lasted as long as the Bahmanīs ruled over Bidar.

Konkan, however, comes up again, and this time, strangely enough, in connection with the northern frontier of the Kingdom. In 840/1436 Dilāwar Khān led a campaign against the Raja of Sangamēshwar who had rebelled against the Central authority. The campaign ended in the subjugation of the Rāi who not only paid a large sum of money as tribute but gave his handsome and accomplished daughter, heretofore known as Zēbā Chahra, or Beautiful of Face, in marriage to the King 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II. The King had previously married Āghā Zāinab, surnamed the Malika-i Jahān, daughter of Naṣir Khān Fārūqī, ruler of Khāndēsh. On hearing of the latest development from his daughter, Naṣir Khān invaded Berar. 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad immediately held a council of war at which it was decided that as the defeat at Mahāim was due mainly to factional cleavages, troops consisting only of one party, that of the Newcomers, were to be sent to the northern front under the Maliku't-tujjār. He was

1. *Fer.*, 299.

2. *Bur.*, 60.

3. Mahāim (mod. Māhim, now a suburb of the city of Bomba⁹) was originally an island with Mahāim river to the north, the sea to the west, and salt *ranns* to the east and south: See Burnell, *Bombay in the days of Queen Anne*, Hakluyt Soc., 1933; map of the island in 1710 opp. p. 90.

4. For a detailed account and causes of the rift, see .

successful, captured Burhanpur and defeated Naṣir Khān at the battle of Laling.¹

The southern frontier was practically settled on the line of the Tungabhadra though the Doāb between that river and the river Krishnā formed a constant bone of contention between the Bahmanīs and Vijyānagar.² The matter and the manner of the enlistment of the Muslims in the Vijyānagar army is an interesting episode and it would be well to quote the words of the translator of Ferishta with regard to it :

“About this time Dew Ray of Beejanuggur summoned a council of his nobility and principal bramins ; observing to them, that as his country (the Carnatic), in extent, population, and revenue, far exceeded that of the house of Bahmuny, and also as his army was more numerous, he requested them to point out the cause of the success of the Mahommedans, and of his having been reduced to pay them tribute. Some said, that the Almighty had decreed to them a superiority over the Hindus for thirty thousand years, a circumstance which was foretold to them in their own writings. . . . others said that the superiority of the Moslems arose out of two circumstances : first that their horses were stronger. . . . ; secondly that a great body of excellent archers was always maintained by kings of the house of Bahmuny. . . . Dew Ray, upon this, gave orders to enlist Mussulmans in his service, allotting to them estates and erecting a mosque for their use in the city of Beejanuggur. He also commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion, and, moreover, he ordered a Koran to be placed before his throne on a rich desk so that the faithful might perform the ceremony of obeisance in his presence without sinning against their laws. . . . He could soon muster two thousand Mahommedans and sixty thousand Hindus well skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand cavalry, and two hundred thousand infantry, armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances.”³

Supported by this New Model army Dev Rāi crossed the Tungabhadra in 847/1447. On the other side ‘Alāu’d-dīn Aḥmad summoned the flower of his soldiery and the best of his commanders to fight the intruder. The campaign lasted two months during which three great battles were fought between the two armies, fortune wavering sometimes towards the Vijyānagarīs and sometimes towards the Bahmanīs, but the war at last resulted in Dev Rāi’s submission and the signing of a treaty by which he agreed to pay the Bahmanīs a large sum of money as yearly tribute. This treaty was honoured by both parties with great punctiliousness.

Institutions.—Having dealt with the extent of the Bahmanī Kingdom we would pass on to its civil and military institutions. The King, of

1. *Fer.*, 332.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Briggs*, II, 230.

course, was the centre of government and sat on the royal throne every day from morning till the hour of the noonday prayers. The throne of the founder of the dynasty was made of silver and was placed on a rich carpet with a magnificent canopy and had in front of it an awning of the finest velvet brocade. This throne was replaced by the famous *Takht-i Firōzah* or the Turquoise Throne¹ (named so owing to the turquoise blue colour of some of its parts) which was presented to Muḥammad *Shāh* I (1-3-759/10-2-1358—19-10-771/21-3-1375) by ambassadors sent on this special errand by the Rāi of Tilangānah. *Ferishta* says that there were people alive in his time (1016/1608) who had had the privilege of seeing this throne which was the official seat of the Bahmanī rulers right up to the time of Maḥmūd *Shāh* (1-2-887/26-3-1482—4-12-924/8-12-1518). It was three yards long and two yards broad and was made of ebony with roof of solid gold planks, the whole structure being studded with diamonds and other precious stones, with a canopy of the finest texture and a golden ball inlaid with jewels and a "bird of paradise composed of precious stones on whose head was a ruby of inestimable price."² Each succeeding king added to its value and splendour, and it was later valued at one crore of hons or nearly six crores of rupees.³

No one dared to sit in the royal presence, and even the veteran minister, Malik Ṣaifu'd-dīn *Ghōrī*, who was allowed to sit in the presence of 'Alāu'd-dīn Ḥasan, was forced by circumstances to keep standing in the presence of the second king of the line, Muḥammad *Shāh*. When Muḥammad's mother came back from the Mecca pilgrimage she brought with her a large piece of the covering of the Ka'bah which the king turned into his royal umbrella for use on State occasions. She also brought with her a *farman* of the Abbasid Caliph⁴ giving formal permission to the Bahmanī ruler to the right of having his name mentioned in Friday and 'Id prayers and striking coins in his name.

Of the officers of State perhaps the highest was the *Wakil-i Saltanat* who corresponded to the modern Prime Minister, and who, in Aḥmad *Shāh* I's time held the rank of the Commander of 1,200 horse.⁵ But it sometimes happened that the authority of the *Vakil* was eclipsed by some other officer such as the *Maliku't-tujjār*, a title first devised by Aḥmad *Shāh* for the Baṣrah merchant, *Khalaf Ḥasan*, who had helped Aḥmad to win the throne and who proved to be one of the most loyal officers of State. The officer coming next to the *Wakil* was the *Wazir-i Kul*, and we find *Khwāja-i Jahān Muẓaffaru'd-dīn Astrabādi* holding the post early

1. *Fer.*, 288 : The silver throne was sent to Medinah by Firōz and the proceeds distributed among the Syeds of that city.

2. Briggs, II, 298.

3. *Fer.*, 288 : It is estimated that a *hon* was equal to about six modern rupees.

4. The Abbasid Caliphs of the period had no temporal authority left and lived at Cairo, under the protection of the Egyptian rulers. The Caliph who gave this 'permission' must have been either el-Mu'taqid bi'l-lāh (753/1352—763/1361) or el-Mutawakkil 'ala'l-lāh (763/1361—783/1383).

5. *Fer.*, 320.

in the reign of 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II. The Paishwa was still only an inferior officer, and as we find the Paishwa attached not only to the royal government but to the households of certain princes as well, they might be compared to the modern Comptroller.¹ The Amīru'l-Umarā was really a military officer, and the title was often given to the Commander-in-Chief of the forces. Besides these there were hosts of other officers such as the Ṣahib-i 'Arz, Nāib-i Wazīr, Nāib-i Bārbak, Ḥājib-i Khās, Dabīr, Khāzin, Syedu'l-ḥujjāb and others with various degrees of precedence and duties.²

'Alāu'd-dīn divided the Kingdom into four atrāf or divisions, namely, (i) Aḥsanābād Gulbargah, comprising the territory right up to Dābōl and including the Krishna-Tungabhadra doāb; (ii) Daulatābād, including Junair, Chaul and Paithan inhabited mostly by the Mahrattas; (iii) Berār, including Mahūr; and (iv) Bīdar, including Qandhār, Indūr, Kaulās and the occupied parts of Tilangānah.³ This division was kept almost intact by 'Alāu'd-dīn's successors right up to the time of Maḥmūd Gāwān's ministry, with this difference that Muḥammad I gave honorific titles to the incumbents of these high offices, calling the ṭarafdār of Aḥsanābād Gulbargah *Malik nāib*, that of Daulatābād *Musnad-i 'Ālī*, that of Berār *Majlis-'Ālī* and of Bīdar the *A'zam-i-Humāyūn*, giving precedence to the ṭarafdār of Gulbargah probably because the post of Wakil-i Salṭanat was more or less reserved for him.⁴ Aḥmad Shāh Walī made these ṭarafdārs the highest in the order of nobility, giving them the rank of 2000. "From this rank grades were continued down as low as 200 but none of less rank was esteemed noble. An amīr of a thousand (or more) had the privilege of carrying the toḡḡha or pennon of hair, an 'alam or banner, and drums as insignia of his order."⁵

Military Organization.—This much for the civil institutions. We have already dealt with the military organization of Vijyānagar in connection with Dēv Rāi's reforms; as regards the military organization of the Bahmanīs there is not much in our Persian authorities except the most sensational, though obviously exaggerated accounts of the deeds of valour performed by the Bahmanī armies.⁶ In Burhān we have a list of certain military offices such as the Qūrbēg-i maimanah, Qūrbēg-i maisarah, *Shahna-i fil*⁷ etc., but there is no mention of the military organization as

1. Briggs, II, 353: The Paishwa is first mentioned in the short reign of Ghīāsu'd-dīn Tahamtan. Later, during the time of the 'Adilshāhīs and the Nizāmshāhīs the Prime Minister came to be called by that name.

2. *Bur.*, 27.

3. *Fer.*, 280.

4. *Ibid.*, 282.

5. Briggs, II, 399. Az. Mir., *Sirat*, 45, gives the names of a number of other officers, including amiri-jumla, but I have not been able to find the name of these offices in the accounts of the early Bahmanīs.

6. If the number of the enemies of the Bahmanīs said to have been killed or massacred during the various campaigns undertaken during the hundred and fifty years of Bahmanī rule were to be added together, there would hardly be a human soul left south of the Tungabhadra or in the Tilangānah.

7. *Bur.*, 16.

such. We have, however, a fuller description in the travels of Duarte Barbosa who was in India and the East between 1500 and 1517, i.e., in the period within forty years of Maḥmūd Gāwān's murder. It is better to quote Barbosa's own words in their English form. Writing about Goa under 'Soltan Mahamude' (Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī, 887/1482—924/1518), Barbosa says: "The Moorish (Muslim) noblemen in general, take with them the tents with which they form encampments on the halting ground, when they travel, or when they take the field to attack any town. They ride on high-pommelled saddles, and make much use of *zoujares*¹ and fight tied to their saddles, with long light lances which have heads a cubit long, square and very strong. They wear short coats padded with cotton, and many of them kilts of mail; their horses are well caparisoned with steel head-pieces. They carry maces and battle-axes and two swords (each with its dagger), two or three Turkish bows hanging from the saddle, with very long arrows, so that every man carries arms enough for two. When they go forth to fight, they take their wives with them, and they employ pack bullocks on which they carry their baggage when they travel. . . . The gentios² of this Daquen (Deccan) kingdom are black and well-built, the more part of them fight on foot, but some on horse back. . . . The foot-soldiers carry swords and daggers, bows and arrows. They are right good archers and their bows are long like those of England. They go bare from waist up but are clad below; they wear small turbans on their heads. . . ."³

This gives a fairly good account of the military organization of the Bahmanīs. It will be clear that (i) the Bahmanī armies were composed both of Muslims and Hindus, the latter forming the main body of the infantry; (ii) the chief weapons of attack were lances, maces, battle-axes, swords and small Turkish bows for the cavalry, and swords, daggers and long bows for the infantry; (iii) fire-arms must have been rare, although we find as early as the reign of Mujāhid Shah that the Bahmanī army, while campaigning against Vijyānagar, had a regular department of '*atish khānah*' under Šafdar Khān Sīstānī, and this department engaged the enemy with 'fiery water'.⁴

Coinage.—The coins current in the Bahmanī Kingdom about the middle of the 15th century are of absorbing interest, specially as some of the conclusions derived from their study run counter to the statements contained in such authorities as the *Ferishta*. We gather from the *Ferishta* that the first Bahmanī king did not strike any coins at all, and that the first king who coined gold and silver was Muḥammad Shāh. He says that the Bahmanī coins were of four denominations, the lowest being

1. 'As-Sar'ā, pl. Sur'un=Scourge.

2. The original word used by Barbosa for Muslims is *Moros* and for Hindus *Gentios*. Longworth Dames has rather arbitrarily translated *gentios* as heathens; in the quotation however, I have preferred to retain the original *gentios*: See the Book of Duarte Barosa, Hak. Soc., I, Intro., lxiii.

3. *Barb.*, I, 180, 181.

4. *Fer.*, 298.

$\frac{1}{4}$ of a tola and the highest, the tankah being of one tola and thus of exactly the same weight as the modern rupee. He is explicit that on one side of these coins was impressed the kalimah or the Muslim creed together with the names of the four Apostolic Khalīfahs, while on the other side appeared the name of the reigning king and the date of the coinage. We also learn that at the instigation of the Rāyas of Vijyānagar and Tilan-gānah the Hindu bankers melted off all the coins which fell into their hands, so that they might be replaced by the (baser) coins of those regions, the Hons and the Pratāps. It is related that it was only after dire punishment had been meted out to the bankers and most of them had been replaced by Khatrijs that the Bahmanī coins were allowed free scope.¹

If we were to give a little thought to the actual coins extant we should come to the conclusion that the data before Ferishta were mere hearsay and mostly very faulty. The Bahmanī coins, though no doubt scarce, are found in a number of Museums and are still discovered in treasure troves in the Deccan, and they have been thoroughly dealt with by a number of scholars.² Not only do these coins rectify the gross misunderstanding on the part of Ferishta so far as the inscriptions are concerned, but they actually help to correct the genealogy of the Bahmanī kings as we know it. Let us first turn to the inscriptions. The Hyderabad Museum contains coins of practically all the Bahmanī kings including the first Bahmanī whose title on the coins is clearly stated as 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh, not 'Alāu'd-dīn Ḥasan Gangū Bahmanī.³ Not one of the Bahmanī coins, either of copper, silver or gold, has the Muslim creed or the names of the Apostolic Khalīfahs embossed on it. Although it must be confessed that there are not many gold tankahs of the Bahmanīs extant in the same way as there are not many silver subdivisions of the Vijyānagar Hons available, still, in view of the fact that the gold 'touch' of the Hons varies and some

1. All this is found in *Fer.*, 282.

2. The discussion on the Bahmanī coins will be found in Gibbs, *Gold and Silver coins of the Bahmanī Kingdom*, *Num. Chr.*, 1881; Codrington, *Copper coins of the Bahmanī dynasty*, *Num. Chr.*, 1883. Khwājah Muḥammad Ahmad, *Rare and important coins of the Bahmanī kings*, *Proc. Orient. Conf.*, Patna, 1933, p. 737 ff. The first two contributions, however, contain certain misreadings and corollaries which run counter to recent researches on the subject. Thus Codrington, while reading a copper coin of 'Aḥmad Shāh' with 866 embossed on it, thinks that the date should really be 826, thinking that the coin belongs to Aḥmad Shāh Walī who reigned from 825 to 839. We know, however, that the king called Nizām by Ferishta, (865-867), is invariably named Aḥmad Shāh such as on the coin mentioned by Kh. M. Aḥmad on p. 738, with the legend,

obv., احدث شاه بن همايون شاه الهمنى ٧٦٦ Rev., المستنصر بنصر الله القوي الغنى

In the same manner the successor of Dāūd is named Maḥmūd by Codrington although numismatic evidence goes to prove that he was entitled Muḥammad.

3. Legend on the silver tankah of 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahmanī.

Rev., السلطان الاعظم علاء الدنيا والدين وابو المظفر همى شاه السلطان

Obv., سكندر ثانی عین الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين

Round Rev., ضرب بخره احسن اباد ٧٥٥

of the later Hons are decidedly inferior to the Bahmanī gold coins, there could not have been much of a motive on the part of the Bīdar goldsmiths to have melted down the latter.¹

Moreover, the coins provide a decided corrective to the erratic genealogies given in the *Ferishtah* and definitely increase our respect for the Burhānu'l-ma'āthir, with which the parentage and the order of the Bahmanī sultans tally. Apart from the names and titles of the first king, a reference to whom has just been made, the coins clarify the parentage and the name of the fifth king (21-1-780/19-5-1378—21-7-799/20-4-1397) whom *Ferishtah* calls Maḥmūd son of 'Alāu'd-dīn, although he says in the same breath that the name given in the Futūḥu's-Ṣalātīn is Muḥammad. Burhān is clear, on the other hand, that the name of the king was Muḥammad and that he was the son of Maḥmūd son of 'Alāu'd-dīn. The coins are explicit on this point, for the legends on the gold and silver coins of this king definitely call him Muḥammad, and his *fuls* clearly reads Muḥammad (son of) Maḥmūd.² Third point elucidated is that of the parentage of Aḥmad Shāh Walī and, incidentally, of his brother Firōz (23-2-800/15-11-1397—15-10-825/3-10-1422), both of whom are regarded sons of the fourth Bahmanī, Dāūd, by *Ferishtah*, while the coins as well as Burhān are of one voice in calling Aḥmad Shāh, son of Aḥmad, son of Ḥasan al-Bahmanī.³ Moreover it is quite clear from the coins that the name of the sixth king (21-7-799/9-6-1397—23-2-800/15-11-1397) was Ghiāsu'd-dīn

1. The earlier hons are of a much finer quality, as fine as the Bahmanī gold, and it is strange that *Ferishtah* should have fixed upon Muḥammad Shāh's reign as the period of melting.

2. Inscription on the beautiful gold tankah of Muḥammad II :

Obv., سلطان العهد والزمان

Rev., محمد شاه السلطان ابن السلطان

Inscription on the silver tankah of Muḥammad II :

Rev., الواثق بتأييد الرحمن ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان

Obv., التناصر لدين الله الحامى لاهل الايمان ضرب بحفرة احسن آباد

The parentage is cleared from the inscription on the small brass *fuls* :

Obv., عبد المعبود

Rev., محمد محمود

I am very much indebted to Mr. Khwājah Muḥammad Aḥmad, curator of the Hyderabad Museum, which is so rich in Bahmanī and other Medieval coins, for having taken me through the intricate maze of Bahmanī numismatics.

Ferishtah seems to have been mistaken as to his reference as well, for the Futūḥu's-Ṣalātīn of 'Aṣāmī was written in 750/1350 and the only Bahmanī mentioned there is 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh ; 'Aṣāmī, *Futūḥ*, Mahdi Husain ed., Agra, 1938.

3. Copper coin of Aḥmad Shāh Walī :

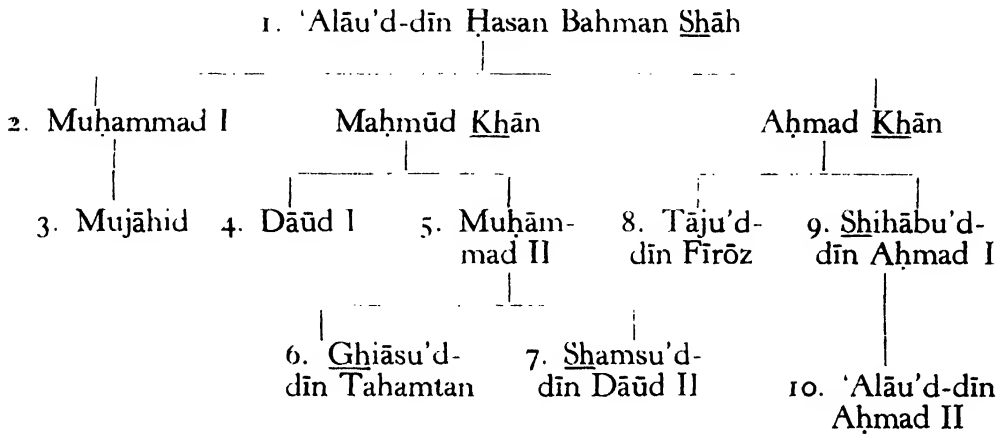
Obv., المستوثق بالله الختان المنان المعنى

Rev., سلطان احمد شاه بن احمد الحسن البهمنى

Another specimen, Obv., المريد بنصر الملك الختان

Rev., ابو المغازى احمد شاه السلطان - محمد آباد ۸۳۳

Tahamtan not Ghiāsu'd-dīn Bahman as mentioned by the Burhān¹ and that the tenth king was 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad II². The genealogy of the first ten kings of the house of Bahman according to the data at our disposal would, therefore, be as follows :³



Apart from this it is clear from the coins that Gulbargah was not named Ḥasanābād as Ferishtah calls it, but Aḥsānābād, and Bīdar was not called Aḥmadābād but Muḥammadābād, and here also the coins agree with Burhān rather than Ferishtah. The name of a third mint, Fathābād,

1. For coins of this King, see Speight, *Coins of the Bahmanī Kings*, *Isl. Cul.*, 1935, at p. 294. The legend on the coins reads المريد بنصر الله ابو المظفر تهمتن شاه بن محمد شاه

2. Silver Tankah, of Aḥmad II :

Obv., السلطان الحليم الكريم رؤف على عباد الله الفتي المهيمن

Rev., ابو المظفر علاء الدنيا والدين احمد شاه بن احمد شاه الولي البيهقي - ضرب ببحرة محمد آباد ٨٣٩

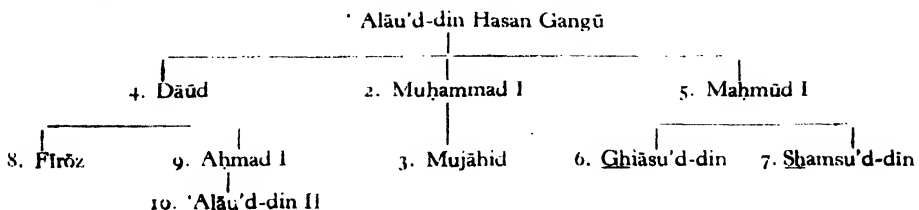
Copper coin :

Rev., علاء الدنيا والدين احمد شاه بن احمد شاه

obv., المعتمد بحبل الله المنان سمى خليل الرحمن ابو المظفر السلطان محمد آباد ٨٣٣

See Kh. M. Aḥmad's paper, p. 739, & Num. ch. 1883, p. 101. The fact that this king's name was Aḥmad II is corroborated by Sakhawī, *Dau'ul-Jamī'*, I 145, who calls Humāyūn Shāh son of Aḥmad Shāh. Sakhawī was a contemporary of the Khwājah.

3. Comp. the genealogy as given in *Fer.* (Briggs, II, facing p. 282) :



is found, for instance, on some of Muḥammad Shāh's coins, but the situation of this mint has not been identified so far.¹

Literary Patronage.—There is no doubt that Maḥmūd Gāwān was one of the most versatile *litterateurs* of the period, but he only carried forward the tradition of literary patronage which had been handed down from the establishment of the dynasty a hundred years earlier. The real maker of Bahmanī institutions, Muḥammad I, was not only a patron of learning but a good poet and calligraphist as well. He was an inculcator of the arts of peace and as has been noticed, he developed political institutions to an extent unequalled before Maḥmūd Gāwān. Muḥammad II continued the tradition of inviting the best brains of Irān and other countries adjacent to India by requesting the great Persian poet Khawājah Shamsu'd-dīn Ḥāfiẓ of Shīrāz to the Deccan, and his *ghazal* beginning with

دمے باغم بسر بردن جهان یکسر نمی ارزد بمے بفروش دلق ما کزین بہتر نمی ارزد

was composed when he could not withstand the roughness of the sea voyage and had to give up his intention of coming over to this country. The distich

بس آسان می نمود اول غم دریا بویے سود غلط گفتم کہ ہر موجش بصد گوہر نمی ارزد

evidently tells the whole tale of invitation by the Bahmanī king and the inability to come owing to the inclemency of the elements. Ḥāfiẓ could not come to the Deccan,² but another divine, one of the greatest of India, Ḥazrat Khawājah Gēsūdarāz came from Delhi and made the Deccan his home in 815/1493.

Fīrōz carried on the tradition and was not only a poet of some distinction with Fīrozi and 'Urūzi as his poetic names but was regarded a great *savant* of the age and "even excelled Muḥammad Tughluq" in his versatility. He was well versed in the science of Qur'ānic commentaries, natural sciences, mysticism, Euclidean geometry, mathematics and languages, and even held classes in some of these subjects three times a week, or if he was too busy in State affairs during the day, then the classes used to be held in the evenings. He had acquired most of the knowledge he possessed from Mīr Fazlū'l-lāh Injū, himself a pupil of the *savant* Mullah Sa'du'd-dīn Tartāzānī. Even if Ferishtah's description of his linguistic

1. See Report of Arch. Dept., H.E.H. the Nizam's Govt., 1329 F. pp. 52 & 53.

2. The two distiches quoted may be freely rendered as follows :

"The whole world seems engulfed in darkness by a moment of care ; so sell all I possess (my rags and tatters) for a glass of wine, for no better price can be had for it."

"The hope of wordly gain egged me on for a sea-voyage ; but I now find that even hundreds of pearls cannot be a recompense for one solitary wave of the ocean."

For reference, see Ferishtah, 302.

Ḥāfiẓ composed a *ghazal* for another contemporary Indian sovereign, Ghiāsu'd-dīn A'zam Shāh of Bengal on the kings impromptu line,

ساقی حدیث سرو و گل و لاله می رود

with the Sultan's name appearing in the closing distich.

attainments is exaggerated that he could converse with "people of all countries in their own languages," there is no doubt that he was a good linguist and a scholar of some reputation. Fīrōz's successor, Aḥmad Shāh Walī was also well instructed in sciences and invited learned men from all parts to his capital, Bīdar, which, it is related, became the object of emulation even to such renowned lands as Īrān and 'Irāq.¹

Political Factions.—After dealing with these bright aspects of the Bahmanī Kingdom as it existed at the time of the arrival of Maḥmūd Gāwān we have now to pass on to a very unpleasant aspect, i.e., the factional politics which proved to be the bane of the Kingdom.

We must remember at the outset that the Deccan was conquered a number of times, firstly by 'Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī, then by Malik Kāfūr, thirdly by Qutubu'd-dīn Mubarak Shāh Khiljī and finally by Muḥammad Tughluq. The last monarch was really the first to have given a thought of colonising the country by the Northerners, and it was part of this scheme that he decided to make the most important city of the Deccan, Dēogir, the second capital of the Empire.² From this time onwards there was a continuous influx of the Northerners into the Deccan, though this influx was arrested to a certain extent by the abandonment of Daulatābād even as the second capital. The Amīran-i Ṣadah of Daulatābād, whose revolt brought about the establishment of the Kingdom of the Deccan, were really revenue and military officers appointed by the Sultān of Delhi and were all men from the North³ who were now cut off from the land of their birth or adoption by the political wall which now separated the Sultanate of Delhi from the South.

The whole system of political hegemony of the Sultānate of Delhi depended on the continued flow of vigorous human element from the North-west which prevented staleness and langour creeping into the constitution of the ruling classes. The continuous changes in the dynasties on the Delhi throne were themselves a proof of change in the personnel of the ruling aristocracy. When the South was cut off from the North it required the same influx of a vigorous element, but that element now came not from the North or through the North-western passes but by way of the sea. While the Delhi aristocracy, and its early representatives in the South, were mostly of Central Asian Turkī stock or of Afghān heritage, the Newcomers of the South came mostly from the coasts round

1. Ref. to Aḥmad in *Bur.*, 72 & to Fīrōz in *Far.*, 308.

2. The whole question of removing the capital to Dēogir, renamed Daulatābād, as the second capital of the great Tughluq Empire, has been thoroughly discussed by Maḥdī Ḥusain, in his excellent work, *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq*, London, 1938, ch. 7.

3. Comp. Briggs, II, 292 :—"Alāu'd-dīn Ḥasan "gained over by conciliatory measures the Afghān, Mogul and Rajpoot officers of the Dehly government." The amīrān-i Ṣadah were officers in charge of Ṣadis or collections of hundred villages or pargnahs. These Ṣadis were very much analogous to the Anglo-Saxon Hundreds and the Amīr-i Ṣadah to the Hundreds-Ealdor. Each such amīr had a large staff of subordinates. See Maḥdī Ḥusain, *Muḥ. Tughluq*, 224, 225. Comp. Stubbs *English Constitutional History*, I, 5 for the English Hundred.

the Persian Gulf or from further north as far as the strip of territory on the south of the Caspian Sea, being mostly Syeds from Najaf, Karbalā and Medīnah and Persians from Sīstan, Khurāsān or Gilān. It was really the contest between the Northerners who had settled down in the Deccan with their Ḥabashī subordinates, and Newcomers from 'Irāq and Īrān, which caused the precipitate downfall of the Bahmanīs. By a strange irony the original immigrants from the North, along with the Ḥabashīs, were termed *dakhnīs* or Southerners, while the Newcomers from 'Irāq and Īrān who had definitely made the Deccan their home were called *gharībū'd-diyār* or *āfāqīs* meaning Cosmopolitans.¹ In this connection it might be pointed out that we do not come across a single family of converts to Islam before the final years of the Bahmanī Sultānate, although it is quite possible that there might have been intermarriages between the Muslims and the non-Muslims especially after the marriage of Fīrōz with the daughter of Dēv Rāi of Vijyānagar and of his son, Ḥasan Khān with Parthāl of Mudgal in 809/1407.²

The first time that we hear of the influx of the Newcomers is during the reign of Fīrōz whose fleet is said to have gone from Bahmanī ports to bring commodities from all lands within range and, incidentally to bring men 'excelled' in knowledge. It was in his reign that a merchant, one of the best known nameless personages of history, Khalaf Ḥasan ('son of Ḥasan'), came from Baṣrah in order to trade in Arab horses, and soon became a favourite of the king's brother Aḥmad Khān Khān-i Khānān. Khalaf Ḥasan was evidently not the only Newcomer to the Deccan, for we find both the King and his brother Aḥmad very much inclined towards the Syeds of the neighbourhood of Baṣrah especially of the holy cities of Najaf and Karbalā, and Prince Aḥmad actually gave Khānāpūr and its neighbourhood as an endowment for their maintenance.³ Khalaf Ḥasan, no doubt with his entourage of Newcomers, proved faithful to the loyalty he owed to Prince Aḥmad, especially when he was flying before the bloodthirsty envoys of King Fīrōz, and but for Khalaf Ḥasan he would have been blinded and even put to death.

On Aḥmad's accession to the throne as Aḥmad Shāh I he created Khalaf Ḥasan Maliku't-tujjār or Prince of Merchants, a title which was regarded as one of the highest in the Deccan in times to come, and which

1. It is wrong to translate 'āfāqī' as foreigners as Haig has done in C. H. I. III, ch. 15, 16, as practically all of them had made the Deccan their home : I have preferred to use the epithet Newcomers to indicate the party. As a matter of fact they were as much Dakhnīs as the Normans of the time of Henry I of England were Englishmen or the Turks of the time of Suleymān the Magnificent were Europeans. In contradistinction to these Newcomers I have preferred to use the epithet Oldcomers for the other faction specially as they came to include the ḥabashīs, and we do not come across native converts to Islam till long afterwards. See Sherwānī, Maḥmūd Gāwān's political thought and administration, Krishnaswāmy Aiyangar Commemoration Volume, Madras, 1936 p. 127 ; S. A. Bilgrami, Tārīkh-i-Dakhan, Part I, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1897, 167 ff.

2. Briggs, II, 385 ff.

3. *Bur.*, 49.

showed that at least in the fifteenth century it was regarded an honour in the Deccan to be a merchant and to be called one. He was moreover made the Wakil-i Sālṭanat or Prime Minister of the Kingdom. It was the great heights attained by this statesman-merchant which were an eyesore to all his opponents, and the party of the Oldcomers made up their minds to annihilate the power of the Newcomers somehow or other. Aḥmad Shāh tested the loyalty and potentialities of his 'āfāqī' courtiers time and again, especially when he was surrounded by the enemy during the Vijyānagar campaign early in his reign and had a hairbreadth escape mainly owing to the great resource and courage of such Newcomers as Syed Husain Badakhshi, Mīr 'Alī Sistani, 'Abu'l-lāh Kurd and others. Aḥmad thereupon ordered a special corps of 3,000 arches from 'Irāq, Khurāsān, Transoxania, Turkey and Arabia to be enrolled in the royal army.¹ In 833/1430 after a successful campaign in the Konkan led by the Maliku't-tujjār Aḥmad conferred upon him a suit of his own royal robes and other gifts "the like of which had never been presented by a king to any of his subjects."²

We have already dealt to a certain extent with the Malik's campaign against Gujrāt when he tried to take Mahāim. The party of the Oldcomers, it is alleged, went and poisoned the ears of Prince 'Alāu'd-dīn that although it was they who really fought the enemy and the Newcomers who got all the credit, and they had decided to retire from the fray altogether. The result of this non-co-operation was that the Gujrātīs defeated the Maliku't-tujjār and the remnant of the army, and the commander's own brother, Khumais b. Ḥasan was taken prisoner along with many others.³

Perhaps the next great influx of the Newcomers was in connection with the advent of Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh son of Shah Ni'matu'l-lāh Kirmānī. It was in 838/1435 that the King sent Shaikh Ḥabību'l-lāh Junaidī to Kirmān informing Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh of his success in the Kherlā campaign and inviting him to come to the Deccan. The Saint, however, made his excuses but sent his grandson Mīr Nūru'l-lāh whom the King created Maliku'l-Mashāikh and gave him precedence over the aristocracy of the Kingdom,⁴ even on the descendants of Hazrat Gēsūdarāz whom he venerated so much. After Shah Ni'matu'l-lāh's death in 843/1440 his whole family migrated to Bīdar, including Shāh Ḥabību'l-lāh surnamed Ghāzī, who became the King's son-in-law, and given the jagir of Bīr, and Shāh Muhibbu'l-lāh who was given the daughter of the Crown Prince 'Alāu'd-dīn in marriage.⁵

1. *Fer.*, 321.

2. *Ibid.*, 327.

3. *Bur.*, 65, 66.

4. *Ibid.*, 68. The word used for Aristocracy is *ashraf* va *a'yān*.

5. *Fer.*, 329.

The same policy was pursued by the next king, 'Alāu'd-din Aḥmad II, who was crowned king as Aḥmad II with Shāh Khālilu-l-lāh on his right and Syed Ḥanīf on his left, and, no doubt to the great awe of those present on this auspicious occasion, these two Newcomers were actually made to sit down by the side of the King.¹ The new king even went a step further in his support and advancement of the Newcomers. He replaced some of the high officers of State, such as Miān Māḥmūd Nizāmu'l-Mulk by men like Muḥammad bin 'Alī Bāwerdī, whose very name denotes his 'Irāqī origin, and promoted others like Mushīru'l-Mulk Afghān to high offices and jagirs.² Probably enraged by his partisanship the party of the Oldcomers tried to get the King's brother Muḥammad Khān to make impossible demands such as the division of the kingdom into two parts or else his permanent association in the affairs of State with absolute equality of status and power. When these demands were refused, Muḥammad had 'Imādu'l-Mulk and Khawāja-i Jahān Asterābādī murdered and himself rose in rebellion. He was, however, defeated and put to flight.³

As has been mentioned above, when Naṣīr Khān invaded Berār with a large force, the king held a Council of War and asked the high officers present what should be done. The Oldcomer Dakhnīs and Ḥabashīs said that Berār was being surrounded by the armies of Gondwānā, Gujrāt and Khāndēsh and there was no way out of this most difficult *impasse*. Maliku't-tujjār, however, who was then the commander-in-chief of Daulatābād, offered his services but stipulated that as the rout at Mahāim was caused by the internal dissensions between the two factions of the Deccan army, he should now have only the army composed only of Newcomers to fight the intruders in Berār. This offer was accepted and we find such names in the army of Berār as Qarā Khān Kurd, 'Alī Khān Sīstānī, Iftikhāru'l-Mulk Ḥamadānī and others. With 7,000 select Newcomers and a huge army he went direct against the Khāndēshīs, and, as has been mentioned already, defeated Naṣīr Khān at Lāling and even entered his capital Burhānpūr in triumph. After this victorious campaign Maliku't-tujjār returned to Bidar where he was received by the Crown Prince Humāyūn more than five miles from the city and presented by the king with robes of honour and other costly presents, while all his commanders were invested with high titles and granted big jagirs. His Majesty also ordered that in future Newcomers should attend him on his right and Oldcomers on his left on State occasions. Ferīṣtah says that "from the day of this distinction till the present time the most rooted inveteracy has existed between the Deccanīs and the Moguls"⁴

The last and perhaps the saddest episode of the whole story is that of the massacre of the Newcomers at Chākan near Junair. It was about 850/1447 that Maliku't-tujjār, then commanding at Daulatābād, was ordered by the King to subdue the recalcitrant rulers of the coastal districts including Sangamēshwar. He had first to lay siege to a fort belonging to a local ruler, Raja Sirkah, who now outwardly embraced

1. *Bur.*, 75.2. *Ibid.*, 76.3. *Fer.*, 330.

4. Briggs, II, 426 ff.

Islam and led Maliku't-tujjār and his army into a thick jungle pretending to show the way to Sangamēshwar, massacring nearly 7,000 commanders and soldiers of the Deccan army "including 500 Syeds from Medinah, Njajf and Karbala" and their gallant Commander-in-Chief, Maliku't-tujjār himself. Most of the Oldcomers had remained encamped outside the ambush, and now such Newcomers as had survived the slaughter retired to Chākan, a fortress which had been lately strengthened, with the intention of informing the court of the defection of the Dakhnīs and the Habaṣhīs. The latter, however, forestalled this and themselves wrote to the King that the Newcomers had entered on a wild project of marching through an unknown jungle in spite of their remonstrances and had therefore reaped what they had sowed. They also said that the survivors, instead of waiting for the appointment of a Commander-in-Chief in place of Maliku't-tujjār, had sold themselves to the rulers of the Konkan and even spoken disrespectfully of the King himself.¹ On hearing this the King was greatly enraged and immediately ordered the massacre of the survivors who included 1,200 Syeds, 1,000 Mughals and many others. The survivors were thereupon besieged by the King's envoys, Sālār Ḥamzah Mushīru'l-Mulk and Rājā Rustam Nizāmu'l-Mulk,² were then lured by a promise of pardon to the camp of the besiegers, and then cut to pieces.

When the King came to know the version of the other side, he laid an iron hand on the leaders of the party of the Oldcomers who had misinformed him of the facts of the situation, had the property of Mushīru'l-Mulk and Nizāmu'l-Mulk sequestered, created one of the Newcomer survivors, Qāsim Beg Ṣafshikan Maliku't-tujjār and meted out dire punishment to those who had been instrumental in the sad affair. But the deed had been done and the animosity between the Oldcomers and the Newcomers knew no bounds. This happened in 850/1447.³ The King was so much incensed against the former that on receiving a letter from Ṣhaikh Āzarī Isfarānī, the author of the Bahman Nāmah from Khurāsān in 855/1452, he had many Dakhnīs, who had been imprisoned after the Chākan affair put to death, and dismissed those of the party from high palace offices.⁴

It was about this time, almost immediately after this letter from Khurāsān, that Maḥmūd Gāwān landed at Dābōl and threaded his way to the capital of Aḥmad II, Muḥammadābād Bīdar, in 856/1453.

H. K. SHERWANI.

1. Briggs, II, 440 ff.

2. Names in *Bur.*, 83.

3. Not in 858/1453, as Briggs has it on p. 438. As the late Syed 'Ali Bilgrāmī says in his *Tār. Dak. op. cit.*, we must remember that the accounts that have been handed down to us are all from the pen of Newcomers mostly from Persia. There is no doubt that the animosity of the factions had reached a very high pitch, but there are always two sides of the picture, and it is possible that if an Oldcomer had written an account of the various episodes he would have thrown a different light on them and perhaps we might have been able to give our judgment in a more impartial manner.

4. *Fer.*, 337.

HISTORICAL POEMS IN THE DIWAN OF ABŪ TAMMĀM

THE poems of Abū Tammām are full of historical facts which shed a new light on our knowledge of the events of the period in which he lived. Although Ṭabarī and other Arab historians have dealt fully with the important events, yet still in the description of various happenings there is a gap which can only be filled by the contemporary poets. It would be idle, indeed, to search for historical facts in a chronological order in the poems as their chief aim is the praise of patrons in order to gain reward and not the accurate recording of historical facts. As Dr. Margoliouth in his article¹ on the historical contents of the Diwan of al-Buhturī remarks, the poet of Abbaside times had to discharge some of the functions of the modern journalist. He had to defend the policy of the court before the public, test public opinion regarding any important step to be taken by the sovereign or minister, and not infrequently to persuade him to adopt certain measures for the public welfare.

In the poems of Abū Tammām, the chief events described are, the battles and skirmishes against Bābak, the powerful leader of the Khurramites, his capture and execution, the defeat of the Emperor Theophilus and the fall of Amorium; and also the raids on Roman territory. In addition to these, many other events are also mentioned, viz., the crucifixion of Mazayār,² the chief of Ṭabaristān, and Aetius, the defender of Amorium,³ the capture of Hurjām by Abū Sa'id,⁴ the execution⁵ of the famous Afshīn and the burning of his body, the overthrow⁶ of Ibn-al-Sarī by Abdullah Ibn Ṭāhir,⁷ the establishment of order in Egypt by Māmūn,⁷ and other events of minor importance. He alludes to the insurrection of the Zutts (Jats) which was suppressed ruthlessly in the

1. See the *Journal of Indian History*, Oct. 1923, published at Allahabad.

2. Diwān 154 (8) : He was captured and beaten to death in 225 A.H. Ṭabarī iii, 1303.

3. Diwān 154 (10) : He was captured on the fall of the fortress and brought to Baghdād where he died in A.H. 224 and his body was gibbeted beside that of Bābak. Ṭabarī iii, 1302.

4. Diwān 107 (5) : Tibrizī says he was the king of Sanariah in Armenia, Cf. Masūdi ii, 67.

5. Diwān 151-155.

6. This event took place in 211 A.H. : *Kitābal-Wulāt wal-Quḍāt* by Kindī 180-183.

7. In 217 A.H. Ṭabarī iii, 1107 : Diwān 111-114.

year 220 A.H.¹ in poems² which are not mentioned in the *Diwan* and the authenticity of which is disputed. He mentions the city of Surra-Man Ra'a (Samarra) which was built by the Caliph al-M'utaşim in 221 A.H., as being the place where Bābak was executed.³ His reference to the year 219 A.H. as that in which al-M'utaşim acceded to the Caliphate is very significant,⁴ as most of the Arab historians assign that event to the year 218 A.H. Masūdi,⁵ however, says, 'Some say that the people paid allegiance to M'utaşim as a Caliph in the year 219 A.H.'

His poems are full of allusions to the Days (i.e., battles) of the pagan and Islamic age⁶ which are described in the Aghani and other historical works. He mentions also the massacre of the followers of Mazdak⁷ (528 A.D.) by Anushirwān, the king of Persia.

A few references of historical importance are also given in his poems. He relates that 'Umar, the second of the orthodox Caliphs, had once, when gold became scarce, suggested that coins should be made of camel's⁸ hide. In another place he informs us of the strange method adopted for spreading abroad the news of victories and defeats of the Caliph's armies. In the time of M'utaşim when the army of the Caliph was engaged in almost incessant battles against Bābak, the messenger bedecked himself with black feathers when the Caliph's army gained a victory, and with red feathers when it was defeated.⁹

He also makes mention of the famous Halley comet which made its periodical appearance in 222 A.H. (837 A.D.) from which the astrologers predicted that a great calamity would fall¹⁰ upon the people.

The laudatory poems addressed by the poet to the high dignitaries and officials of his time are not confined to ordinary complimentary platitudes, but contain much that is of historical importance, as they were addressed to those who controlled the helm of State. The panegyrics

1. Tabarī iii, 1168 : The marshes between Başra and Wāsit were occupied by a large population of Indians called Jats.

2. See al-Ziyādāt (MS. 45) (14), 49 (9-12).

3. Diwān 264 (12): See also the poem (MS. 510) in which he praises Samarra and hurls ridicule at Baghdad.

4. Diwān 157 (6).

5. vii, 103. If the date 218 A.H. given by Tabarī and others is correct, it is quite possible that M'utaşim after becoming Caliph held a royal reception in 219 A.H., in which the poet presented to him this encomium.

6. Diwān 322-23 : See also the indices to the Diwān in which the names of battles mentioned by Abū Tammām are given.

7. Diwān 323 (1-3) Tabarī (i, 894 seqq.): In most MSS. of the Diwān the name is written as المصدقۃ whereas in some MSS. it is given as المر دكة. Cf. MS. of the Diwān 306 (8).

8. Diwān 50 (2).

9. Diwān 107 (4).

10. The poet calls it by the name of al-Kawkab-al-Gharbi: See Diwān 7 (fourth line from the bottom), Cf. *Kamil* of Ibn al-Athīr vi, 337, pub. Leiden, Michael Syr. iii 97. See also Chambers' *Book of Astro-nomy*, i, 444.

composed in praise of his patron, Abū Sa'id, are full of allusions to and description of the battles fought against Bābak, of raids carried into the Roman territory.¹ In his panegyric on Khālīd b. Yazīd he recalls his raid on Roman soil.² Abū Dulaf, who fought Bābak under the command of Afshīn, rescued the latter from a difficult situation by his strategy,³ and though he was disliked by Afshīn who tried to poison the mind of the Caliph against him yet the Caliph cherished his memory.⁴ Muḥammad b. 'Abd-al-Malik-al-Zayyāt was not only a vizier but the Prefect of Police, Head of the Council of State and Censor.⁵ Abū Sa'id was one of those who favoured the nomination of Wāthiq as a successor to M'utaṣim while the latter was still alive.⁶

Coming to the part he played as a journalist of his day, though he often voiced the opinion of the court, he was conspicuous for his reiterated demands from the Caliph or other nobles, of what he thought was for the public good. In an encomium he urges the Caliph al-M'utaṣim to nominate Hārūn (al-Wāthiq) as successor to the great empire, which on one side extended from China to Yaman and on the other from Spain to the walls of Rome, and crush all who dared to oppose it.⁷ Again, when Afshīn fell on evil days and was imprisoned and afterwards executed and burnt,⁸ he requests the Caliph to exterminate the whole family of Kāūs, the father of Afshīn, and hurl them into the pits which they had dug for the kingdom.⁹ He pleaded before Mālik b. Ṭawq for Banū Taghlib, who had incurred the displeasure of Mālik on account of their insubordination,¹⁰ and so appeased the anger of Mālik, who then treated his flock with the dignity to which they had been accustomed.¹¹ Many other verses of a similar kind may be found in his Diwān.

Abū Tammām makes no mention of the foreign troops, i.e., al-Mawālī, organised first by al-M'utaṣim, which in a comparatively short period assumed the importance of the Roman Prætorian Guards, seating and unseating Caliphs who were practically in their power. Even in celebrating the victory of Amorium, in which these troops played a very important part, he passes over their exploits without mention and speaks only of the achievements of the Arabs.¹² This is probably due to the fact that in the poet's lifetime these troops did not become so important as they did

1. Diwān 96-110, 215-220.

2. Diwān 32-33.

3. Diwān 42 (13 seqq.).

4. Diwān 43 (4-6), 210 : Cf. Ibn. Khallikan i, 27.

5. 48 (11).

6. 338 (3-4).

7. Diwān 155 (1-8).

8. For a detailed account of Afshīn's execution see Ṭabarī iii, 1308-1318.

9. Diwān 154 (3-5).

10. 19 (8 seqq.).

11. Cf. Ibn Rashīq ('Umda) 32-33.

12. Diwān 12 (2).

later on, in the time of the poet Buḥturī, who in his poems constantly refers to them.¹

The chief themes on which Abū Tammām harps are the victories won by the Caliph al-M'utaṣim against the heretic Bābak, and the Emperor Theophilus. Many raids on the Roman land carried out by al-Māmūn, and other Generals of al-M'utaṣim are also alluded to in his poems. In order to appreciate the significance of these victories it is necessary to give a short account of each, pointing out wherever necessary the contribution that Abū Tammām has made to the accounts given in historical works.

BĀBAK, HIS DEFEAT, CAPTURE AND EXECUTION

Bābak, the great heresiarch, made his first appearance in the city of Badhdh during the reign of al-Māmūn in the year 201 A.H.² He succeeded his master Jāwidān b. Sahl as the leader of the Khurramites, who are often called al-Muhammira and al-Bābakiyya.³ From this time until his capture in 222 A.H. he was constantly at war with the forces of the two Caliphs, al-Māmūn and al-M'utaṣim, and defeated and routed many generals who were sent to conquer him.⁴ He was the terror⁵ of western and north-western Persia for more than twenty years, but was at last sought out in his inaccessible haunts by the famous Afshīn, was subdued and captured after two years of fierce and persistent struggle. Māmūn, while on his death-bed, had enjoined on his brother M'utaṣim not to spare any efforts to root out Bābak and his followers,⁶ and the chief thought which occupied M'utaṣim's mind after his accession was to remove this great danger to the kingdom. Bābak was countenanced and helped by the Romans. Indeed the raid on Zapetra was carried out by the Emperor Theophilus at the request of Bābak in order to divert the attack of the Caliph's forces, and alleviate the pressure on Bābak.⁷ To establish peace within the empire and to produce an impression of the

1. See Dr. Margoliouth's article in the *Journal of Indian History*, on the historical contents of the *Diwān* of Buḥturī.

2. Ṭabarī iii, 1015 : According to another version he appeared in 200 A.H. Cf. al-Tanbih by Masūdi, p. 353, again Masūdi (Murūj vii, 62) gives the year 204 A.H. as that in which Bābak made his first appearance.

3. Cf. Fihrist 342-344, *Diwān* 248 (12-14) : Masūdi vi, 186 identifies al-Khurramiyya with al-Musli-miyya, the followers of Abū Muslim who was slain by Mansūr in 136 A.H. and Abū Tammām (303) (12) identifies them also with the followers of Mazdak.

4. According to Ṭabarī (iii, 1233) the number of all those who were killed by Bābak during the twenty years of his reign was 255,500. Masūdi (Tanbih 353) mentions 500,000 as a moderate number.

5. Cf. *Diwān*, 260.

6. Ṭabarī iii, 1138 : It is said that the horsemen of Bābak alone numbered twenty thousand. (Abul Farj, *Mukhtasar*) 241.

7. Ṭabarī iii, 1234.

strength of the State it was essential that Bābak and his followers should be suppressed. With this purpose in view M'utaṣim, within a very short period of becoming Caliph, set on foot preparations for a great expedition, and when they were completed, he, in the month of Dhul-Q'ada 220 A.H. sent Afshīn at the head of a great army to conquer Bābak.

The chief battles mentioned by Abū Tammām are fully described by Ṭabarī in his well-known annals.¹ Here it will be sufficient to give a short account of those events and mention a few details and small incidents that are alluded to by the poet.

1. Before the expedition of Afshīn set out, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm was sent by the Caliph M'utaṣim to the province of al-Jabal to suppress the rising of the followers of Bābak, where in many engagements he defeated and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy. Ṭabarī does not state the name of a single place where the fighting took place. He simply records the fact² that in the month of Shawwāl 218 A.H. Ibrāhīm was sent to the province of al-Jabal to subdue the Khurramites, who had gathered in Hamadān and slew sixty thousand of them, while the remainder fled away to the Roman border. In another place he informs³ us that Ibrāhīm returned to Baghdād from al-Jabal on the 11th of Jumada-al-'Ulā 219 A.H. with many captives, after slaying one hundred thousand followers of Bābak. Abū Tammām in the poems composed in praise of Ibrāhīm mentions the names of Qurrān,⁴ the two Ashtars, Dadhwayh,⁵ Khayzaj,⁵ as the places where fighting took place, and adds that many battles were fought under cover of darkness which was a favourite method of Bābak's attack.⁶

2. Before Afshīn left for Barzand,⁷ his headquarters, Abū Sa'id a general who distinguished himself in this expedition, was ordered by the Caliph to repair the forts between Zanjān and Ardabīl,⁸ which had been destroyed by Bābak and to establish military guards on the roads for the safe transport of the provisions that were sent to Ardabīl. Having heard that a party of the enemy, headed by Mu'awiya, the brother of Bābak, was returning after a raid, he intercepted and attacked them killing many and taking a large number prisoners, though the leader himself escaped.⁹ Here again Ṭabarī is silent as to where this battle was fought, but Abū Tammām describes it as having taken place behind

1. See Ṭabarī iii, 1171 seqq. and 1186 seqq.

2. iii, 1165.

3. iii, 1166.

4. Diwān 302 (10): Qurrān was a town in Adharbayjan. Yaqūt iv, 51. Ashtar was a district town between Nahāwand and Hamadān. Yaqūt i, 276.

5. Diwān 307 (1).

6. Diwān 306 (last line): "In the East thou hast met them in a battle the bolts of which have caused the mountains of the Roman land to cleave." 307 (10).

7. The distance from Barzand to Sadarasp, where the first ditch of Afshīn was, is two *parasangs* and then to Zahrkush (Kalān Rud) where was the second ditch, is two *parasangs* and thence to Rūd-al-Rūd, where the third ditch was, is two *parasangs* and from there to Baghdād one *parasang*. Ibn Khurdadbih, 121.

8. See Ibn Khurdadbih 119.

9. Ṭabarī iii, 1171: According to Ṭabarī this was the first defeat sustained by Bābak's followers, see *Ibid*.

Sindbāya,¹ adding that Mu'awiya escaped under cover of darkness² thereby showing that it was a night raid.

3. After rebuilding the forts between Barzand and Ardabīl, Afshīn divided his forces and quartered his generals in different fortified towns. Thus Abū Sa'id was posted at Khush,³ Haytham al-Ghanawi at the fort of Arshaq, and 'Alawayh-al-A'awar at the fort of al-Nahr. Provisions were conveyed from one stronghold to another by armed guards. Afshīn, a very able general, knowing well that an effort to force an issue by a direct attack would result in disaster, adopted the method of slow and steady progress. Meanwhile, he tried many ruses and laid traps to ensnare the enemy who often fell a victim to them. The way in which he enticed Bābak to attack Arshaq⁴ was an exceedingly clever ruse. While Bābak was attacking the fort of Arshaq, Afshīn and Abū Sa'id fell upon him with their horsemen and slew nearly all his cavalry, though Bābak himself escaped to Muqān⁵ with a few of his followers. Describing this event Ṭabarī says⁶ that Bābak after a few days' stay at Muqān, left by night for Badhdh escorted by a military guard. Abū Tammām adds several details informing us that Muqān was attacked by Abū Sa'id on a Friday, and that Bābak was compelled to flee.⁷

4. Abū Tammām mentions a night raid which was repulsed by Abū Sa'id.⁸ The attack was directed against Bishr,⁹ one of his officers, who was staggered and whose ranks were broken.¹⁰ Muḥammad b. Ma'adh came to his help,¹¹ but the enemy was too strong for them both. Seeing this, Abū Sa'id came to their help just in time to save the situation. Referring to this incident, Abū Tammām says¹² :—

“Hadst thou delayed one hour in reaching them, Islam would have stirred to flight a bird of ill omen.”

Ṭabarī¹³ records a night raid in which Bābak forced Afshīn to retire but whether this refers to the raid mentioned by Abū Tammām is doubtful. More probably the reference is to another raid made by Bābak, in whose plan of campaign night¹⁴ attacks took a prominent place.

1. A market town in Adharbayjan. Yaqūt iii, 1666.

2. Diwān 101 (7-9).

3. Diwān 68 (5).

4. For details see Ṭabarī iii, 1174 seqq. : Arshaq is a mountain in the district of Muqān. Yaqūt, i 208.

5. Cf. Ibn Khurdadbih 119.

6. Ṭabarī iii, 1178.

7. Diwān 102 (3-7), 261 (11-12).

8. Diwān 262 (11-12), 28 (2-7).

9. Diwān 295 (last line), 296.

10. Diwān 296 (1-6).

11. Diwān 296 (7), 28 (6-7).

12. Diwān 297 (2).

13. iii, 1190.

14. Cf. Ṭabarī iii, 1192 (2).

5. The capture of Tall, a fortified high mountain near Badh_{dh}, occupied by an officer of Bābak, named Adh_h,¹ led to the fall of Bābak's last stronghold, Badh_{dh}.² Tall was captured just before sunset³ after a hard struggle, while Badh_{dh} fell easily on Thursday the 9th of Ramaḍān, 222 A.H.

Many smaller battles which took place during the two years' struggle, but are not mentioned by Ṭabarī, are alluded to by Abū Tammām in his poems, among them being the following :

1. A battle fought in the highlands of Abrashtawīm and Darwad_h⁴ in which the enemy was repulsed in a night raid, and only escaped destruction by fleeing under the cover of darkness to a hill in Darwad_h. "It was a victory by which time became resplendent and the lances opened the buds of hopes."

2. The night raid mentioned above in No. 4.

3. From the description given by Abū Tammām it appears⁵ that another battle in addition to that already mentioned, took place in the neighbourhood of Arshaq, in which Abū Dulaf rescued Afshīn from a perilous situation.

4. The poet constantly refers to the fortifications of Bābak as Kadhaj₆ and Kadhajāt, which were built on the hills, and were surrounded by dense forests.

Bābak after the fall of Badh_{dh} effected his escape to Armenia with the intention of crossing over the Roman border, but was captured by an Armenian prince called Sahl b. Sanbāt,⁷ with whom he had taken refuge, and made over in the month of Ramaḍān⁸ to Afshīn, who brought him, together with his brother Abdullah, to Samarra. On reaching the city he was carried on a caparisoned elephant,⁹ paraded about the city, and then executed, the Caliph ordering Bābak's executioner to plunge the knife into his trunk after severing his limbs. His head was sent to the cities of Khurasān and his body impaled before the place. His brother met the same fate at the hand of Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, the governor of Baghdad.¹⁰

After the capture of Bābak, thousands of Muslim captives, women and children who had fallen victims to his tyranny, were restored to their families.¹¹

1. Ṭabarī iii, 1214.

2. Diwān 262 (last line).

3. Diwān 263 (6) Yaḳūbi ii, 578 : Ṭabarī (iii, 497) says that it was taken on Friday the 20th of Ramaḍān.

4. Diwān 262 (7-10), 327 (6) : Cf. Yaḳūt i, 80. Ibn. Khurdadbih 22.

5. Diwān 42 (13 seqq.), 202 (3-6) : See also 326 (last line).

6. Diwān 102 (11), 262 (4) : It is a Persian word *Kada* which means shelter. Cf. Yaḳūt iv, 244.

7. Diwān 107 (2), 328 (2).

8. Diwān 264 (7).

9. Ṭabarī iii, 1230 (seqq.), Diwān 264 (13).

10. Ṭabarī iii, 1292 seqq.

11. Diwān 260 : Ṭabarī iii, 1227.

The date of Afshīn's return with Bābak to Samarra is given by Ṭabarī¹ as the third of Ṣafar 223 A.H. From Abū Tammām's description,² one might have inferred that the execution of Bābak took place in the month of Shawwāl 222 A.H. instead of Ṣafar 223 A.H. as stated by Ṭabarī.

Describing the impalement of the bodies of Mazyar and Aetius at a later period beside that of Bābak the poet says,³

"The fever of the hearts was cooled when Bābak became the neighbour of Mazyar.

"He is the second with him under the dome of heaven and not the second of the two when they were in the cave.⁴

"They seem to have hastened away that they might conceal some news from Aetius.

"Black are their vests as if the hands of Simoom have woven for them garments of pitch.

"Day and night they ride on slender steeds brought to them from the carpenter's stable.

"They stir not from their places and yet whosoever sees them thinks they are ever on a journey."

THE BATTLES AND RAIDS ON THE ROMAN TERRITORY

Abū Tammām in his poems alludes to many battles and several raids on Byzantine soil. In one⁵ of the most brilliant of his odes he celebrates the victory of M'utaṣīm over the Emperor Theophilus, the fall of Amorium and the capture of Ancyra.⁶ Ever since his accession to the throne the Emperor had availed himself of every opportunity which offered itself to him for making a raid on the Caliph's territory, with the result that his own empire was invaded by the Saracen forces.⁷ Māmūn,⁸ who was his chief enemy, cherished till death the hope of conquering the Roman domains. He raided the Roman Empire more than once and during his last invasion, when he was leading an army with the intention of subduing Amorium and other cities that lie before Constantinople, he died at Podandos. After his death when the Caliph M'utaṣīm's army was engaged in conquering Bābak, the Emperor at the instance⁹ of the latter, invaded the Caliph's territory at the head of one hundred thousand

1. Ṭabarī iii, 1229.

2. *Diwān* 264 (7).

3. *Diwān* 154 (8-13).

4. i.e. the Prophet and Abū Bakr. *Quran* ix 40.

5. *Diwān* 7-12.

6. Angora.

7. Cf. *Histoire du Bas Empire* xiii, 91 seqq.

8. He raided the Roman territory in 215, 216, 217 A.H. : See Ṭabarī iii, 1102-3, 1104, 1109, Cf. *Diwān* 281-282, *Kitab Baghdad* ed. Keller, VI 261 seqq.

9. Ṭabarī iii, 1234.

soldiers,¹ and laid Zapetra and other cities in ruins. It was obviously in the interest of the Emperor not to let the movement of Bābak be crushed, since it was a constant drain on the Caliph's forces, and, in order to lessen the pressure on Bābak, then hardly pressed by M'utaṣim's forces he made raid upon Saracen territory.

The raid must have taken place in 222 A.H. when Bābak was not yet subdued, though Ṭabarī² and Y'aqūbi place it in the year 223 A.H. for³ in the latter year the object of the Emperor's expedition would not have been secured by an attack made after the capture of Bābak in 222 A.H. Moreover, Ṭabarī relates that M'utaṣim after the capture of Bābak asked for the opinion of his advisers as to which was the best fortified city in the Roman territory.⁴

When the harrowing accounts of cruelties committed by Romans in Zapetra and other places reached the Caliph, vowing that he would exact exemplary vengeance from the Romans, he began preparations for a great expedition against them. Referring to this Abū Tammām says:—

“Thou didst answer the call from Zapetra, and didst empty the cup of sweet slumber and the nectar of chaste loving maidens.”⁵

The capture of Bābak left the Caliph free to mature his plans, and after consulting his advisers he decided to make an attack on Amorium.⁶ Amorium was the home of the Emperor's ancestors,⁷ and a blow dealt at that city would inflict a special insult on the Emperor himself. The city was, moreover, of the utmost importance from a military point of view as its capture would greatly facilitate an advance on Constantinople.

M'utaṣim left his palace at Samarra on the 2nd of Jumadā-al-'Ula 223 A.H.⁸ (1st April 838 A.D.). The Caliph invaded Asia Minor with

1. Ṭabarī (iii, 1235) says that in this raid the Emperor was accompanied by the followers of Bābak who had fled to the Roman territory when Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm inflicted a crushing defeat on them in the province of al-Jabalin 218 A.H. Masūdi (vii, 133-34) relates that Theophilus was accompanied by the kings of Burjans, Bulgarians and Slavs.

2. Ṭabarī iii, 1234. Yaqūbi ii, 580. Cf. Masūdi vii, 133.

3. Cf. Bury: Eastern Roman Empire 260 (note).

4. Ṭabarī (iii, 1236).

5. Diwān 10 (4): It is related that a Hashimite lady who was made a captive and was ill-treated by a Roman, cried out “Wā M'utasimāh” (Help O! M'utasim), and when this news was related to M'utaṣim, he exclaimed, “Labbayk, Labbayk” (Ready) starting up as if he had heard her voice. Ibn al-Athir, vi, 339.

6. Ṭabarī iii, 1236.

7. Bas Empire xiii, 137.

8. According to Ṭabarī iii, 1236 and Masūdi vii, 135, the Caliph camped on the western side of the Tigris on Monday the second of Jumadā-al-'Ula. Yaqūbi (ii, 581) says the Caliph first camped at Uyūn on the western bank of the Tigris and then set out on Thursday the 6th of Jumadā-al-'Ula, but the 6th of Jumadā-al-'Ula (5th April 838 A.D.) fell on Friday. See Wustenfeld, Vergleichungs Tabellen.

three armies,¹ the Eastern army which, under the command of Afshīn, crossed the Taurus by the pass of Hadath² (Adata) and the two divisions of the Western army which, led by the Caliph and Ashnas, set out from Cilicia and crossed by the pass of Tarsos.³

The first⁴ object of the Caliph was the capture of Ancyra. Afshīn crossed the pass of Hadath on a day which was fixed so as to allow him to meet at a place near Ancyra with the Western army that was under the command of Ashnas, who had set out from Cilicia on Rajab 22nd (June 19), with instructions from the Caliph to await the arrival of his army at Şafşāf (Lulun). M'utaşim who was encamped in Western Cilicia near the river Lamos, which formed the boundary between the Arab and Roman territory, set out two days later than Ashnas and crossed Taurus by the pass of Podondos (Darb-al-Salāma)⁵ to Maţamir.⁶

The Emperor, knowing nothing of the Eastern army under Afshīn, had crossed the Halys⁷ and encamped on its bank, waiting to fall upon the army of the Caliph then marching towards Ancyra. Ashnas was still unaware of the Emperor's proximity when he reached Marju-'l-'Usquf⁸ where he received a letter from the Caliph who was then at Maţamir ordering him to halt at Marj, and informing him that the Emperor was near at hand waiting to attack. In a later letter M'utaşim asked Ashnas to find out where the Emperor then was. Ashnas sent to the Caliph the information he had obtained from captured Roman soldiers, the purport of which was that the Emperor had been informed of Afshīn's advance and was pushing forward at the head of his army to meet him. Thereupon the Caliph sent numerous messengers to Afshīn⁹ telling him of the Emperor's design, and instructing him to halt until he received a further communication. None of these messengers, however, reached his destination. Afshīn had already marched to the district of Dazimon where he was forced to give battle to the Emperor who had halted near

1. According to Michael Syr. (iii, 95) M'utaşim's army numbered 50,000, Afshīn's 30,000, 30,000 merchants and providers and 50,000 camels and 20,000 mules. Masūdi (vii, 135) says that the numbers were exaggerated by some to 500,000 and reduced by others to 200,000. Ṭabarī (iii, 1237) relates that no Caliph had ever made preparations for war on such a scale.

2. Ṭabarī iii, 1237.

3. Ṭabarī iii, 1237: The easiest path from Cappadocia to Tarsos was through the Cilician Gates, Ramsay, 58.

4. For a detailed account, see Ṭabarī iii, 1237 seqq. Also Bury's article in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1909 (120) about M'utaşim's march through Cappadocia.

5. Masūdi vii, 135: Ṭabarī (iii, 1237) says that M'utaşim, before he set out, sent the advanced guard of his army in the steps of Ashnas.

6. Ṭabarī iii, 1237: Maţamir, a district of the great subterranean strongholds. See Ramsay 356, 293.

7. Ṭabarī (iii, 1238) mentions the Lamos, probably he has mistaken it for the Halys: Cf. Bury, J.H.S. 1909 (123).

8. Bury (J.H.S. 124) suggests that Marju-'l-'Usquf is the name of Nazianzos.

9. Ṭabarī iii, 1239-40.

Anzen, a high hill from which the position of the enemy could be seen.¹ The Emperor was at first successful,² defeating a part of Afshīn's army, but a heavy storm interfered with the progress of the battle, and the sudden disappearance of the Emperor at the head of two thousand men, for the purpose of aiding a wing of his army that was being hard pressed, gave rise to the rumour that the Emperor was killed, and the Roman forces took to flight. When the rain cleared, the Emperor saw that his men had dispersed and he himself was surrounded by the soldiers of Afshīn, who brought catapults to bombard him, but he and his followers fought their way out of the most difficult position.³ Other accounts attribute the defeat of the Romans to the skilful archery of the Turks, who would have inflicted a still greater defeat on them had not their bows been put out of order by the rain.⁴ Ṭabarī,⁵ citing the evidence of a Roman captive who was present at the battle, says that the tide of battle⁶ was turned by the Arab cavalry. The Emperor fled with his followers, and, on returning in the morning to his camp near the Halys,⁷ found that his army had dispersed. He beheaded his kinsman, under whose charge the army had been left, and issued an order that every soldier who had left the camp should be punished and sent to an appointed place where he intended to reorganise the army in order to offer further resistance to the Caliph. Abū Tammām, describing the flight of Theophilus, says⁸:—

“He fled, his girdle pierced by a silent stroke from a Khattī-lance which caused his bowels to cry aloud.

He offered to his companions a pure drink of death and fled away, urging on the swiftest of his steeds.

Taking refuge on a hill⁹ that was towering above him, nimble from fear and not from joy.”

After punishing the commander and the soldiers he sent an eunuch to Ancyra to prepare the city for defence against a possible attack from the Caliph, but on reaching the city the eunuch found that it had been deserted by its inhabitants, who, on hearing the news of the Emperor's

1. Cf. Bury: Eastern Roman Empire, 264-65.

2. Bas Empire xiii, 140-141.

3. Michael Syr. iii, 97.

4. Bas Empire xiii, 141.

5. iii, 1243: In this battle Wāthiq, the son of M'utaṣim was with Afshīn, Bas Empire xiii, 138.

6. Ṭabarī (iii, 1256) says that this battle took place on Thursday the 25th of Shabān=July 22nd, but this can hardly be right, a longer time must have elapsed before the beginning of the siege of Amorium (Aug. 1). Moreover Ṭabarī refutes himself, his date is Thursday 25th of Shabān but Shabān 25=July 22nd, fell on Monday: See Bury 264 (note).

7. Ṭabarī (iii, 1243) again mentions the Lamos instead of the Halys: Cf. Bury J.H.S. (1909) 123.

8. Diwān 10 (last line), 11 (1-3).

9. Probably the poet refers to the hill Anzen.

defeat, had fled to the mountains. On being informed of this the Emperor ordered the eunuch to proceed to Amorium.¹

Ashnas, continuing his march, was the first to reach Ancyra, the Caliph arriving on the following day, while Afshīn, joined them two days later. The city fell practically without any attempt at resistance. At this juncture the Emperor sent a messenger with proposals for peace to the Caliph,² who, however, rejected them. The Emperor thereupon went to Dorylaion to await the fate of Amorium.

Abū Tammām referring to the peace proposals says³ :—

“ When Theophilus saw the battle with his own eyes, and knowing that *ḥarb* derives its meaning *ḥarab*,⁴

Tried to stave off disgrace by the aid of money, he was overtaken by the billows of a turbulent and roaring ocean.

In vain ! the ponderous earth shook him with violence by means of an attack from one whose mind is set upon pleasing God and not upon gain.”

After staying for a few days at Ancyra, the army of the Caliph began its march towards Amorium. It advanced in three columns, Ashnas in front, the Caliph in the centre, and Afshīn in the rear, at a distance of two parasangs from one another, ravaging and burning as it went. The siege began on Thursday the 6th of Ramadān⁵ (1st August). The city was strongly fortified and surrounded by a high wall and a wide moat. The defence of the city was entrusted to Aetius. There was a weak spot in the fortifications, which was disclosed to the Caliph by a Muhammadan who had become a Christian. The Emperor had observed the breach in the wall and had ordered the commander to repair it, but the latter delayed the execution of the Emperor's order. On hearing of the Emperor's approach he piled up stones and filled the gap so that to outward view it was hardly distinguishable from other parts of the wall. The Caliph encamped in front of this weak spot and ordered the catapults to be directed against it. After two days' bombardment a breach was made in the wall. Seeing this, Aetius sent a letter to the Emperor informing him that the wall had given way, and as his situation was desperate, he proposed to open the gates at night and, rushing out with the garrison, endeavoured to force his way through the ranks of the enemy to the Emperor. The letter was sent by a Roman messenger who spoke Arabic fluently and who consequently might easily be supposed to be one of the Caliph's soldiers. He was nevertheless, captured by the Caliph's army, who, after learning the purport of the letter, took every precaution to frustrate the intention of Aetius. Finding the situation hopeless, the captain of the

1. Ṭabarī iii, 1243.

2. Cf. Ṭabarī iii 1254 Yaqūbi ii, 581.

3. Diwān 10 (8-11) from these lines it is evident that the Emperor offered money to the Caliph.

4. *Ḥarb*=combat, *ḥarab*=plunder.

5. Ashnas arrived at Amorium on Thursday=August 1st, the Caliph was there on Friday (iii, 1256) and Afshīn on Saturday : Ṭabarī iii, 1244.

weak section, named Boiditzes, went to the Caliph and offered to surrender the fort on condition that no harm should come to the inhabitants. While the interview was taking place, the forces of the Caliph were nearing the breach. The Romans, obeying the orders of their commander, abstained from fighting and only made signs to the Arabs not to advance. When the Caliph, accompanied by the captain, issued forth, he ordered his soldiers to attack and enter the city through the breach. On seeing this Boiditzes became infuriated and accused the Caliph of bad faith, whereupon the latter assured him that whatever he wished would be granted.¹

The Caliph's army entered the city, and a part of the population that had taken refuge in a large church was burned to death after offering an obstinate resistance. Aetius, the Commander, was made a prisoner, and was taken to Baghdād where he died in 224 A.H. The walls² were razed to the ground and the city given over to the flames, several thousands being slain or taken captive.³

The siege lasted for nearly two weeks and the Caliph returned to his kingdom after a campaign⁴ lasting fifty-five days. He would have continued his victorious march towards Constantinople, but, hearing of the secret intrigues that were on foot to establish 'Abbass the son of al-Māmūn, as the Caliph, and also that Abbass had communicated with the Emperor, he decided to return hastily to his kingdom.⁵

During the siege, it is said,⁶ the Caliph consulted the astrologers as to the time at which Amorium would fall; whereupon the latter prophesied that it would not be before the ripening of figs but the prophecy proved to be false.

Abū Tammām, alluding to this says⁷ :—

“The sword more truly foretells events than do books, its sharp edge divides earnest from jest.

Not the black page but the white blade is that which clears away doubt and ambiguity.

Verily knowledge dwells in the gleaming spear-heads that flash amid rival hosts and not in the Seven brilliant stars.

What has become of the tradition? Yea, what of stars and the false accounts and lies based on them?

Yea,⁸ ninety thousand people like the lion of Shara, their bodies were roasted ere the figs and grapes were ripened.”

ABDUL HAQ.

1. M'utaşim gave the traitor 10,000 darics : Michael Syr. iii, 99.

2. Ibn-al-Athīr vi, 346.

3. Masūdi (vii, 136) says that the number of the killed was 30,000.

4. Ṭabarī iii, 1256 : According to Yaqūbi (ii, 581) Amorium was reduced on Tuesday the 17th of Ramadān, i.e., Aug. 13th ; this accords with Michael Syr. (iii, 100) who says that the city was taken in 12 days : Cf. Bury 267 (note).

5. Masūdi vii, 136-137 Ṭabarī iii, 1256 seqq.

6. Isami i, 71 a (MS. British Museum).

7. Diwān 7.

8. Diwān 11 (4).

A MONUMENT OF THE MUGHAL PERIOD MOSQUE OF MAHABAT KHAN IN PESHAWAR

AS no attempt has so far been made to throw light on the monuments of the Muslim Period that have survived in Peshawar, one is apt to subscribe to the erroneous view that it has little or nothing of Islamic times that may interest an antiquarian or an archæologist.

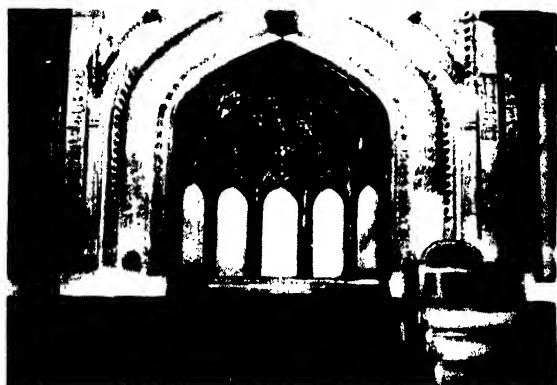
Of the many mosques built in Peshawar during the Muslim Period the one that forms the subject of this article is by far the biggest and most beautiful. It was erected by a Mughal officer called Zamānā Beg, better known in history as Mahābat Khan, who flourished during the time of the Emperor Akbar and his three immediate successors. Standing in splendid isolation, remote from the nuclei of Islamic architectural splendour, viz., Delhi, Agra, Lucknow and Lahore, this excellent specimen of Mughal architecture has often escaped notice and has not attracted the attention of any archæologist, Indian or foreign. Built in the reign of Shah Jahan, when Mahābat Khan's star was at its zenith, it stands on the northern outskirts of the city proper in a most thickly populated part called Andarshehr. Up to about a century ago it was lying in a dilapidated condition: its minarets had no domes, its archways had no doors, its *Mihrab* (orthodox niche, showing the direction of the *Qibla*) had no *Mimbar* (pulpit). One theory is that it was left incomplete by its author and the other is that it was subjected to the same spoliation as the tombs of Jahangir, Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan during the reign of Ranjit Singh.¹ What use it was put to during the Sikh Rule may be inferred from the fact that when Avitabile (better known among the Pathans as Abu Tabela) was the governor of Peshawar its minarets were frequently made 'a substitute for the gallows.'² It was reclaimed about 70 years ago and since then it has undergone complete renovation.

In design and detail this sacred structure follows the usual form of a Muslim place of prayer and closely resembles the *Badshahi Masjid* of Lahore and the *Jami Masjid* of Lucknow. It consists of 3 doorways with vaulted porches on all sides except the west, the one on the north being closed or so designed as to be easily opened when required; a domed *Mazina* or *Azankhana* (place from where *Azan* or call for prayer is

1. Vide *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. iv, p. 551.

2. *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District* (1822 ed.) p. 218.





lofty *minarets* are three-storied and star-shaped, each crowned with a pointed dome. The top-story of either is a fair prototype of the *Mazina* already described. It can be reached by ascending the stairs built round a massive central column. One *minaret* is but a faithful copy of the other and rises on a circumference of about 45 ft. to a height of over 110 ft.

The small cubicles on the north, east and south, now occupied by the *Khadims* (servants) of the mosque, were originally meant most probably for the residence of the teacher (*Ustad*) and the taught (*Talibs*); for in Mediæval India every mosque was a centre of religious as well as secular education where, in addition to the teaching of the *Quran*, *Fiqh* and other religious sciences, such books as Saadi's *Bostan* and 'Aṭṭār's *Pandnamah* were regularly taught and when every *Imam* of a mosque was expected to be a good teacher.

A word may also be said about the style of the mosque. It is made of marble, brick, stone and stucco and is characterised by simplicity and strength throughout. Its interior also displays a certain amount of delicacy and ornamentation. In many respects it resembles Mughal mosques erected elsewhere in Mughal India, and is Indo-Islamic or rather Mughal in style with very minor differences of detail. In the richness of material, chasteness of design, details of architecture, and brilliance of execution it is a fine specimen of Mughal architecture, fit to rank with the finest houses of prayer seen in Muslim India.

S. M. JAFFAR.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MUSLIMS TO SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT

"THE debt of our Science to that of the Arabs does not consist in startling discoveries of revolutionary theories ; Science owes a great deal more to Arab Culture, it owes its existence. The ancient world was, as we saw, pre-scientific. The astronomy and mathematics of the Greeks were a foreign importation never thoroughly acclimatised in Greek Culture. The Greeks systematised, generalised and theorised, but the patient ways of investigation, the accumulation of positive knowledge, the minute methods of Science, detailed and prolonged observation and experimental enquiry were altogether alien to the Greek temperament. What we call Science arose in Europe as a result of new spirit of enquiry, of new methods of investigation, of the method of experiment, observation and measurement, of the development of Mathematics in a form unknown to the Greeks. That spirit and those methods were introduced into the European world by the Arabs." (Briffault, *The Making of Humanity*. p. 190).

THUS it is fully recognised now that Science in its modern sense owes its origin to the Islamic spirit of enquiry, and that the scientific method is one of the most fruitful contributions of Muslim Culture.

Having laid down this fundamental principle of scientific knowledge, the Arabs applied it to make outstanding contributions to every branch of Art and Science. The main sciences in which they were interested were Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine, Architecture, Navigation and of course the properties of substances as investigated by the alchemists. Here I propose to give you a broad outline of their contribution to Mathematics and Astronomy. Before going on to this, however, I wish to record one or two instances of their general scientific observations.

Early man observed that whenever he threw up a stone or shot an arrow, it invariably returned to the earth. By seeing this phenomenon repeated generation after generation, he concluded that there must be some force which brings everything to the ground. He explained this force by attributing it to the God of the earth. Later when he became more sophisticated, he ascribed it to the tendency of things to return to their roots.

The same baffled attempts were made to explain the motions of the sun, moon, planets and stars. It is universally believed that these phenomena were first explained by Newton's Law of Universal Gravitation in the seventeenth century. But we can show that the Arabs had a glimpse of this universal gravitation, though they did not formulate it in the exact language of mathematics. But, if as late as the sixteenth century, the famous Kepler could only explain the planetary motions by ascribing a soul to every planet, it is a great credit to the Arabs to have conceived of the Universal gravitation before the twelfth century. In his *Mathnavi*,

Maulānā Rūmī reports a dialogue between a philosopher and a common man. The philosopher explains this universal attraction in poetical language :—

جملہ اجزائے جہاں زان حکم پیش جفت جفت وعاشقان جفت خویش
ہست ہر جزوے بعالم جفت خواہ راست همچو کھربا و برگ کاه
آسمان گوید زمیں را مرحبا با تو ام چون آہن وآہن ربا

“ Every particle in the Universe is coupled with every other particle, and attracts it. Its attraction is quite like that of amber towards a straw. The sky and the earth are both like iron and magnet to each other.”

The first two couplets give a general statement of universal gravitation, and are exactly in the same words as Newton employed : “ Every particle in the universe attracts every other particle.” The third couplet illustrates an application of the general theory, showing that the heavenly bodies attract each other.

The Maulānā raises the further question as to why the earth does not fall this way or that and remains suspended in space, balanced equally on all sides. He answers this question in the light of universal gravitation :—

گفت سائل چون بماند این خاکدان در میان این محیط آسمان
ہم چو قندیلے معلق در ہوا نے بر اسفل مے رود نے بر علا
آن حکیمش گفت کز جذب سما از جہات شش بماند اندر ہوا
چو ز مقناطیس قہ ریختہ در میاب ماند آہن آویختہ
دور گردوں را ز موج عشق داں گرنہودے عشق بفسردے جہان

The man asked : “ How is it that the earth remains in the centre of this celestial globe hanging in the air like a lantern, neither falling downwards nor going upwards?” The philosopher replied : “ The earth remains hanging in space because the Heaven (heavenly bodies) attracts it on all sides. It is like an iron ball which, if placed at the centre of a dome built with magnetic stone, will remain fixed. The revolution of the sky (heavenly bodies) is due to attraction. Had this attraction not existed, the world would have faded out.”

Could any descriptive account of universal gravitation be more explicit? It must be remembered that the *Mathnavi* was written five hundred years before Newton's time. This must not be misunderstood as in any way detracting from Newton's immortal achievement. The observations of Tycho Brahe and Kepler and the theoretical work of Galileo were needed for Newton to formulate his law in all its mathematical exactness, but I do maintain that the broad conception of the mutual attraction of material particles was known to the Arabs.

I shall give yet another example, this time from the biological sciences, of the anticipations made by the devotees of Islam. As early as the tenth century, we find the idea of evolution gradually shaping itself. Jāḥiz was the first to note the changes in bird-life caused by migrations. Later Ibn-i-Maskawaih gave it the shape of a definite theory, and adopted it in his book *Al-Faḍl-ul-Aṣghar*. This doctrine of evolution must have been in common vogue, because we find Maulānā Rūmī reproducing it at a great length in his *Mathnavī*. The world believes that the theory of evolution and the descent of man from the lower species was established in the nineteenth century by Charles Darwin and his contemporaries. But let us see what Rūmī has to say about it in the twelfth century. He is describing how man was created.

آمده اول به اقلیم جماد از جمادی در نباتی اوفتاد
 سالها اندر نباتی عمر کرد وز جمادی یاد ناورد از نبرد
 وز نباتی چون بحیوان اوفتاد نامدش حال نباتی هیچ یاد
 جز همان میله که دارد سوئے آن خاصه در وقت بهار وضیمراب
 هم چنین اقلیم تا اقلیم رفت تا شد اکنون عاقل ودانا وزفت

"At first man was in the shape of the minerals and from that he changed to the vegetables. For many years he lived in this vegetable form, oblivious of the struggles that he had made as a mineral. Then he changed from the vegetable to the animal, and forgot all about his past, i.e., the vegetable life, except the love that he had for the trees and the flowers at the time of the Spring. In this manner he was transformed from one stage to another, till the present state of consciousness and wisdom was reached."

It seems that Rūmī was a firm believer in this general process of evolution. He makes it still more clear in another passage which I have rendered in English as follows :—

"At the time that you came into being, you were in the shape of the elements, fire, earth and air. Had you remained in the same state, how could you have experienced this evolution? It was by this metamorphosis that you left your former existence and emerged into another. In this way you went through millions of forms, each succeeding one being superior to the previous form. Thus every 'death' has given you new life. Why should you then shrink from death now? Have you experienced any loss from your previous deaths that you should cling to the present life? If you emerge purer and more perfect from each death, then it is better for you that you should die. From the very beginning of existence you have undergone millions of such resurrections. At first you were lifeless stone, you were then transformed into the organic form of vegetables. The vegetables then received life and had to struggle

for their existence. Then you became a being endowed with wisdom and thought."

Thus speaks a Muslim in the twelfth century. Modern Europe had to wait seven hundred years to formulate the same principle.

These few instances are sufficient to indicate the extent to which scientific thought had advanced in the Muslim world. I shall now proceed to give you a short account of the Muslims' achievements in Mathematics and Astronomy, which are the subjects to which they contributed most, and in which they excelled.

It was the Arabs who systematised the use of Numerals, and particularly of zero, which was an immense advance on the old method of depicting numbers by the letters of the Alphabet. Zero is found for the first time in the Arithmetic of محمد بن موسى الخوارزمي written in the early parts of the ninth century. In Arithmetic, the Arabs contributed a great deal to the fractions; to the principle of error which is employed to solve algebraic problems arithmetically; to the higher theory of numbers with its problems on the primitive, perfect and associated numbers. They solved the famous problem of finding a square which, on the addition and subtraction of a given number, yields other squares.

The Greeks and Hindus considered number as pure magnitude, and it was only when Khawārazmī conceived of number as a pure relation in the modern sense that the science of Algebra could originate. Algebra is one of the proudest achievements of the Arabs, and it was cultivated so much that within two centuries of its creation it had reached gigantic proportions. The symbolical process which it idealises is still called Algorithm in modern mathematics, an everlasting tribute to its immortal founder. Alkhawārazmī himself formulated and solved the algebraic equations of the first and second degree, and created his beautiful geometrical method to find the solution. He also recognised that the quadratic equation has two roots. Then in the tenth century أبو الوفا، الكوهي created and successfully developed a branch of geometry which consists of problems leading to algebraic equations of higher degree than the second. أبو الجود محمد بن الليث found geometrical methods of solving cubical equations. أبو محمود الخوجندي proved that the so-called Fermats' problem for cubic powers cannot be solved in terms of the rational numbers. أبو بكر محمد بن الحسين الكرخي who lived in the beginning of the eleventh century, and who is considered as one of the greatest mathematicians, wrote a book on Arithmetic called الكافي في الحساب and another on Algebra called الفخري. In these books he developed approximate methods of finding square roots, theory of indices, theory of surds, Alberūnī's theory of numeration of series, sums of squares and

cubes of natural numbers, equations of the degree $2n$, theory of mathematical induction, and the theory of quadratic indeterminate equations.

Then came 'Umar Khayyām, the most glamorous figure of the eleventh century, who has recently become famous and popular as a great poet, but who, according to Moritz Cantor, has better claim to immortality as one of the greatest mathematicians of all time. He was court astronomer to Malik Shāh, and reformed the calendar in such a way that, as Cantor says, the solar year proposed by him is more accurate than any other calendar proposed either before or after his time. He made an uncommonly great advance in the theory of equations by treating systematically the equations of the higher degree, and dividing them into different groups. He found and proved the binomial theorem for positive integral indices.

By this time, i.e., the end of the eleventh century, the Arabs had founded, developed and perfected geometrical algebra, and could solve equations of the third and fourth degrees. As Cantor, who is by no means partial to the Arabs, remarks :-

At least in the sciences, with which we are at present concerned, the Arabs of the year 1100 were so uncommonly superior to the most learned Europeans, that they could learn nothing from them."

It is the same with other branches of mathematics, viz, geometry, trigonometry and mensuration. The Arabs began with translating the geometry of Euclid and the conic sections of Apollonius, and thus preserved the works of these Greek Masters for the modern world. This was satisfactorily accomplished in the ninth century. Soon after this, they began making fresh discoveries in the domain of geometry. Thus the three brothers حسن، احمد، محمد sons of موسى بن شاكر discovered a method of trisecting the angle by means of the geometry of motion. ابوالوفا made many valuable contributions to the theory of polyhedra, which is even now considered as one of the most difficult subjects. ابوعلى ابن الهيثم also made many discoveries in geometry. His book on geometrical optics is the first book treating the subject systematically. Here he deals with problems which would be difficult to solve even now. For instance, one of his problems is to find the focus of a spherical lens satisfying certain conditions, which if treated by the modern analytical methods, would lead to an equation of the fourth degree. It is this book which was translated by Roger Bacon, and published in his *Opus Majus*. The later Arabs developed the geometry of the Conic Section to a great extent. But the crowning achievement in geometry was that of نصير الدين محمد بن جعفر محمد ابن حسن who is commonly known as نصير الدين محمد بن طوسي. He was undoubtedly the greatest savant of the thirteenth century, and was as well versed in philosophy and mathematics as in medicine and the natural sciences. His mathematical work contained contributions in

arithmetic, algebra and geometry. He separated trigonometry from astronomy, and created a new branch of trigonometry, both plane and spherical, based on Menelaus' theorem in geometry. But his greatest contribution to mathematics is the recognition and explanation of the weakness in Euclid's theory of the parallels. Since the days of Ptolemy in the second century no one had given serious thought to the difficulties of demonstrating the truth of Euclid's parallel postulate on the basis of perceptual space. After a lapse of more than a thousand years, it was Tūsi who first attacked this problem, and in his efforts to improve the postulate realised the necessity of abandoning perceptual space. This was the basis on which the non-Euclidean geometry of the last century was developed, resulting in the hyperspace movement and the theory of relativity of our own time. The conception of hyperspace is not so very new, nor so very absurd as some modern writers try to show. It is more satisfying both scientifically and philosophically than the Newtonian conception to which these writers wish to take us back.

Trigonometry, both plane and spherical, is for the most part a creation of the Arabs. محمد ابن جابر ابو عبد الله الباطاني introduced the trigonometric function in the ninth century. He is known in Europe as Albategums. His book on the motion of the stars was translated by Plato of Tivoli in the twelfth century. It is from this translation that the word *sine* spread in all European languages. The Indians used only the full arc for the sine, but الباطاني remarked that it was more advantageous to use the half arc. Cantor considers this an advance in mathematics which cannot be appreciated highly enough.

After developing trigonometry to a great extent, and preparing accurate trigonometric tables, they could calculate the heights of mountains, distances of inaccessible points and breadths of rivers. Their knowledge of applied mathematics is evident from all those wonderful examples of Arab and Moorish architecture which made the fables of the Arabian Nights an actuality. It is impossible that such an architecture could have developed only empirically. We are compelled to admit that their creators must have been applied mathematicians of no mean talent.

Moritz Cantor relates the story that in the twelfth century, Fredrick II sent a special deputation to موصل to ask كمال الدين to solve some mathematical problems for him, which were promptly solved by Kamāl. Such was the skill and the consequent reputation of Muslims in those days.

Let us turn now to a brief account of their achievements in Astronomy. This science prevailed among the Arabs for a very long time. The Arabs claim this to be their special subject, and indeed they far surpassed all their contemporaries in the knowledge of the heavens. Alberūnī quotes in his book آثار باقيه a passage from ابن خطيبه saying that the Arabs had no equals in their knowledge of the stars. Even جرير زيدان who is avowedly

hostile to the Arabs, cannot help acknowledging their superiority in this subject. He writes in his تاريخ تمدن الاسلامي : " We can argue from this how advanced the Arabs were in astronomy . . . They knew thoroughly each of the stars and its position on the celestial sphere. And no wonder ! For in their journeys as well as on many another occasion, the stars were their sole guides. If anyone asked them the road to a city, they told him to go in the direction of a certain star." Even in the beginning of the Muslim Era, when Greek astronomy was not yet translated into Arabic, a knowledge of the heavens was considered to be one of the requisites of a scholar. But once they had mastered the physical as well as the intellectual world, and had translated Ptolemy's Almajest, they developed astronomy so quickly that their mark is found on every step. Even to this day their name is associated with a number of stars, constellations, and astronomical instruments.

Western Historians are unanimous in their avowal that only one observatory existed in the whole world before the advent of Islam. Leaving out India, where the ruins of some observatories are still found at Ujjain, Qanōj and Delhi, almost all other observatories of the world had been destroyed. Only one remained, at Alexandria, and even that was not doing much work. In the course of a few centuries, the Muslims erected numerous well-equipped observatories all over their Empire in Damascus, Baghdād, Isfahān, Antākia, Buzjān, and many other places. Those founded by Alberūnī, Avicena, Sharf-ud-Dawlah, Abul wafā, Taqī-ud-Dīn, Fīrōz Shāh Bahmanī, Ulugh Beg and the Emperor Moḥammad Shāh, are specially well-known for the tremendous amount of work done in them.

But these observatories would have been useless without accurate astronomical instruments. The Arabs had no doubt inherited a few imperfect instruments from the Greeks, but work of such magnitude could not be carried out with these rough tools. Necessity, that divine parent of invention, urged them to concentrate all their practical faculties on devising skilful and consummate means to carry out their work. Their craftsmanship developed as they went on with their work, and they made a great contribution to the technique of making astronomical instruments. They perfected not only the old transit instruments, but devised many new ones for various purposes.

I am obliged to content myself with the bare enumeration of a few of the more important instruments invented by Muslim astronomers. These are :

- | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. حلقة اعتدال | 2. ذات الاوتار | 3. اصطrolاب |
| 4. ذات الشعبتين | 5. ذات الحبيب | 6. طبق المناطق |
| 7. زرقاله | 8. ذات الكرسي | 9. آلة الشامله |
| 10. ربع التام | 11. محبيب. ربع جامعه | 12. الحبيب الغائب |
| 13. سدس نفري | and others. | |

These and many other instruments have been described in *Kashfuz-zunūn*, *Jāmi Bahādūr Khānī* and *Khulāṣat-ut Tārīkh-al' Arab*.

The contribution of the Muslims to astronomy can be described briefly as consisting of the following investigations and results. They investigated the liberation of the moon, and proved that it is not constant (خلاصه التاريخ العرب p. 211). They determined fully the movements of the planets. Abū Wafā determined accurately the obliquity of the ecliptic in 995 A.D., and calculated the variation in the moon's motion. He also discovered the third liberation in the moon's motion which was rediscovered by Tycho Brahe' after six hundred years. He perfected Ptolemy's lunar theory, and corrected many errors in the observations of the old astronomers. (Vide خلاصه التاريخ العرب p. 243). The quadrant was invented by Ibnī Yūnus (Ibid. p. 214). Ibnī Rushd discovered a sun spot (Ibid. p. 215). Albatrash found many errors in Ptolemy's hypothesis of the solar system, and in 1150 A.D. put forward a new system for the planetary motions (Ibid. p. 215). Ibnī 'Aālām determined the stellar motion by observing that the stars traverse one degree in 70 solar years (شرح جفمنی p. 23). He also determined the latitude and longitude of many stars (اكتفاء p. 248), and measured the greatest declination of the planet, Mercury (Vide جامع بهادر خانی p. 596). He found that the Earth is spherical, and may, therefore, be supposed to be inhabited everywhere (Ibid. p. 688). He discovered the moons (satellites) of Jupiter, discussed the motion of the sun-spots, and determined the eccentric orbits of the Comets (Ibid. pp. 579, 536, 628).

The obliquity of the ecliptic, the points in which the meridian cuts the equator and the ecliptic, the arc of the terrestrial meridian and the precession of the equinoxes were determined in the reign of the Abbaside Caliphs (see, تمدن عرب p. 418-419). Abū Qāsim Abdullāh and Abū Ḥasan 'Alī ibnī Abū Qāsim produced very correct almanacs from 883 A.D. to 933 A.D. Abū Ḥasan discovered that the moon's distance from the sun is not constant, as assumed by Ptolemy (Ibid. p. 420).

We have already referred to the reform in the calendar made by *Khayyām*, whose calendar is considered more accurate than the modern calendar.

Mohammed bin Jabār Al Baṭānī, who lived in the tenth century A.D., investigated the motion of the apogee, corrected the previous values of the precession of equinoxes and of the obliquity of the ecliptic ; was the first to apply the sine and tangent in calculating the angles ; proposed a method to determine the precession of the equinoxes ; determined the moon's modes and discovered the wobbling motion of the earth's orbit (see, اکتفاء القنوع p. 243-244).

As the greatest astronomical discoveries of the Arabs should be mentioned their conclusion that the earth revolves round the sun, and that orbits of the planets are elliptic. (Vide, تمدن عرب p. 425).

Alberūnī also testifies to the fact that a great astronomer of his time believed in the earth's motion. Alberūnī's actual words from his book, قانون مسعودی, are reproduced here for convincing the reader :—

”إما أنا فشاهدت احد من مال الى نصره هذا الراى من المتنورين فى علم الهيئة لم يلتزم نزول الثقل الى الارض على القطر عموداً على وجهها بل منحرفاً على زوايا مختلفه لا تضبط فيه ولا تحفظ غير المسامة لان الرجل راى الثقل عن الارض حركتين ، احدهما دورية كما فى طبيعة الجزء من تقبيل الكل فى خواصه والاخرى مستقيمة لانجذابه الى معدنه . فالثقل اذا انفصل عن الارض تتحرك باولهما حركة يوجب فى الهوا لادام المسامة الواجبة واما الثانيه المستقيمة فيوجب لو تجردت وقوعه عن غرب المسامة ابدأ لكن هويته مركب منها فلذلك لا ينحرف عن المسامة والحظ الذى ينزل عليه ليس بعمود على الارض بالحقيقه بل مايل نحو المشرق“

Alberūnī says.—“ I have seen a great astronomer who believed in the authenticity of this doctrine. He argues that when a thing falls from a height, it does not coincide with the perpendicular line of its descent, but inclines a little, and falls making different angles. He says that when a piece of the earth separates from it and falls, it has two kinds of motion. One is the circular motion which it receives from the rotation of the earth, and the other is straight which it acquires in falling directly to the centre of the earth. The former implies the change, and the latter the fixity of its position. If it had only the straight motion, it would have fallen to the west of its perpendicular, but since both of them exist at one and the same time, it falls neither to the west nor in the perpendicular direction, but a little to the east.”

This book of Alberūnī was written in 421 A.H., i.e., about the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. Thus the Arabs had discovered the true mechanism of the solar system, i.e., the heliocentric doctrine, about 300 years before Copernicus.

The credit for the scientific formulation and a detailed working out of the theory should of course be given to Copernicus, but it must also be recognised that the Arabs had conceived the hypothesis long before his time.

The preceding account of Muslim contribution to astronomy, has been taken from various Eastern sources, but mainly from an article in the now extinct Journal *Tahzib al Akhlāq* founded by Sir Syed Ahmed. Most of this account, however, has been confirmed by an American research worker W. Carl Rufus of the Michigan University, who has

contributed the latest researches on "The Influence of Islamic Astronomy in Europe and the Far East" published in *Popular Astronomy*, May 1939, pp. 233-238. We shall reproduce here some passages from this article :—

"In general we prefer to think of Islam as a great storehouse into which were gathered and preserved the rich stores of knowledge from the East and the West, supplemented by local harvests. Filled to overflowing, the stores were again spread abroad in all directions and on prepared soil took root and enriched civilization of Europe and the Far East.

In the ninth century Islam became the standard bearer of civilization. The Caliph Hārūn-al-Rashīd, hero of the Arabian Nights, a patron of science, literature, and the arts, in 807 presented a water clock to Charlemagne. Al-Māmūn built an observatory at Bagdad in 829, and a little later another in the plain of Tadmor. The instruments, patterned to a certain extent after the Greeks, were larger and superior in workmanship. The astrolabes were not only serviceable in astronomy, but were veritable works of art. The Arabs paid more attention to regular and systematic observations than the Greeks, and placed more dependence upon measured data and their reductions for practical purposes. In this way improved tables of planetary motions were produced.

The great Al-Khawārizmī who was engaged on the computations, was the first to find time by the altitude of a star, and one of the first to compute trigonometric tables using tangents as well as sines. He also attempted to syncretise Greek and Hindu astronomy. Even greater was the work of Al-Battānī, Latinized as Albategnius, who improved the values of astronomical constants, prepared a star catalogue, made improved tables of the sun and moon, and wrote an astronomical treatise that remained an authority until the sixteenth century. He discovered the motion of the line of apsides of the sun's orbit, or as we would say, a change in the longitude of the perihelion of the earth's orbit. Abul Wafā, latter half of the tenth century, last of the Bagdad school, wrote a voluminous treatise known as the *Almagest*, not however a translation of Ptolemy.

The most outstanding astronomer (of the Cairo School) was Ibnī Yūnos (ابن يونس), who made regular observations including several eclipses. He used these data and observations by others in the preparation of the *Hakimid Tables*, which were the best for two centuries, the eleventh and twelfth. He is especially noted for his method of longitude determination. As time difference is equivalent to longitude difference, the determination of local time at the same instant at two stations widely separated in longitude is sufficient. But there were no telegraph or radio signals to give

these local times simultaneity. Ibn Yūnos proposed and used a signal from the moon—the first contact of a lunar eclipse. In this way he corrected many errors in longitude in Ptolemy's geography.

He (Chingiz Khān) erected a magnificent observatory at Maraghā, near Tabrīz, having instruments far surpassing the Greeks. . . . Nāṣir Eddin (d. 1273) was the greatest genius of this institution, an astronomer and a geometer. He was quite original and independent, drawing of course from Ptolemy, whom he criticised, however, quite severely, paving the way for the overthrow of the geocentric system. The greatest work of his observatory which required twelve years was the preparation of the Ilkhanic Tables.

A star catalogue was also made, and the precession of the equinoxes was fixed at $51''$ per annum, in good agreement with the modern value $50''$. 2.

The last and best equipped of the observatories due directly to Islamic influence was established about 1420 at Samarkand, Turkeṣtān, by Ūlegh Beg, grandson of Tamerlane. His greatest work was an independent star catalogue, based entirely upon new observations, the first in about sixteen hundred years, *i.e.*, since the time of Hipparchus, second century B.C. The positions are given to the nearest minute of arc, and attained a high degree of precision for that period. His instruments, though entirely lost, are considered the best made up to that time. Here ends the golden period of Islamic Astronomy. Long before its fall, however, its influence was felt in Europe and the Far East. A direct effect was the work in Spain under Alphonso X.

A century earlier, Gherardo of Cremona, who had absorbed all the knowledge of the Latins, visited Toledo and saw the number and quality of the books in Arabic. He mastered the language and translated seventy books into Latin. His work was followed by other translators, so the storehouse in which Greek science had been preserved began to return its treasures to Europe with liberal increase. . . . Many astronomical words have come down to us from the Arabic, *e.g.*, almanac, almucanter, zenith, nadir, also a large number of star names:—Algol, the demon, Altair, Aldebaran, Fomalhaut, the fish's mouth, Deneb, the hen's tail, Betelgeuse, the armpit of the central one, Vega or more correctly Weki, Arabic for *falling*.

Science in Europe received a great impetus not only from this general store, but also by the introduction of the Arabic numerals. .

The one (University) at Naples under Fredrick II owed its chief inspiration to new translations from Arabic sources. The revival of astronomy in Europe during the fifteenth century drew from the same storehouse. Peurbach at the University of Vienna composed his *Epitome of Astronomy* from poor Latin translations of Arabic and Syrian writings.

“ When Europe was responding to the influence of Islamic Astronomy, a similar movement was taking place in the Far East under the great Moughal Conqueror, Genghis Khān. The special student of Chinese astronomy looks with greater wonder and admiration at the rare instrumental survivals of the days of close contact between Islam and the Far East.”

These in brief are some of the achievements of our ancestors in mathematics and astronomy. I cannot even think of attempting to give a bare enumeration of their achievements in medicine, chemistry and other natural sciences. Each of these would require separate treatment.

Westenfeld has written in German a history of Arab medicine and natural sciences. More recently, the Carnegie foundation in America has planned an Introduction to the History of Science on an ambitious scale. Two volumes of this work have already been published and they contain some account of the contributions of the Muslim people. But, naturally, it is not possible for these writers to understand all that is contained in the old Arabic and Persian manuscripts. It requires collaboration on the part of experts in various branches of knowledge and scholars in Arabic and Persian to lay bare the treasures of knowledge hidden in these moth-eaten pages, and accumulated after long and patient researches by the followers of Islam.

Is it too much to hope that these researches will be taken up by competent people before the scanty information and few sources available now also became extinct ?

M. RAZI-UD-DIN SIDDIQUI.

THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ROLE OF ISLAM IN THE HISTORY OF INDIA

SO far as the social aspect is concerned, the paramount importance of Islam has often been neglected. The role that Islam played in the history of the world, and especially of India, seen from the sociological view-point, is usually underrated.

As a revealed religion the religio-philosophic aspect of Islam has naturally attracted the first attention of the historian. The monotheistic, the simple, the scientific, and the world-wide humanistic aspects of Islam have often been described and analysed. Since these paramount qualities of Islam and their theological basis have been the chief subjects upon which most of the scholarly writers on Islam have dwelt, the other aspect of that grand phenomenon, which we call Islam, should also not be neglected. I mean the social aspect.

The Islamic dealing with the various social problems, is the direct consequence of the Islamic attitude towards the actual world we live in, and of the straightforward open-mindedness, which always characterised Islam in all aspects and questions.

I therefore propose to study in this paper the historical role of Islam especially within the Indian culture-area.

In order to promote this end, we shall have to consider Islam as the representative of certain social principles, which an ethnological point of observation will help us to understand.

Before we can, however, consider the relations between the sociological aspect of Islam and other social systems of life we shall have to define the object of our study. If this is achieved, we must localise it within the sphere of cultural-historic entities and their mutual influences.

In this connection two paramount questions have to be answered :

- (a) What are the characteristic social principles of Islam ?
- (b) What is their cultural-historic position and origin, apart from the fact that they were founded on the teachings of the holy book Al-Qur'ān ?

and the Qur'ān on the peculiar construction of Islamic society. Here again the genius of Islam has worked in favour of a more equal, more human, or more divine order of things, although (and this is most noteworthy) in this case the newly-established order was in direct contradiction to the then general tendency of social evolution or, if the expression is permissible, general "fashion," which, in those days, tended towards a steadily progressing decay of rights of women.

Summarizing we may state that Islam's attitude towards the social side of life is characterised by a great sense of harmony, justice and moderation. So much so, that Islam has favoured the historic inheritance from the cultural-historic background of the Near East civilisations of these days, as far as they have been found in accordance with the principles of harmony and justice, but has directly opposed the same general tendency of historic evolution of the period concerned, so far as it opposed the principles of justice, harmony and moderation, as, e.g., in the question of women's rights.

This conclusion from our ethnological observation however illustrates at the same time the paramount influence of a single individual on the general course of historic evolution in general and of cultural-historic movements in particular.

It illustrates the correctness of the cultural-historic conception of ethnology, which refuses to consider human history as a more or less mechanical process of evolution from the "primitive" to the "civilised" stages of human life, but considers each single turn and move as an individual historic fact, which has to be analysed and understood from the point of view of general human evolution, though at the same time, it cannot be considered as the outcome of these factors alone, but also as the consequence of the actions of single individuals.

Thus having arrived at a definite picture of the socio-religious aspect of Islam, we are sufficiently prepared to consider its influence on the cultural-historic evolution of sociology in India.

The necessary preparation for this study, however, is a short review of pre-Islamic Indian ethnology, with special reference to sociology which I herewith propose to consider.

Before going into details, reference should be made to the announcement of this comparative study in the author's last article on 'Pre-Aryan Cultures of India & the Ethnological Background of Islam' in *Islamic Culture* of April 1939 where on p. 188 the parallels, coherencies and affinities, existing between Islam and the manifold religio-social movements in India which have aimed at abolition of caste-divisions, at a democratic social unity and at the reinstitution of the former high position of Indian womanhood, have already been mentioned.

A full appreciation of these parallels however will only be attainable, if the fundamental importance of the pre-Aryan matriarchal civilisation is duly taken into account, the importance of which has also been mentioned in the above article which was based, chiefly, on the results of the

excavations of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa and the cultural-historic comparison of this ancient civilisation with modern Indian cultural entities, especially the Nayar-group of South-west India.

3. PRE-ARYAN SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN INDIA AND ISLAMIC SOCIAL CONCEPTS

IN order to understand fully, and thus to appreciate the Islamic social conceptions and their cultural-historic importance we shall have to turn our attention from the main subject, i.e., the socio-religious role played by Islam in India, and to present a very brief review of the chief principles of pre-Aryan society in India.

The conception of ethnology usually held before the war considered the so-called Dravidian civilisation of Southern India to be a more or less homogeneous and Primitive residuum of "barbaric aborigines." Dr. Gustav Oppert's standard work *The Original Inhabitants of India*¹ which was published in 1893 paved the way for a more scientific outlook on this problem. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar's labours promoted the cause of a just acknowledgment of the true position of Dravidic culture especially in a suggestive article: "Did the Dravidians of India obtain their culture from the Aryan Immigrants?"² which was published in Vienna, shortly before the war, in spite of much opposition from the side of the old school of preconceived outlooks on cultural-historic problems. Dr. Slater's interesting observations, partly based on linguistic and sociological studies,³ made the original position of the "Dravidians" still clearer to the student of Indian history and ethnology. But the fundamental change of the whole scientific outlook on the problem, came with the excavation of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa in the Indus Valley and Sir John Marshall's extensive description and analysis of its results.⁴

Since then, the entire anthropological and ethnological world has become well aware of the fact that at least one important part of the pre-Aryan culture strata in India must have been more highly developed and attained to a higher specialised level than the social system, art and crafts of the Aryans can be considered to have attained at the time of their immigration into this country. Moreover it has become clear beyond doubt that the pre-Aryan people of India by no means formed one homogeneous bloc, but ought rather to be considered as a complicated blend of various cultural units, differing from each other considerably.

1. Dr. Gustav Oppert: *The Original Inhabitants of India*, Westminster, 1893.

2. P. T. Srinivas Iyengar: Did the Dravidians obtain their Culture from the Aryan Immigrants? in *Anthropos*, Mödling bei Wien, p. 1-15./IX (1914).

3. Dr. Gilbert Slater: *The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture*, London, 1924.

4. The best report on the excavations, analytic description and cultural-historic comparison of, and ethnological conclusions from the same, see in Sir John Marshall: *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation*, London, 1931, vol. 3. See also Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit: *Mother-right in India*, University Library, Vienna, 1937.

There were primitive jungle tribes who neither knew how to till the ground, nor how to organise social units beyond the family.

But there were at the same time the representatives of the highly developed Indus-civilisation, the descendants of which I have shown to be the Nayar, Bant, Tiyas and related matriarchal castes of South-west India.¹

All these absolutely differently developed culture-strata of people are now found to use some kind of Dravidic languages. It is therefore most probably not objectionable to call the city-civilisation of the Indus-valley Dravidic, though we should never forget that this term does not mean necessarily that the Dravidic language was indigenous in India. It might well have been that the present Dravidic-speaking totemistic tribes, perhaps also the agricultural villagers originally, did not speak a Dravidic language, but took it over from another group. This is what definitely happened with jungle-tribes such as the Chenchus, Yanadis, Kadir, Hasalar, Sholaga, Iruba and others.

There is much pro and contra for two opposing theories, (a) that the Dravidic languages and the people who developed the city-states of the Indus type were indigenous, or (b) that they were comparatively late invaders of India. For our purpose it may suffice to note that there is a divergence of opinion on this subject which cannot yet be considered as settled. We should only keep in mind three facts indirectly concerning our subject as well.

(a) The pre-historic Indus-civilisation was closely related to the then flourishing cultures of the Near East² and possibly also of pre-dynastic Egypt.³

(b) The characteristic survivals of the Indus-civilisation, which I have treated as in the formerly matriarchal castes of Malabar⁴ have not

1. Marshall, *op. cit.* p. 57/1. seq., describing how it "... has been revealed by the discoveries of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa ... that in the Chalcolithic age India and Western Asia were closely united by common bonds of relationship." He bases this conception chiefly on the matriarchally determined religious Siva-Sakti principle. But Marshall believes in a centrifugal influencing of the Near East by the Indian Indus-civilisation and consequently is of opinion that it was Siva-Sakti who were the models for the ancient deities of Tanhit and her son in Punic Africa, Isis and Horus in ancient Egypt, Ashtarot and Tamuz in Phoenicia, Kybele and Attis in Ancient Asia Minor, and Rhea and the young Zeus in Crete the elder and more important deity always being the female partner of the divine couple. He summarises: "Everywhere she is unwed, but made the mother, first of her companion by immaculate conception, and then of the Gods and all life by the embrace of her own son." *op. cit.* p. 57/1.

2. See Elliot Smith *Human History*, London, 1930, p. 318 seq. and p. 277, 381, seq. Arthur Weigall *Nero, Emperor of Rome*, where mother-right elements in the inheritance of the Roman Emperors are traced back to Egyptian influences.

3. See my thesis on *Mother Right in India*, chapter on Mother-right relations towards the North-East. Used literature: Schmidt-Koppers, *o. p.* und *Birma und ihre Ausstrahlungen nach Vorderindien*, *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, p. 172/1925; A. Playfair: *The Garos*, London, 1903, and P. R. T. Gurdon: *The Khasis*, London 1907.

4. Compare Edgar Thurston, and K. Rangachari: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras, 1909, 7 volumes.

spread in any considerable number beyond the Western Ghats of Southern India¹ or into the totemistic plateau of Central India and the Deccan.²

(c) Dr. B. S. Guha's and Dr. Baron Eickstedt's studies on the physical anthropology of India, have shown that there exist at least three fundamentally different racial groups among the Dravidic-speaking people of Southern India. The most primitive among them is called proto-Australoid by Dr. Guha, and approximately corresponds with the most primitive group of jungle-tribe. The Nayar, the most highly advanced of the three groups, are on the other hand to be considered as the bearers of the ancient Indus-civilisation. They belong to a more or less "Mediterranean" anthropological type. We should not be carried away by the name "Mediterranean," for this racial type, according to Elliot Smith, is found not only on the coast of the Middle Sea, European, African, and Asiatic, but spreads down the Nile Valley, through East Africa as far as Somaliland, to Asia, in Arabia, Persia, India, to Indo-China and the Malay Archipelago, and forms a definite element in the population of Polynesia.³ Consequently we are not allowed to conclude from "Mediterranean" racial affinities of a people as to its origin from the Mediterranean basin. The "Mediterraneans" of India might well have had their original home in India, or even East of India, and spread from there into the Mediterranean basin. Thus we find that culturally and physically the Dravidic peoples do not form a unit. We shall not overlook this important fact, as it fits in with another not less important observation. Marshall has shown that in nearly all important aspects the Indus-civilisation can be said to have modelled the present South Indian culture, if not the general quality of form of what we now call Hinduism, with the only exception of the elements which have been introduced by the Aryans. These elements are :

- (a) The caste-system.
- (b) The suppression of woman,
- (c) The supremacy of Brahmins and the Aryan language and religion.

Seen from this point of view, the Indus-civilisation must be said to be typically "Indian" though even perhaps not of Indian origin. It was the Indus-civilisation, and its characteristic form or conception of life, which modelled the various and differing elements of the general Indian population to such an extent that it not only reduced them to the linguistic

1. Marshall, op. cit. *Mother-right in India*, op. cit. chapters on Totemism and the Nayar problem. Compare Marshall op. cit.

V. H. Nanjundayya and Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, *The Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Mysore, 1928-1931 and Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer : *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Madras, 1909.

N. Kunjan Pillai, *Census 1931*, Trivandrum, 1932.

Rama K. Pisharoti : Notes on Ancestor worship in Kerala in *Man* No. 99/1923.

2. Anthropological part of *Census of India*, 1931.

3. Prof. Baron Eickstedt : *Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit*, Stuttgart, 1934, chapter on India.

and cultural-historic type of the Dravidians (which modern science has taken for a real unit for a long period !) but succeeded in influencing even the Aryanised and Hinduised culture of Brahmin India to a very great extent.

But this process of reviving and regenerating of the ancient Indus-civilisation type in Hinduised India was by no means a continuous one. On the contrary, action and reaction followed each other in a dramatic sequence.

The chief point in the uninterrupted fight between the two social and general cultural principles was the position of women.¹ The Indus-civilisation and most of its primitive cultural predecessors, on which it was built up, belonged to one or another type of matriarchal, or at least matriarchally influenced culture-circles. The position of women in these circles was high. The Aryan civilisation on the contrary, belonged to the decidedly patriarchal herdsmen-culture of Central Asia, when immigrating into India. The position of their women was principally subordinate, under the command of men. This does not mean that all women, especially the old mother or mother-in-law, were deprived of personal dignity and honour. Woman's submission to the authority of men was so unquestioned, her lack of personal ambition or undertaking was considered so natural, that the patriarchal herdsmen-system was not in need of any special means to pull this type of already "subordinate women" down.

But when the patriarchal system had been established among the Indian peoples, who were accustomed to the matriarchal conception of life, a strong opposition was awakened.

The peculiar social characteristics of child-marriage, hypergamy, and contempt for the widow, were means of fighting this opposition and establishing the new, i.e., patriarchal order of things, as I have shown at length in my study of the indirect cultural-historic influences of Mother-right in India.²

The accentuation of the caste-system from originally mere occupational to a general principle, as well as that of the predominance of Brahmins, find a plausible explanation in the light of this fight between two fundamental social principles in early India.

The ancient cultural inheritance from the side of the Indus-civilisation and its matriarchal, democratic tradition were too strong to be submerged in the new system altogether. The resistance was twofold :—

(a) Continuous and silent. Under the surface of the Aryanised religion, the old ideas revived, as, e.g., in the case of the mother-goddess, Siva and Linga-worship, sanctity of the cow, certain philosophical conceptions, style or architecture, art and living in general.

1. Elliot Smith op. cit. 120.

2. This fact is specially worked out in V. R. Russell and Rai Bahadur Hira Lal : *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces in India*, London, 1916, 4 volumes, Introduction, as well as under the headings of the various groups such as Brahmos, Kabirpanthis (Jains), Lingayats and various other reform-movements, which only too often became, in course of time, but a new religious caste.

(b) Individual and active in the form of great religio-social reform movements, which aimed at the abolition of the caste-system, and the supremacy of Brahmins as well as at the re-introduction of a better social position for women and at an establishment based on Brahminic birth-aristocracy, but on personal merits. The knowledge of the history, evolution and importance of these reform-movements in India, is the necessary basis on which a thorough appreciation of the cultural-historic role of Islam in India alone can be built up.

I therefore propose to review in short the most important historic features of the socio-religious movements, which are to be counted under the above group, before further proceeding to the study of the socio-religious role of Islam in this country.

4. THE INDIAN REFORM-MOVEMENTS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE ISLAMIC SOCIAL CONCEPTS

BUDDHISM in its religious, social, and political aspect can be said to represent the first great attempt of the indigenous Indian entity to react on the foreign influence of the invading Aryans, who had brought to India their decidedly patriarchal and anti-feminist social institution and their caste-system. The aspect of Buddhism, not so much seen as a new religion, a philosophic order, or a spiritual attempt to solve the questions and sufferings of life, but rather as a socio-political phenomenon has been, as in the case of Islam, considerably neglected, if not altogether forgotten, owing most probably to the fact that the scientific analysis of a highly developed religion, as is Buddhism, was considered outside the scope of ethnological research, and therefore escaped the comparative study of cultural-historic analysis. The discovery of Mohenjo-Daro and the glorious Indus-civilisation, and the observation that this matriarchal culture must have been related to the pre-Aryan so-called "Dravidian Culture" of Southern India¹ has however brought about a new phase of scientific insight into this question also.

It was firstly the obvious relationship in style and artistic convention which linked together the representations of a male god or saint in Mohenjo-Daro seals on the one side, and those of Lord Buddha and South-Indian Siva images on the other. One of these Mohenjo-Daro seals even exhibits not only the typical Buddhist Triratna symbol and the Wheel of the Holy Doctrine, which, some two thousand years later, became the symbols of the Royal Saviour Gautama Buddha, but the above-mentioned seal also places worshipping animals, tigers or panthers, on the one side, and horned deer on the other, exactly in the same manner

1. *Mother-right in India*, op. cit. and my study on *Mother-right*, op. cit. Dr. Oppert, op. cit. p. 1.g. seq. pointed already to the possible relationship between Lord Buddha and the Mala caste. He prepared to die among these classes of the highly esteemed peoples, who have sunk on the social ladder only comparatively recently it seems!

at the feet of the Saviour as does the famous representation of Buddha in his preaching to the animals in the Dharmacharka-veene. If these more technical and artistic details drew our attention to the obvious interrelation between Buddhism and the ancient pre-Aryan culture of India, seen from the cultural-historic point of view, the social and, so to say political characteristic of this great Indian religious movement, supported this theory from another side.

Lord Buddha renounced all caste or colour differences when he gave the Parable of the Wounded Man in the Desert who, if looked after by any helpful human fellow-being, would naturally not ask whether the help came from a yellow, red or black man, but only whether the help would be effective or not! His words remained not mere eyewash for the depressed descendants of the pre-Aryan matriarchal "Dravidian peoples" of India and their cultures. They became a vivid reality in Buddhist India! This theoretical and practical abolition of caste differences, as also of the priestly and secular predominance of the Brahmins, was one of the chief grievances of the reactionary caste-Hindus, and finally found expression in the movement of Sri Shankaracharya, who succeeded in wiping out Buddhism from India.

The obvious connections of Buddhism with a much earlier and indigenous civilisation of Indian soil, was the subject already of an interesting article written by Professor W. Koppers, so early as 1921,¹ when the excavations of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa were not yet made and consequently the cultural refinement of the pre-Aryan matriarchal civilisation in India was not yet known to the ethnological culture-historian. All the more is it remarkable, under these circumstances, that Koppers in this article pointed to the role of Buddhism and all its Hindu or Jain forerunners, which we may find in certain philosophic conceptions of the Mahabharata, as entities urging the cause of womanhood and of equality of sexes. He described Buddhism already at that time as an old renaissance of matriarchal civilisation.

Again we find Buddhism not confined to lip-service, also in this respect. Women within the Buddhist period, were not only equally treated from the religious point of view. They had the right to join the ascetic orders, just as men. They were also highly respected, as personal responsible human individualities. We find also that in Buddhistic India, marriage was not forced upon Buddhist girls, that they were free to choose a husband of their own, not bound to follow the command of parents in this respect. Child-marriage and contempt, not to speak of the burning of widows, were unknown. The rule that the husband must belong to higher social order than his wife, did not prevail. Buddhism therefore can rightly be regarded as a full-fledged forerunner of Islamic social concepts, or as a renaissance of the pre-Aryan Indian social system which was marked by

1. Emile Senart : *Les Castes dans L'inde*, p. 222. quoted by G. J. Held, Ph. D. *The Mahabharata, An Ethnological Study*, London, Amsterdam, 1935.

- (a) An equal, if not predominant, position of women.
- (b) Non-recognition of any caste-system and predominance of Brahmins, as well as hypergamy, contempt of the widow, and child-marriage.

All these under (b) quoted characteristics of Hindu-Brahmin social life were introduced by the Aryan invaders, though it is a fact that these institutions were not so exaggerated in Aryan society itself before its immigration into India. They were there, but did not exceed certain limits. The original Aryan caste-system divided the nation into four classes only, among which at least social intercourse, and to some extent also intermarriage, prevailed. The predominance of the Brahmins was there, but it was not so much overrated as in later periods of Indian history. In the time of the composition of the *Mahabharata* and also in the beginning of the Buddhist epoch, the rivalry between Brahmins and Kshatrias shows that at this period the predominance of the Brahmins was by no means undisputed. The law of hypergamy was also introduced into India by the Aryans, but at the beginning was not so rigid, and Brahmins used to marry even Sudra women.

Contempt for the widow seems not to have been common among the Aryans before they immigrated into India.

Child-marriage too, at least in the extreme forms of ceremonial "marriage" before puberty, along with indivorcability and prohibition of widow-remarriage for the child-widow, also seems to have been known among the Aryans before they immigrated into this country.

The fact that all these chief characteristics distinguishing "caste-Hinduism" from other Oriental religious and social systems, were not practised by the pre-Aryan Dravidic peoples of India,¹ and also were not so strictly observed by the Aryans before they immigrated into India, shows how these features of Hinduism have come to exist, as a result of the clash between the Aryan and the pre-Aryan conceptions of Life in India. This clash, it can be shown, was really the fight of a highly advanced and progressive matriarchal civilisation of refined city-states, (similar to those of Minoan Crete and pre-dynastic Egypt)², against the rigid patriarchal civilisation of the nomadic herdsmen and horse-riding warriors, i.e., the Aryans at the time of their immigration into India.

It was not easy for them, no doubt, to establish their patriarchal order of things and to lower the status of women, as the matriarchal system (and the women themselves) had such high positions in the civilised centres of the Indian culture-area, such as Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, or in Malabar.

With the obvious and unmistakable object of lowering the formerly exalted position of women, and of establishing an almost dictatorial power

1. Marshall, *op. cit.*

Elliot Smith, *op. cit.*

Nilsson, *op. cit.*

Mother-right in India, *op. cit.*

2. P. Prof. Dr. Wilhelm Koppers :

Kulturkreislehre und Buddhismus,

in *Anthropos*, Mödling bei Wien,

p. 442/ XVI (1921).

of the ruling Brahmin-caste, the above-mentioned social rules and regulations were introduced. Though hypergamy, contempt of the widow, child-marriage and the religious predominance of Brahmins speak for themselves, in this respect, the caste-system with its tendency to a more and more minute division in subcastes and pygmy-entities, can be easily explained as another measure establishing the rule of the comparatively united Brahmin-caste, which in this respect made use of the old Roman device : *Divide et impera*.

A very interesting role is played in this respect by the Kshatriya caste. Gautama Buddha's descent from this caste in itself suggests some form of affinity between the pre-Aryan type of civilisation and the Kshatriyas. In Buddhism, the old matriarchal tradition of the Kshatriyas were to a certain extent reviving, though already in the form of a "moderate patriarchal" system only, and no more as an outspokenly matriarchal one.¹

This point is of essential importance for the thorough appreciation of the chain of later movements in India which aimed at principally the same ideals for which Buddhism stood in its social reformistic attempts.

- (a) Unification of the whole nation, if not the whole of humanity, by abolishing the restrictions of the caste system and the supremacy of the Brahmins or even any other hereditary priesthood.
- (b) Restitution of the rights of women, by abolishing the prohibition of widow-remarriage, the law of hypergamy, child-marriage and with this, enforced marriage on an unwilling girl, or on a child-bride ignorant of the meaning of marriage and matrimonial life.

These two principles, as everybody knows, became the leading ideals of the original, i.e., Quranic social concepts of Islam ! It is most interesting to observe in detail how these fundamental ideas are really to be found at the root of each and every socio-religious reform-movement in India, such as the Lingayat, the Kabirpanthi, the Sikh, or the Brahmo Samaj movements.

A more complete description of these and other reformist attempts in the history of India would show, that even movements like the Arya Samaj or (in order to mention an altogether different type) the Indian Congress Movement, have much in common with these ideologies, though they are in disagreement with them in some essential points. The limited frame of this study however does not permit us to deviate further from the main object of our analysis, namely the socio-religious role of Islam in India.

The abolition of the caste-system, of the extreme form of hypergamy, (both of which were definitely rejected by Islam),² of child-marriage or forced marriage of a daughter, the establishment of at least principally

1. *Mother-right in India*, op. cit. chapter on The Rajput Problem.

2. Compare *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden, 1927, or the humble social position of the Prophet's own sons-in-law.

equal religious and social rights of women, on the one side, and the renunciation of a hereditary priestly class, on the other, are as much characteristic features of Islam as they are in all the above-mentioned religio-social reform-movements in India.

Now the questions arise: How far is this due to direct influence, from the side of Islam, on the reform-movements? And how can we explain this congruity where direct influence cannot be assumed on account of discrepancy of time or space? To answer the latter question would almost transgress the limit between what we call scientific explanation and belief in sheer miracle were it not that we have seen in the course of a former study of the interrelation of Islam and the pre-Aryan civilisations of India, that there was a close relation and common cultural-historic basis, on which both the civilisations originally flourished.¹ In the light of this knowledge, we can easily understand how two different socio-religious movements, such as Buddhism and Islam in India, which hardly influenced each other directly in any considerable measure, still must be said to have stood for the very same social principles. It was the cultural-historic basis which both these grand movements had in common, that made them work on the same fundamental lines of social ideas and ideals.

We should certainly not carry the cultural-historic way of interpretation so far as to explain away also essential religious elements by mere congruity of history and tradition. It will therefore always remain inexplicable to the non-religious historian, that Buddhism with its doctrine of the *Bodhisattvas* exactly formulated what the Islamic conceptions of the study of divine truth and the plurality of prophets teach us to understand.

The congruity of these, and similar purely religious thoughts and conceptions, can be understood by the simple but lofty belief in the accessibility of the divine truth through the teachings of the prophets. The congruity of the entire social system, on the other hand, on which two religious movements have been built up, will be better understood if interpreted by the explanations of cultural-historic ethnology, such as we attempted in this and the previous study on the subject, published in the April issue of *Islamic Culture* in 1939.

Under these auspices the question arises how far the post-Islamic socio-religious movements in India, which also stood for the same sociological ideas and ideals as did Buddhism and later on Islam, were directly influenced by Islam, and how far they are to be considered as the outcome of a perhaps unconscious, but still active tendency within India's population, to regenerate and to revive their old and lofty cultural tradition, going back to the pre-Aryan and matriarchal Indus-civilisation, which was most probably built up by people speaking Dravidic languages.

This question, essential to the history of India, interesting in the

1. See my article on The Pre-Aryan Cultures of India and the Ethnological Background of Islam, *Islamic Culture*, p. 176, (April, 1939).

history of Islam, and most important for the comparative study of religions, cannot be answered without a previous minute study of all records or descriptions which might throw some light on the originators of these reformist sects within Hinduism, such as the Lingayat, the Kabirpanthi, the Brahmo Samaj and many more related movements.

One fact in this respect will however help to discriminate between direct Islamic influence on Indian socio-religious movements, and indirect cultural-historic relationship through the common pre-historic basis only.

Most of the Indian reformist movements referred to here are characterised by a marked tendency to revive the position of women within the Indian society.¹ The very same tendency has, as we have shown in the beginning of this essay, been characteristic of the peculiar Islamic social organisation expressing itself also in the early Moslem immigrants to India. It has survived even to this day, so far as the right of women to inheritance, possession of property and the permission to remarry or to divorce, is concerned. But in many other respects, Indian Islamic society has given up the original Islamic attitude of restoring equal rights to women, an attitude which, as we have seen, characterises the various reform-movements.

So far as this problem is concerned, we have therefore to state that these reform-movements have kept alive on tradition, common to both the offsprings of the same pre-historic oriental tradition which has been partially lost among the Indian branch of the Islamic culture-area.

How is this striking and significant historic fact to be explained? Central-Asiatic, Christian-Byzantine and pre-Islamic Persian cultural influences tended to paralyse the original Islamic conception of equal rights and a nearly equal social position of women and men. The national tradition of the Central-Asiatic, pre-Islamic herdsmen, as well as those of the Byzantine Greeks and the Zoroastrian Persians, was decidedly patriarchal, much like the Brahminic tradition in India.

In a former paragraph of this study, we have seen how the originally moderate patriarchal institutions of the Aryans, since their invasion into India have become extremely exaggerated. We have seen that the tendency to break the resistance of the very old and highly developed matriarchal cultural tradition of India meant to pull down the formerly exalted position of the Indian womanhood.

The first large-scaled reaction against these tendencies was the social activity of Buddhism, permeating the country to such an extent that it almost determined what can be said to have been the "typical Indian style of life" at the time concerned. After the decline of the great Buddhist creed in Indian history, and the passing of Asoka and the illustrious Gupta dynasties, the reaction led by Sri Shankaracharya reintroduced all the typical Brahmin characteristics of Indian sociology, in a strongly intensified form. Caste-divisions, child-marriage, hypergamy, contempt for

1. See Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*

burning of the widow in particular and an absolutely dependent position of women in general, all these became prevalent, discriminating the Brahmins from other classes which were considered to be lower than that of the heavenly-born Brahmin. These were the sociological conditions of India when Islamic thoughts, ideas and peoples entered this country. Our next question is : How did the Muslims of India react to these conditions and their underlying principles ?

5. THE CHANGES IN ISLAMIC SOCIAL CONCEPTS IN INDIAN ENVIRONMENT

IT is a general human weakness, manifesting itself again and again where cultural contact or diffusion occurs, that the bad features of a foreign culture are silently taken over, whereas the good elements, to achieve which needs some effort, are only too often rejected, under the pretext that they are foreign, or belonging to an antipathetic or inferior group of men, just as the case may suggest.

The non-Indian Muslim immigrants, and later on conquerors of India, cannot be expected to have been altogether free from this weakness. All the more so, as they were numerically weak compared to the great mass of Muslim converts too often in their first enthusiasm. Such converts are inclined to reject all and everything they considered essential in their former religion, but which sometimes may agree with the principles of the newly-adopted religion.

These facts tended to impress upon the early Mussalmans, both converts and immigrants into India, the idea that the comparatively good position of women, which at that time was still prevailing within certain parts, especially among the South Indian masses, and, which was still, as in the Buddhist period, something typically Indian, had to be altered as belonging to the non-Muslim people and religion. Their own national but not their religious traditions supported this inclination, since the depressed social position of women was characteristic in the Central Asiatic herdsmen's sociology as well as in the social system of the pre-Islamic Persians. It was only the lofty Quranic conception which gave equal and human rights to women in those days of the Near East. Similarly, the social concepts of the Brahmins of India, especially of Northern India, aimed at the same order of things which prevailed in pre-Islamic Persia, in Greek Byzantium and among the Central Asiatic herdsmen. This of course is but natural, as the Brahmin class represented that very element within the then prevailing mixture of North Indian population groups which came with the Aryan immigration from Central Asia, Iran and the adjoining countries.

Just before the advent of Islam the reactionary movement of the Brahmins against the social system of Buddhism described above had gained much ground in the entire Indian area, but especially in the North.

Inevitably the Brahminic conceptions of things were in high esteem among the people of this period. The new converts to Islam in India found among their Persian and Mongolian co-religionists an attitude towards women which was similar to that of the Brahmins. Consequently they came under the impression that this was *eo ipso* the right and correct attitude.

To this we must still add two causes which led to the further strengthening of an anti-feminist tendency within the Islamic society of India during this period. Firstly : The pagan ancestors of the Moghuls considered veiling of the face and a heavy dress a traditional sign of dignity, used chiefly by their Shamans or witchcraft priests. When they came from their cold Siberian tundras down to Persia, Byzantium and later on to India, they found that in the two former countries the rich ladies of ruling aristocracy were veiled and that in the latter the Brahmin ladies belonging to the highest class in the social scale were continuously held under the supervision of male relatives, and thus were, so to say, not acknowledged to be independent, responsible human entities, but esteemed only in their relation to father, husband, son, or son-in-law. These two characteristic observations recall to mind what was the pre-Islamic pagan custom and tradition among themselves. The pride of conquerors was joined with this. We shall therefore not be astonished to find a tendency towards veiling and dominating their own womenfolk among the Moghul and Persian invaders and immigrants into India !

Secondly the attitude of the Indian converts to Islam. If they were formerly Brahmins, they naturally brought with them the newly-established post-Buddhistic prejudice against equal rights for women, and found the same prejudice among their Mussalman co-religionists. But in the more frequent cases of conversion from non-Brahminic Hindu castes to Islam, the converts could not all of a sudden lose the inferiority complex which the post-Buddhistic enforced caste-system must have induced in them. Doubtlessly conversion raised their social standard, as there was no such thing as " Lower castes " in Islam. But on the other hand, the ideas of a higher social standard and awe of the Brahminic caste were still connected, at least in unconscious working of their minds. Therefore the great bulk of the new converts added to the tendency to keep down women and to deprive them of the rights which pre-Aryan and Buddhist social conceptions, as well as the original, i.e., Quranic teachings of Islam, bestowed upon them. Similarly as any subcaste rising in life and social estimation often introduces child-marriage, prohibition of widow-remarriage, and hypergamy among certain Hindu classes, in spite of the fact that the really high and advanced castes are inclined to give up all this, so also did the social prejudice of the converts from lower castes tend to lower the standard of women and their rights in the newly-established Muslim society of India. These were the circumstances and forces which finally led to the bad position of women in the later periods of Muslim history in India.

Seen from this point of view only, Islam in India would appear not to have achieved as much as the other reform-movements of this country, so far as the position of women is concerned. That combination of things however should not blind us to another aspect of the same question.

Though it is an unquestioned fact that Muslim women in India have lost most of the rights and privileges, which they ought to enjoy, according to the Qur'ān, they have still retained some other rights, which were denied to the womanhood of the Brahminic society, e.g., remarriage of widows, inheritance and, at least theoretically, equal position in the spiritual sphere. In this way, but more even through the theoretical (though seldom practised) equal position of women, the teachings and conceptions of Islam even in the interpretation of Indian Muslims themselves, gave a great impulse to the later reform-movements within Hinduism which aimed at a better position for women. In fact, the great role played by Islamic theoretical teachings, more than by practical example, can hardly be overrated.

CONCLUSION

WE have seen that a long series of reform-movements in India aimed at the regeneration of the cultural features of the pre-Aryan matriarchal city-civilisations. The chief points of these movements were :—

- (a) Abolition of the caste-system.
- (c) Abolition of the supremacy of the priestly caste, specially the Brahmins.
- (d) Re-introduction of equal, or at least fundamental human rights, for women.

The social aspect of Islam in India fits into this general trend of Indian reform-movements.

The general sociological congruency of these reform-movements created on Indian soil and by Indians, with Islam, i.e., a foreign cultural entity, seems at first astonishing, if not incredible.

Ethnological insight into the pre-historic common basis of the pre-Aryan Indian and the pre-Islamic Near East civilisations has, however, shown that this alleged interpretation is not imaginary, but has merely been neglected or forgotten for the last three thousand years since the immigration of the Aryans into India.

The social aspect of the Indian reform-movements can rightly be compared with the social aspect of Islam. The socio-ethnological aspect of both the two groups of religious movements can be said to represent two forms of one and the same historical feature, i.e., the pre-historic matriarchal city-civilisation. But the fate of these two forms was of course different. Islam constituted a great socio-religious system in the Near East and established its form in India, whereas the Indian reform-movements did not permeate the Indian culture-area successfully.

Buddhism, the only exception in this respect, determined the Indian type of life for nearly a thousand years, but after this period, was completely ejected from this country.

Islam on the other hand, lost during its expansion in India one of the fundamental sociological features, that is the rehabilitation of women's rights, which was characteristic both of the Indian reform-movements, as also of early Islam itself. Under these circumstances, a cultural-historic observation will be better able to appreciate in full the modern movements within the Islamic world in general and the regeneration of Muslim women's rights in particular, which has been started in modern Turkey and spread already to the two other great Muslim countries, Egypt and Iran.

OMAR ROLF BARON V. EHRENFELS.

ANGLO-DUTCH RIVALRY OVER TRADE

THE conflict over the East India Trade between the Dutch and the English has been elaborately and exhaustively discussed by a number of competent and scholarly investigators. Sir William Foster, Sir George Birdwood, Colonel Yule and a number of other writers have dealt with this period in a series of brilliant monographs and luminous brochures. It is not my purpose here to deal either with the general aspect of the controversy, or with its repercussions on the Indian policy of the Dutch and the English. The ground has been covered in a number of authoritative text-books and I do not wish to traverse it again. There is, however, one feature of this controversy which has not yet received adequate attention. In my brochure on *The East India Trade* which was published about ten years ago, I stated that the trade exercised some influence not only on the economic theories of seventeenth century England, but also on the foreign policy of the country. I had no opportunity then of illustrating this principle by adding requisite data. I have not been able to find time to collect sufficient material on the subject. When I can get leisure I hope to be able to bring out a monograph on the subject. Even a cursory glance at the State Documents at the Public Records Office will show to the most prejudiced the overwhelming importance of this controversy in the determination of the English foreign policy in the latter half of the seventeenth century. I admit there were other factors, such as the financial difficulties of Charles II, his relationship with William of Orange and Louis XIV, his religious principles, and his curious friendships, which were contributory causes in the development of Charles' foreign policy. I submit, however, that the most important cause was economic, and the East India Trade was, to use an expression which was common in the seventeenth century, 'principal instrument,' in the negotiation between Holland and England. The documents quoted below throw new light on this subject. The foreign policy of this period has not been adequately investigated, and the German historian, Ranke, did not have either the time or the opportunity to read all the material with his usual care. The Calendars of the State Papers preserved in the Public Record Office, contain a precis of the most important documents dealing with the domestic history of England and

have not dealt with the foreign policy of the period. The research involved in the study of the foreign papers preserved in these Archives, is enormous, and I do not pretend to finality or infallibility of opinion on the subject. Further research may throw greater light on the mysterious negotiations that went on behind the scenes in this chequered era. All that I claim is that the documents transcribed below show clearly and decisively the supreme importance of the East India Trade in an objective appraisal and assessment of the foreign policy of Charles II. Sir George Downing has been dismissed by a number of historians as the villain of the piece. He has also been charged with receiving bribes from the East India Company in order that he might push the claims of the Company to absurd lengths, with a view to precipitate a war between England and Holland. That Downing received 'gratifications' from the East India Company is admitted by his stoutest supporters. But it does not follow in the least that his policy was exclusively determined by presents from the Directors. Downing was a convinced supporter of an economic war between Holland and England, as he felt that Holland was England's greatest rival. His Despatches reveal the intensity of his conviction on this point. These Despatches are preserved in the Foreign Record Office under "Foreign Holland." I have confined myself to extracts which deal directly or indirectly with the East India Trade. They bring out clearly enough the causes of the War, and reinforce the arguments I adduced in my *East India Trade* on the foreign policy of Charles II.

A summary of the Despatches will show at a glance the nature and importance of the negotiations of Downing and De Witt. I have not been able to prepare exhaustive notes on many of the points dealt with by Downing, as authoritative books on the highly specialized subject of the foreign policy of Charles II are rarely to be found in Indian libraries. The punctuation and spelling of the Despatches have been left untouched. The references in the margin are to the volume of the State Papers Foreign (Holland) Series in the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane.

The Despatches should be read in conjunction with the most interesting and rare account of the Dutch War, which will be published in connection with this article.

Lastly, mention may be made of extracts from the Despatches of Sir Josiah Child which deal with a stormy period of Bombay's History. The documents included therein show the measures adopted by the Directors as well as the effects of these measures on the trade and commerce of Bombay. Again they show conclusively that Charles II supported the Company whole-heartedly in its policy of 'Thorough,' and butt the weight of his prestige and government for the suppression of pirates, interlopers and others. The Documents on Bombay, as well as the account of the Dutch War are transcribed from the Letter Book preserved in the East India Company.

SUMMARY OF SIR GEORGE DOWNING'S DESPATCHES

The letters of Sir George Downing, the British ambassador at the Hague, are addressed to Sir Henry Bennet, Secretary of State. In autumn of the year 1663, Downing was exhorted by the Home Government vigorously to demand redress from the Dutch for the injuries done to British trade all over the world. The Dutch policy, he says, in the letter dated 18th September 1663, 'hath not only been the ruin of the members of his Majesty's subjects, but beaten them out of many mighty trades and will certainly in conclusion utterly overthrow the English East Indian and African Companies, if nothing be applied for remedy but words, there is nothing that makes them more proud as to have the English come hither eternally with complaints while their people are unmolested, advance their trade and obtain their ends.'

The Peace of Westminster (September 1662) failed to lessen the strained relationship. 'This treaty professed to establish "peace, amity, confederation and friendship between the two nations." They were bound to aid by sea and land against those who rebelled from each and not to harbour fugitive rebels. The Dutch were required to lower their flag to English vessels in the British seas. Polaroon was to be restored. They were to have free access to each other's ports and full permission to trade with each other in Europe. By the 14th Article it was provided that the treaty and friendship shall not be dissolved on account of aggressions committed by the subjects of either power, but that such aggressors will be punished, and reparation made, for offences—if committed on this side of the Cape of Good Hope within a year—if beyond the Cape, within eighteen months. By the 15th Article, all actions and claims for damages committed in India and known in England before January 10, 1659, were to cease, with this exception that the claimants for compensation for loss in case of the ships *Bona Ventura*, and *Bona Esperanza* should be at liberty, to prosecute the suit already commenced.

The complicated case of these two ships, belonging to Courteen, may be thus summarized. In 1643 these two vessels were seized and destroyed by the Dutch, one in the Straits of Malacca and the other in the island of Mauritius. Courteen was now refused all help by his father-in-law the Earl of Bridgewater, because he was a bankrupt, and his claims were taken over by Sir Edward Littleton and Sir Paul Pindar. It appears that in October 1647, Charles I wrote a letter to the States-General, declaring that Courteen was the real person entitled to compensation, and Courteen realized his dues from the Dutch East India Company. But Carew and Powell, the executors of Pindar who had died in 1650 put forward claims for satisfaction in 1653 and revived their demands before the Treaty of Westminster was signed. As no decision was reached, the Treaty, as stated before, provided that the suit already commenced should be continued.

1. S. P. for Holland, vol. 168, fol. 203.

Some time after the conclusion of the Treaty, Downing demanded reparation for the two ships. The Dutch East India Company rightly stated that the compensation had already been paid to the man vouched for by the English King himself as the rightful owner of the vessels. Downing maintained that Charles I's letter was no more than an ordinary letter of recommendation, that which gives no right, nor is to be produced in evidence, but only gives an occasion to examine a business. . . . And for his late Majesty, it is to be considered that he knew well that these ships had been set out by Courteen and therefore could not deny him a letter of Recommendation. Especially being a person who had deserved so well from him, but at the time he wrote that letter, which was in the year 1647 when he was at Hampton Court, had neither his Privy Council nor Court of Admiralty about him, by whom to be informed either of Courteen's having passed all his interest in them to others, or of his present bankrupt condition and so, less weight is to be put upon this than on other ordinary letters of recommendation.' Downing further insisted that the late treaty was to be interpreted to mean that 'His Majesty's Ministers and the Deputies of the States General and no other should try the case, for it was agreed previously that the matter should be ended in a politic way,' and not 'left to the ordinary course of justice.' He added that he had Charles II's particular instructions that the matter should be disposed of in no other way.

In the Anglo-Dutch dispute, the affairs of two other ships loomed large, viz., the *Hopewell* and *Leopard*. In 1662 the Dutch were besieging Cochin, a Portuguese possession, both by sea and land. The *Hopewell*, a British ship, was commissioned to sail from Surat to Porakad. On her way she was prevented by the Dutch besiegers from proceeding and her captain was forced to return to Surat. Very similar was the case of another vessel, the *Leopard*, commissioned to load at Karwar and Porcatt. Regarding the *Hopewell*, Downing was told that she was really destined for Cochin and not Porcatt. But Downing produced evidence to the contrary and pointed out that the ship was 'only passing along the coast from Surat for Porakad and was met with by a Holland's man of war, about 5 leagues from Cochin.' About the *Leopard*, the Advocates of the Dutch East India Company said that Porakad was really a dependency of Cochin, so that the Dutch 'might lawfully forbid any others trading there.' Downing replied that the *Leopard* had not gone to Porakad on any military purpose, but simply to load the goods lying there. As Porakad belonged to a native chief, the Dutch occupation of Cochin was not in the least connected with the English trading at Porakad. Assuming that the chief had surrendered himself to the Dutch, the English should have been given sufficient notice for removal from Porakad.

Later on, we find in Downing's letter dated the 18th March (P. S.) 1663 that Downing convinced De Witt and the States-General that the *Hopewell* had been destined for Porakad and that, therefore, 'they must yield the cause.' But the advocate of the East India Company wanted

time, as the Company had not yet received any authentic account of the affair.

Regarding the *Leopard*, the Dutch insisted that Porakad had submitted to the Dutch and that, therefore, they had the right to decide who and in which ship the English cargo was to be carried. Downing maintained that whoever the rightful owner of Porakad may be, whether a native chief or the Dutch, it could not be doubted that the English were free to carry on their trade there. The fact that the Dutch had offered to carry the cargo in their own vessel did not absolve the Dutch of their fault, as the Commander of the *Leopard*, to whom this offer was made, could not out of his own choice allow the Dutch to do it. 'What assurance' asked Downing, 'could they have that such *Holland ship* had not carried them to Batavia, instead of bringing them to the *Leopard*?'

Another important subject of these negotiations was the question of the restitution of Pularoon. It had been decided that the Dutch should deliver the island to the English. In the letter dated 18th March (P. S.) 1663, Downing refers to a rumour that the English East India Company should sell off the island to the Dutch; but such a thing, if ever seriously proposed, was not to the liking of Downing and he exclaims: 'God, forbid any such thing should take place.' It was not until March 1665 that the English seriously asked the Dutch to surrender the island; and that was instantly done. But this event took place when war had been formally declared.

The affairs of the two ships *Charles* and *James* added to the complications. The Dutch agent on the coast of Africa on the pretext that the English East India Company was at war with the inhabitants of the coast of Africa had seized them. On 25th September 1664, the States-General replied that they did not allow that their servants had acted illegally, but in order to preserve the peace of Westminster they were willing to grant concessions and to arrange for reasonable compensation.

As demands and counter-demands were increasing on both sides, it was agreed that both the parties should draw up lists of damages. The Dutch list, containing some absurd items, was handed over as late as August 1664. Meanwhile a discussion was going on between DeWitt and Downing about 'moulding a relement for the future in the East Indies and upon the coast of Africa.' The prospect was so satisfactory that Downing 'was never more satisfied with Monsr. De Witt nor ever had more hearty expressions from him both as to his Majesty and a good correspondence, nor of more kindness as to my person' (Letter dated 8th April, 1664). Downing proposed, and De Witt agreed that '1. A place is not to be accounted besieged, upon the account of the lying of some ships before it and consequently trade not to be hindered upon that account. 2. That the being of either of the countries at War with any Prince in these parts is not sufficient ground upon which to hinder the trade of the other. 3. That the having of a fort or lodge in a place cannot hinder trading with the natives not subject to them and the like,

that having drawn up these common and fundamental necessary maxims then to try if we can bring the companies of either side to. 4. The sharing of any particular places in dispute so as that such a place should be left to the English only and the Dutch not to come there at all, and such a place to be left to the Dutch and the English not to come thither, and in this to go as far as we can with the consent of both the companies, and what we cannot agree with consent without spending of time to let it alone, and thus to lay the foundations for a future better correspondence.' (Letter dated 6th May, 1664). When some progress was made, De Witt suddenly said that the agreement should not be merely extra-European, but should be a general one and include Europe also. Downing tried to induce De Witt to a treaty concerning the East Indies only, such as had been performed in 1619 and 1622, as to include the European affairs would be to postpone the treaty indefinitely; but De Witt remained firm, and no settlement was arrived at when the war broke out.

It was the affair in Africa and America that precipitated the war. A Dutch fleet under Ruyter, who later on rendered valuable service in the war, had been cruising about in the Mediterranean for the last two years, and had evoked many complaints from the English. In 1664 De Witt withdrew that fleet, as the suppression of the Barbary corsairs was now complete. That very year, however, the Duke of York sent a fleet to Africa under Robert Holmes, with actual instructions to take possession of the Dutch settlements on the Gold Coast of Africa. Holmes carried out his instruction successfully and then proceeded to America and occupied some Dutch possessions there the most notable of them being New Holland, which was renamed New York.

De Witt sent an embassy to England under Von Gough and demanded satisfaction for Guinea. But Downing persistently refused to give any unequivocal assurance. De Witt therefore secretly ordered Ruyter, who had again been sent to the Mediterranean to deal with the Algerian pirates, to proceed to Guinea and to maintain the Dutch settlements there. This was done by somewhat questionable means, and the States-General and Downing alike were kept ignorant of the proceedings.

Feelings ran high in England when the news of Ruyter's expedition reached there. The King and Parliament felt that matters could no longer be delayed and war was declared on February 22, 1665.

Hague the 4th September, 1663¹ O.S.

RT. HON'BLE.

^{for}
1. Vol. By the last I gave an accompt of my arrivall in this country since

265.

1. O. S.: Old Style, the system of reckoning prevalent in England before the introduction of the reformed calendar in 1752, when 'in order to rectify the accumulated error due to the use of the old style, eleven days between September 2nd and 14th were suppressed, and gave rise to the popular cry of 'Give us back our eleven days!' Henceforward the legal year was to begin on January 1st, instead of March 25th, Robertson, England Under the Hanoverians, p. 191.

which time I have been in the Taylors hand for my Liveries¹ and soe forced to be a Lincognits till this morning when I went to the President of the States Generall to notifie my arrivall and to make him such complim into as are necessary and usuall in such cases, from who I receivea a Like returne with much cirlitie. And though it is not usuall for the States to take any notice of any publick Minister untill Report hath been first made in their assemblies of his having notified his arrivall, yet they day by advance sent their Agent to me concerning the business of the Protestants in Piedmont² and I have herein inclosed to you a coppie of their Resolution which they desire, During my being in a L'incognits I gave a visit to Dewit³ as is the custome of all publick Ministers to visit him first. And this day he return'd me my visit and with this complaint that he came not only upon his own accompt, but by Order of the States of Holland⁴ and that they had commanded him as their first Minister to give me this visit to bid me very heartily welcome into their Country and to desire me to assure his Majestie of their hearty good wishes for his welfare and the welfare of his Kingdomes ; I finde they much apprehend the growing greatness of France⁵ and that they may have need of the Majesties friendship upon that accompt, France being now very neer them as well above in

1. *Liveries* : The distinctive clothes to be worn by a man of the status of Sir George Downing.

2. *Piedmont* : A State in northern Italy included in the State of Sardinia, of which the capital was Turin. It was for long under the House of Savoy.

3. *DeWitt, John* (1625-72) : A famous Dutch Statesman. He was elected Grand Pensionary of Holland in 1653 and re-elected in 1658, 1663 and 1668. He was favourable to the exclusion of the young Prince of Orange from his ancestral dignities. In 1658-9, DeWitt sustained Denmark against Sweden and 1662 concluded an advantageous treaty with Portugal. DeWitt refused to allow the Prince of Orange to be appointed Stadt-General or Captain-General. This led to ill-will between English and Dutch governments and to a renewal of the old grievances about maritime and commercial rights, and war broke out in 1665. The Grand Pensionary himself went to sea and inspired all by his example of calmness in danger, energy in action and inflexible strength of will. The Treaty of Beda (July 31, 1667) maintaining the *status quo* was honourable to the United Provinces. In 1667, he promulgated his eternal edict for the republican government of Holland. A still greater triumph was the conclusion of the Triple Alliance (January 17, 1668).

On August 4, 1672, John deWitt resigned the post of Grand Pensionary. He died out of a savage act of an infuriated mob on August 19.

4. *States of Holland* : The most important of the States comprising the United Provinces, the others being Grovingen, Friesland, Drenthe, Overijssel, Gelderland and Utrecht. At this time, it was practically ruled by deWitt, though it had a republican constitution with an elected Assembly.

5. *Growing greatness of France* : France under Louis XIV, Richelien and Mazarin showed great propensities towards expansion. 'Richelien had believed it an important part of his policy to endeavour to restore all the territory which Nature seemed to have assigned to her. . . . Mazarin was forced to content himself with inducing Austria, at the end of the Thirty Years' war, to cede to France such rights as she enjoyed in Alsace. A few years later (1659) Mazarin compelled Spain to give up Artois, a few towns in the northern confines of France, and, to the south, all her trifling possessions north of the Pyrenees, —the barrier " which," as the treaty of 1659 recites, " formerly divided Gaul from Spain. " Louis' efforts to extend the boundaries of France were confined for the most part to the north and the east.—Rovinson & Beard : *Development of Modern Europe*, vol. I, pp. 14-15.

the Country by what they have now gotten in Loraine¹ as upon the Sea Coast, the States of Holland have this day disposed of the vacant places in their Militia and they have given Collonel Cromwells place to lieut Collonel Dolman his Lieut Collonel, the Admiralties are now here about the business of the Turkish Pirates and about the Laying an Impost upon forreigne Manufactures whereby to incourage their own and much debate there hath been about this matter, the Spanish Ambassador gave in last weeke a memoriall to the States Generall concerning eight private men of warre with Spanish Comissions taken by the men of warre of this Country, And I finde he is very angry about this business, but not like to gett much remedy, I finde that the most seeing in this Country are of opinion, that his Majestie will serve himselfe of the occacon of the Portugueses not haveing rendered Bombaim,² and thereupon hold himselfe at libertie for the future in relation to the business of Portugall and leave the King of France to doe his own worck himselfe, who is ten thousand times more concern'd in that business then his Majestie and who wants both worck and wayes of imploying his mony And they doe say that there is no other way but this of Ballancing the affaires of Europe³ nor of rendring his Majestie considerable even in France it selfe but by letting them beare their own burthen vizt with the King of Portugall : in whose affaires they are most concerned.

I am Sir,

Your most aff : humble Servt.

G. DOWNING.

1. *Lorraine*—' By the Treaty of the Pyrenees, France had strengthened herself. . . . in Lorraine. French troops had acquired the right to march through Lorraine '—Cambridge Modern History, vol. V. pp. 33

2. *Portugueses not haveing rendered Bombaim* : ' The East India Company had mooted the protect of the acquisition of Bombay in February 1660. to the Portuguese ambassador, but had received a discouraging reply. The suggestion was however conveyed to the Portuguese King, and in summer of the same year. Francis So de Mello, the Portuguese ambassador, proposed a match between Charles and Infanta Catharina, daughter of John IV and sister of the reigning king, Alfenso VI. He offered the cession of Tangier and Bombay, commercial privileges and complete liberty of conscience for English merdrants and a dowry of two million crusados. The Treaty was signed on June 23, 1661, and the marriage followed in May 21, 1662. Charles became pledged to assist Portugal with 2000 foot, 1000 horse and 10 ships of war until her independence was attained. . . . It was the provision relating to Bombay that proved a source of constant trouble to Portugal and England. It involved the Company in endless negotiations, fruitless despatches, ceaseless complaints and constant worry.' Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations*, pp. 439-40.

3. *Ballancing the affaires in Europe* : Downing suggests that England must have a free hand in the affairs of Portugal, uninterrupted by the consideration of France. This would be the best way of maintaining the balance of power in Europe, which was being disturbed by Louis XIV. This would also raise the prestige of England abroad.

(Addressed)

THESE

FOR THE RIGHT HONBLE. SIR HENRY BENNETT ¹

ONE OF HIS MAJESTIES PRINCIPALL SECRETARIES OF STATE,

AND ONE OF HIS MOST HONBLE. PRIVY COUNCELL AT WHITEHALL,
LONDON.

Hague the 11th Sept. 1663 : O : St.

SIR,

I received yours by the last post with the inclosed concerning the Royall Company I shall not faile in my utmost for them but God helpe ^{s. Holl: 167,} them, if they depend upon paper releife. To have the Admirall of England ² and the King his only brother, for their cheife, and the King himselfe so much concern'd both in purse and affection, but whatever injuries the Dutch doe them let them be sure to doe the Dutch greater, and then let me alone to mediate between them but without this, all other wayes will signifie not a rush, for that you doe not injure them, as well as they you, they do not consture (see, construe) to proceed from love or generositie or regard of justice, but only feare, And so long as they thinck they are afraid of them, and will take no other revenge but complaints, you may complaine on, but without remidy, And instead thereof expect farther affronts and injury pray let me have your weekly correspondence and newes and comand.

Sir,

Your very affectionate friend
to serve you

G. DOWNING

when you have read the inclosed to Sir Henry Bennett pray seale it and send it forward.

1. *Sir Henry Bennett*, Earl of Arlington (1618-1685): Travelled extensively on the continent during the Civil War. He might have been a Catholic throughout his life, but never gave it out publicly. In 1663, he was procured a seat in Parliament by Clarendon. By nobody is he mentioned with trust or affection, but as a selfish schemer. In 1663, he was made a baron. After the fall of Clarendon (1667) Bennett's influence decreased. By 1670 he was a member of the Cabal ministry. He helped Charles in the conclusion of the secret Treaty of Dover. In 1672 he was made an earl. In 1674 he was impeached by the Commons for assisting in the Kings' evil measures, but the proceedings fell through. His credit declined rapidly and he was held to ridicule before the public.—

— --*Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. IV, pp. 230 ff.

2. *Admiral of England*.

(Addressed)

A MONSIEUR

MONSIEUR WILLIAMSON¹ SECRETAIRE

DE MR. LE CHEVALIER BENNET

A WHITEHALL

LONDRES.

Hague the 18th Sept. 1663 : O : St :

RIGHT HON'BLE.

^{for} Cuneus the Dutch Secretaire at London, wrote to the States Generall
^{Vol.} the last week, that there were very extraordinary impositions newly layd
^{286.} by Act of Parliament upon all English Manufactures coming into Scot-
land, And much use thereof hath been made here and will be to incourage
them to doe the like to English manufactures comeing into these partes,
And being informed by perticuler letters to my selfe ; that the ground of
pretence for doeing this is alleadged to be the Parliament of England's

1. Williamson, Sir Joseph (1633-1701), son of Joseph Williamson : In 1660 he was appointed in the office of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State. His status improved in 1661, when he was appointed Keeper of King's library at Whitehall. In 1662, Nicholas was succeeded by Bennett, and Williamson was transferred to him as Secretary. In 1665 he was secretary to Arlington, head of the Post Office. He tried to get into Parliament in 1667 and 1668 but was successful only in 1669. He was knighted in 1671. Appointed Secretary of State in 1674, but removed from office in 1674. In 1682, he was the Recorder of Thetford and in 1696 a Privy Councillor. Died at Cobham, Kent, October 3, 1701.—

—Dictionary of National Biography.

^{167,} Having come to know that an Act of Parliament of Scotland imposed tax on all English manufactured
^{18th} goods coming into Scotland, and that the ground for doing so is the English Parliament's having imposed
^{663.} a similar tax upon all Scotch commodities coming to England, Downing makes the following observa-
tions : Scotch wool and wool-felts brought to England are tax-free ; for corn imported from over the
seas a considerable duty has been laid for the encouragement of English tillage. Scotch corn comes to
England by land-route and is thus tax-free. This favour to Scotland was intentional. Sheep and cattle,
imported from every other country (including Ireland) were taxed, but Scotland was exempted. The
Navigation Act imposed a high tax on fish of foreign catching, but here again Scotland was favoured.
Scotch coal was taxed, but not much higher than Newcastle coal. The crux of the problem was salt, on
which an Act of 1662 (when Downing was in Holland) imposed a tax of halfpenny per gallon. In Crom-
well's time, though England, Scotland and Ireland formed one commonwealth a duty of halfpenny per
gallon was imposed on Scotch salt more than English ; the reason was to create an equal balance of salt
trade between the two kingdoms, as Scotch labour was cheaper. Had the tax been not imposed, the
English salt pans would not have worked. Now that the act has been passed in Scotland, the result would
be that English salt pans would no longer work, and the inferior type of coal that was burnt for it, viz.,
pan-coal would find no other use. Many workers in salt and coal in England would be turned into beggars.
It is sure that Scotland has uselessly passed the Act. Downing suspects that the Earl of Weymo and
Mr. Bruce (Earl of Kincarden) two great salt masters, were the promoths of this sort act, whereby they
thought of foreigning England to withdraw the duty on their salt. This act must produce resentment
all over England. Downing thinks that it will encourage smuggling through the borders. The cordiality
between England and Scotland would be broken and that between Scotland, France and Holland would
increase. For English goods sent to Scotland would now have both an import and an export duty to
pay ; while goods imported from France and Holland would have only one duty.

haveing imposed great Rates upon all Scotch Commodities coming into England makes mee that I cannot but say these few words to it ; The Commodities of Scotland are wooll, woollfells, Corue, Cattell, sheep, fish, coales, and salt, now for Wooll and Woollfells brought thence into England, they pay nothing at all, And for corne whereas by the late Act of Trade, when it is under such a price if imported it payes a considerable dutie for the incuragent, of Tillage in England, yet it is so pen'd that it reacheth not to Scotch Come : the wordes being Come imported from the parts beyond the seas, which Scotland is not. And the most of their Corne comes in by land over the Borders to Newcastle and those partes, And I doe assure you I pen'd it so on purpose in favour to Scotland and declared as much to severall at the time of penning it. And for Gatland sheeps though in the yeare sistie there was 2s. 6d. a heard imposed on Irish Cattell and 5s. the scoare upon Irish sheep, yet there was nothing at all imposed upon Scotch Cattell, or Scotch sheep, And whereas by the Act of Trade passed this Summer Cattell and Sheep of any Country but Scotland have only till the 1st July in every yeare for their importation into England for the encouragement of the grazeing grounds of England, Cattell and sheep of Scotland have free libertie of comeing in till the 24th August in every yeare which is as much as if they had the whole yeare, And for fish whereas by the Act of Navigation there was considerable Rates layed upon fish of forreigne catching, I did put a perticuler Proviso into that Act for the eximpting of all fish caught, saved and cured by the People of Scotland from the said Rates, And for Scotch Coale, whereas Newcastle Coale carried to London or any other parte of England, pays for every Chalderon (which is not above a Tonne and three quarters) 3d. to the Towne of Newcastle and 12d. to the King, Scoatch coales brought to London, or any other part of England pays only 4d. the Tonne ; So that you see hereby how farre all the Commodities of Scotland are from being overcharged. But all this noise comes from the buisiness of Scotch Salt upon which in one Act intituled An Act for preventing frauds and regulating abuses in his Majesties Customes, there is imposed an halfe penny per Gallon, now this Act passed in the yeare 1662 : when I was in Holland nor did I know any thing of the cloeing thereof till it was done, but give me leave to State the Case aright to you ; for I have been acquainted with it these many years In Cromwells time, though England Scotland and Ireland were made one Commonwealth (as it was called) and all Customes taken away for Goods passing out of the one into the other, yet for the encourageing of the Salt pans at Sheeles by Newcastle and in other partes of England, there was constantly this duty of halfe a pennie Gallon paid upon Scotch Salt more than English, And I very well remember haveing been att many meetings of the English and Scotch together about this buisiness that it was always clearly demonstrated, that in regard of the difference of wages in those parts of England where Salt was made, and in Scotland and in regard the Coales were now raught (see) so farre from the River of Tine, that this charge of a halfe penny Gallon was but an

equall ballance of that Trade between the two kingdomes, and that without it it was impossible to maintaine the Salt pans in England, but that the Scotch would gett the whole Trade to themselves of furnishing England with white Salt, and I leave it to you to consider, whether it be adviseable to loose such Trade in England, whereby we should have no white Salt but at the pleasure of the Scotch, which is so necessarie a commoditie, and of so great a consumption, and so many people who now gaine a comfortable livelihood to be turn'd a begging ; and soe vast a sum of money yearly carried out of the Kingdome, which now remaines at home and when once the English pans are downe, it will be in the power of the Scotch to sett what Rate they please upon there Salt, besides the Scotch have libertie to export their Coale all the world over paying a very small Custome whereas the English cannot carrie Newcastle Coales to any part beyond the Seas, but that they must pay 8s. the Chaldron Newcastle measure and 5s. London measure ; so if they can neither burne them to make Salt, nor export them, what shall they doe with them, And thousands of people in those parts would bee put to beggery, besides the Salt is made of the worst sort of Coale called panne Coale ; which is good for nothing else but to make Salt with, so if the Salt pans goe downe what shall become of that sorte of Coale, you will finde it will be mingled among the good Coale and sent to London and other parts and soe you will have no Coale at London or elsewhere that you will be able to make use of, And if the Custome house bookes be examined you will finde that there comes in yet notwithstanding this dutie dayly great quantities of Scotch Salt and soe will notwithstanding this dutie, And therefore you see how little reason there was for passing such an Act in Scotland as is now passed, and how much his Majestie hath been abused by misinformation to induce him to give his consent thereunto, if it be given ; I believe I can name the persons that have been the Promoters thereof vizt the Earle of Weymo and Mr. Bruce now Earle of Kincarden two great Salt Masters, who would thinck by this terrible Anathematizing of all English Comodities to force the Parliament of England to take downe this dutie upon their Salt, to make up their Salt, to make up their perticuler fortunes by so great a prejudice as that would be to the whole kingdome of England, And you must thinck it must have a strange resentment : with all in England, that Cloth and all other Manufactures shall be so charged out of England and not out of Holland or France, or any other Country, and will be farre from produceing the intended effect in the house of Commons, when it shall come in debate there, as certainly it will, and they shall see how little occassion there was given on their side for an Act of this nature ; I could not but give you these my short thoughts upon this buisiness, and could heartily wish that you would be pleased to shew it his Majestie I am sure it will be much to his prejudice in point of his Customes for this is certaine, that the manufactures of England the Scotch must have them in a great measure for the present at least, but whereas they were carried in openly and fairly, and paid his Majestie

two Customes, now they will be stolen both out of England, and into Scotland, and will be forced to pass the Bordders privately in the night to that end, But this will by little and little breake the correspondence between the people of England and Scotland and increase it between the Scotch and Dutch and French, which I am sure is no good polycie and cause the increase of those Manufactures in Holland, and France for the supplie of Scotland which Scotland now hath out of England And whereas for such comodities as the Scotch are supplied without of England his Majestie hath two Customes vizt, one out of England and the other into Scotland, for what they have out of Holland or France the King hath but one Custome, and againe for what Comodities the Scots buy in England, the mony remaines still within his Majesties Territories, but for what they buy in Holland and France the mony goes out of his Kingdomes and forreigne people employ it :

I am

Sir, Your most affectionate humble servant

G. DOWNING.

(Addressed)

These

FOR THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR HENRY BENNET
ONE OF HIS MAJESTIES PRINCIPALL SECRETARIES
OF STATE AND ONE OF HIS MOST HONBLE. PRIVY
COUNCELL AT WHITEHALL LONDON.

Hague the 18th Sept : O : St :

RIGHT HONBLE.

The States Generall have by their resolution on Satturday last confirmed the Introduction mentioned in my last, for Mortaigne their Commissaire to them of Algier, and Tunis, and they have allowed him the Sallarie of 18 Gilders a day and ordered him to be gone with the first, they would faine have that buisiness off their handes ; But the Collections in Holland for the redemption of their people that are at Algiers, came to scarce tenne thousand pound sterling, And the rest of the Provinces have collected scarce¹ any thing and it is said that fiftie thousand pounds will be requisite to redeeme all the Hollanders that are there and therefore it is much questioned whether those of Algiers² will not upon this accompt quite

S.
Holla
163, f

1. Rest of the Provinces have scarcely collected anything : The other Provinces of the Dutch republic being jealous of the supremacy of Holland have not raised any money for the redemption of the Hollandese.

2. Algiers : Capital of Algeria, a country in North Africa, bounded west by Morocco, north by the Mediterranean, east by Tunisia and south by Italian Libya and French West Africa. At this time it was under the Turks.

breake with this Country, the time being already so much expired in which the money was to have been paid for them all : Here is very much discourse concerning the Act of Oblivion passed by discourse concerning the Act of Oblivion passed by the States of Holland this Assemblée, it being indeed of a strange nature for giving and indempnefying against things to come ; as well as past, to indempnifie not only such as have made any propositions of any kinde in their Assemblée and such as have acted in the execution of them for the good of the State (as they call it) but such as shall make any such propositions or act in the execution of them, And it is said that some men must needs have strange apprehensions and feares for some thing as past, and as strange desseignes for the future or else there would not have needed any such Act as this, and they say that in Barneveelts time in the yeare 1619 he caused such an Act to be passed, and yet in 3 months after he was put in prison and within the twelve month his head chopt off ; The buisiness of the new Prayer makes¹ every day more adoe ; All the members of Overysell² have declared against it and the States of Zealand have conformed to the Resolution of the Province of Geldar³ against it, which very much troubles some here, And indeed matters began to grow very clowdie between Holland⁴ and Zealand,⁵ Thibaut and Dewitt the Pentionaire begin to clash highly, Thibaut haveing

1. *New Prayer* : ' Impatient to enjoy their supremacy at leisure the States of Holland determined to have it officially recognized, by ordering an alteration to be made in public prayers, as recited in their province. They proposed to modify it in such a manner as not to allow any precedence to the States-General. Many pamphlets had been published for and against the revision of the liturgy. The one which made most impression was the work of the Grand Pensionary's cousin, also called John DeWit, who had pronounced in favour of the new liturgy with the authority derived from his relationship. The Grand Pensionary had not encouraged him in thus taking this initiative, having no inclination for such innovations. ' It was forced upon him,' wrote the French ambassador, ' by his friends— ' After the discussion had prolonged for three weeks, the States of Holland enjoined upon all ministers of religion who were their subjects to offer prayers first for the States of the Province, their sole and legitimate sovereigns ; then, for the States of other Provinces, their allies, and for the deputies who represented them in the Assembly of the Confederation. The States-Generals, who personified, so to say, the union and sovereignty of the United Provinces, were thus deposed from their rank they claimed, and which had been legally appertained to them ; since they decided all questions of peace and war, the conclusion of treaties and even the maintenance of religion.'—Pontalis : *Life of John DeWitt*, vol. I, p. 292.

2. *Overysell* : A Netherlands province, bounded south and south-west by Gelderland, west by Zinder Zee, north by Friesland and Drente and east by the Prussian provinces of Hanover and Westphalia. The inhabitants for long had practised weaving as a home-craft, but capitalist Baptist refugees who arrived here in the 17th and 18th centuries organized it into an industry.

3. *Geldar* : A province of Holland. Its main portion forms an extension of the province of Overysell in 1579, the northern and the greater part joined the Union of Utrecht. Only the quarter of Roermonde remained subject to the crown of Spain, and was called Spanish Gelderland. The States consisted of two members—the nobility and the towns. The towns divided into four separate quarters, named after the chief town in each—Nijmegen, Arnhem, Zutphen and Roermonde. The nobility possessed great influence in Gelderland and retained it in the time of the Republic.

4. *Holland* : See above.

5. *Zeland* : The largest island of the kingdom of Denmark, 2636 square miles in area.

bestowed three of the principall charges of that Province without any private of Devett, and those of Zealand are very angry with Holland, about a new imposition upon Salt and speake of makeing a high retaliation, for composeing matters, there are foure of Holland, deputed by the States of Holland to goe to Zealand principally about the business of Salt the new Prayer : And whereas the Secretary of the Councell of State hath been lately sick and is not like to live long, to trie if they can under hand dispose that province when that charge shall become void, to give their voice that Slingerland may have it who is now Pentionaire of Dort, and Dewits friend and so by him and Beorning he would be absolute Master of that Colledge, but it is believed they will be able to effect little in any of these Pointes, that of the Prayer being already past and this of giving that Secretaries place to one of Holland being a thing that Zealand will be very jealous of. The buisiness of the new Prayer hath raised such apprehensions in mens minds that for the allaiging of those of Holland have under consideration a Declaration to shew that this Prayer hath innovated nothing in Pointe of Religion¹ but only in point of Order, which is a Civill thing And that they will not make any change in any manner of thing of Religion ; The Portugall Envoy which is come hither from London, yesterday sent in his letters or credence and demanded audience, I finde very little sence here of the Turcks great in roade, and Progress, they say it is farre from them let the Empire looke to it : I have herein inclosed a coppie of my Memoriall which I have this weeke given in to the States Generall, persuant to the Instructions sent me by the Post, this trick of the Hollanders to declare warre with the Natives in the East Indies and upon the Coast of Africa, with whom his Majesties Subjects have any Trade, and then to forbid them thereupon all Trade with them ; and to continue the warre untill they have brought these Natives to an Agreement with them to sell them all their comodities and then to keep the English from trading upon the accompt that the Natives have agreed with them to sell all to them, This trick I say hath not only been the ruine of numbers of his Majesties Subjects but beaten them out of many mightie Trades and will certainly in conclusion utterly overthrow the English East Indian and African Companies² if nothing be applied for remedie but wordes³ there is nothing

1. *Prayer hath raised nothing in point of religion* : See p. 14, note. 1.

2. (Royal) *African Company* : ' Shortly after his restoration Charles had granted letters-patent for the formation of the Royal African Company (December 18, 1660), to which he subsequently granted a charter (June 10, 1663). The Duke of York was the special patron of this Company and one of its founders. At his instigation in October 1663, Robert Holmes, with a small squadron, was sent to the African coast to protect the trade of the company against the Dutch, which he effected by capturing most of the Dutch stations there.' (Cambridge Modern History, vol. V. p. 108).

3. *Nothing be applied . . . but . . . words* : Such statements are constantly come across in Downing's Despatches. He repeats that the Dutch do not care for complaints lodged against them, unless the complaints are backed by something substances. Charles II himself had his grudges against the Dutch, ' and this animosity on Charles' part could not have been better served than by Downing, his Minister at the Hague, who was never without expedients to conjurent and perpetuate differences.'

Pontalis op. cit., p. 309.

makes them here more proud as to have the English come hither eternally with complaintes while their People are unmolested advance their Trade¹ and obtaine their ends, this State haveing once or twice complained to the King of Spaine of the private men of warre with Spanish Commissions, that they visited their ships and troubled their Trade, without farther delay sent Vice Admirall Cortinar upon the Coasts of Portugall with a Squadron of ships with order to take all of them he could meet with, who in pursuance there of hath already taken nine of them, and now that the Spaniard crye as well as they, they will have reason ; and truly I am of opinion it were better that I should make no complaintes at all here, but let his Majesties Subjects patiently suffer whatsoever it will please the Dutch to doe to them then to complaine, and nothinge to follow there-upon ;² thereby to lett them see, that his Majestie will not be put off which wordes and delayes, I am sure this mealeie way is not the meanes to hinder a warre between England and this Country by the most certaine and undoubted way to bring it on, makeing them so farre to presume as (as you finde) to add one injury to another and believe it the more the may the more they will, whereas on the other hand, pay them in their own kind, and sett their Subjects a crying as well as his Majesties and you will have a very faire correspondence and they will take heed what they doe and his Majestie shall be as much honoured and loved here, as he hath been dispised, for they love nor honour ; none but them they think both can and dare bite them ; the King of France his Subjects have now right³ done them, and so that the English in Cromwells time,⁴ and haveing newes that the Swedes are setting out two Stout men of warre. for the Coast of Africa,⁵ to revenge themselves of the injuries they have suffered there, by this Country, they are here accomodating these matters which the Swedes in earnest, whereas the Poore-King of Denmark cannot so much as get a civill answeare from them for what his subjects have had taken from them in those Parts, to whom yet in point of kindness and obligation (if those Arguments were of any force) they owe more then to

1. *Unmolested advance their trade* : Downing says that the inefficient Dutch policy of the English is resulting in the growth of the Dutch trade at the expense of the English.

2. *Than to complain and nothing to follow thereupon* : See p. 15, note. 3.

3. *French subjects* : refers to the vigorous trade policy of Colbert the minister of Louis XIV.

4. *England in Cromwell's time*—refers to the vigorous policy of Cromwell to encourage English trade, and his wars with Holland for the supremacy in sea. The Navigation Act of 1651 was the result of the same anti-Dutch policy.

5. *Coast of Africa* : The west coast of Africa, where the Dutch had established themselves. 'The Dutch were later in the field than either the French or the English, but when they came it was with greater energy, and with the intention of ousting the Portuguese. The island of Goree, off Cape Verde, was acquired in 1617, and in 1624, Fort Nasoan was erected at Mouree, on the Gold Coast. The capture of Elmina (1637) was followed five years later by the taking of the Portuguese fort at Axim and hence-forward the Portuguese recognised the predominant position of the Dutch upon the Gold Coast.

(Cambridge Modern History, vol. IV, p. 759)

all the world besides, for that he (torn off) only gives them such great priviledges in all (torn off) Dominions in point of Trade, but at their instiga(tion) undertooke the late warree against Sweden, which cost him the best part of his Kingdome : I have as yet none from you.

I am Sir
Your most aff : humble Servt.
G. DOWNING.

Holland will have an Ambassador for Muscovy to counter (carre)* his Majesties Ambassador's wishes Amstreddam pushes it on

*This
is illegi

(Addressed)

THESE

FOR THE RIGHT HONBLE. SIR HENRY BENNET
ONE OF HIS MAJESTIES : PRINCIPALL SECRETARIES
OF STATE AND ONE OF HIS MOST HONBLE. PRIVY
COUNCELL AT WHITEHALL LONDON.

Hague the 25th Sept. 1663 : O. St.

RIGHT HON'BLE.

The late Resolution of Zealand concerning the new forme of Prayer¹ and the other pointes in difference betweene Holland and Zealand, but especially in so farre as it relates to the said Prayer makes a great more here, and the more for that those of Zealand tooke the said resolution immediately after those of Holland had notified to them their intention of sending some Deputies to them about those matters and in regard the Zealanders have also now printed and published their Reasons which moved them to take the said Resolution concerning the Said Prayer, this buisness hath kept the States of Holland in imployment all this weeke, in draweing up and forming Instructions for their Deputies that are to goe to Zealand and prepareing answers to their Arguments And I perceive that if Holland will reduce those of Zealand to come to them in pointe of repaire that they would yeild very much in other thinges, they are so much sett upon the carrying this buisness forwards, And finde that they are not yet out of hope and if they cannot obtune their end, yet they say they will maintaine it (in) their own province, and oppose Zealand in all matters wherein they have to doe with them : The West India (torn off) here have newes that a Castle at Cape Corse² is delivered (torn off) by the Natives who were in possession of it at the month of the (torn off) there and they say, that haveing now this Castle and their Castle (torn off) Del

S. P.
Holland
167. fo.

1. *Zealand* : Concerning Prayer, See p. 14, note 1.

2. *Cape Corse*—

Mina that they will absolutely prohibite all Nations from trading thereabouts and it is said that the Trade there is the best in all Guinea ; this Castle doth of right belong to the Danes and now that Haniball Lessted is to come to London, if he could so manage matters, as that the Danes should reseigne to his Majestie their Interest in this Castle, it would be a good business and it will now be a fitt time to press an Agreement that such English ships as will may be branded and being branded to injoy the same priviledge of paying according to their Branch as the Dutch doe, which I doe assure you would be a great advantage to the English Navigation to Norway and the Sound,¹ and it is neither kind nor just, nor fitt for his Majestie to suffer that his Subjects should have worse treatment² in the King of Denmark's Country then the Dutch, and it is those bulckie Trades that give the greatest imployment to shipping ; and I am certaine, that till this priviledge be gained the comodities of these parts must and will be brought home in forreigne ships (and if I mistake not) the King of Denmark is not in a condition to deny his Majestie a thinge which he hath so much reason to expect, and insist upon, I have yet none from you.

I am Sir
Your most aff. humble Servt.
G. DOWNING.

(Addressed)

THESE
FOR THE HONBLE. SIR HENRY BENNET
ONE BY HIS MAJESTIES PRINCIPALL SECRETARIES
OF STATE AND ONE OF HIS MOST HON'BLE PRIVY
COUNCELL AT WHITEHALL LONDON.

Hague the 2nd of Oct: 1663: O: St:

RIGHT HON'BLE

P. for Newhusell³ was sarrendred to the Turcks the 19/29 Sept. having
nd. Vol. been thrice stormed by them and threatened a fourth they had condition
ol. 4.

1. *Sound* : the easternmost of the straits giving entrance to the Baltic Sea, from the Cattegat between the Danish island of Zealand and Sweden. Three Islands lie in it, Hven, belonging to Sweden, and Saltholm and Amager, belonging to Denmark.

2. *Neither just nor fit, etc.* : See p. 16, note 3.

3. *Newhussell*—(Nenhansel), a fort defending the course of the Denmark 'Nenhansel offered an invaluable resistance, and it was not till September 25 (1663) that the garrison surrendered with the honours of war. Montecuculi, too weak to attempt relief of Nenhanse, sought to cover Presburg and the eastern frontier of Austria by throwing himself into the long island of Schuttl, favoured by the two channels of the Danube, where he was joined by the warlike Ban of Creatia, Niklas Zrinyi, whose dashing guerilla tactics were landed by fiery patriots in contrast to the methodical procedure of the Commander-in-Chief.'

to march out with Drums beating, Colours flying and Ball in touche and 300 wagons loaded, to the next Garrison of the Emperor there were three thousand soldiers in the place at the time of the surrender, whereof about two thousand fitt for service and the Germans who were in it, would have held out longer but the Governed who was an Hungarian would not and most of the Hungarians stay in the Towne, and the Turks have given to each Hungarian thirtie Duccatoones.¹ Yesterday Mortaige took leave of the Estates Generall in order to begin his voyage for Algiers² and Boreele hath written to the Estates this weeke from Paris that he hath newes from Marceille that there were nine men of warre newly gone out of Algier with order to visit the English ships in like manner as the Dutch Hensiness the Estate that that Crowne intends to furnish the Emperor with sixty thousand men, but mentions nothing of the conditions and the Bishoppes of Ments and Cologue who also wholly drive on the Interest of France have sent to the Emperor to let him know that they are willing to come themselves in person to the Dyett,³ if he pleaseth to be there also and thus time runs away in eternall disputes and intrigues while the Turk doth his business, but if he advance a little farther France will be better then a frontiere ; And then must take other measures as well as others will take other measures of them in the meantime here is this weeke much discourse that the King of France intends to raise a hundred and fiftie Companies but I doe not see upon what fundament this Report is raised. The Portugall Envoy hath received for answere from the Estates Generall that they cannot lend his Master any mony, they expect mony from him upon the accompt of the buisine(ss) of Brazil, according to their late Treatie, the first day of payment being past ; The Estates Generall⁴ have also this weeke ordered that the Gold Baseins

1. *Duccatoones* : Ducat, a coin, generally of gold and of varying value. It was first struck by Roger II of Sicily as Duke of Apulia. The Ducat was current in Venice, Holland, Austria, Netherlands, Spain and Denmark.

2. *Algiers*: See p. 13, note 2.

3. *Dyett* : Diet, the assembly or Council of the Holy Roman Empire. The Diet referred to here is the one that met at Regensburg in 1663, which never issued a recess, and was never dissolved ; it continued in permanent session, as it were till its dissolution in 1806.

4. *Business of Brazil*.—'The death of Cromwell in 1658 prevented active English interference in the war with Portugal caused by the loss of Brazil, where Portuguese rebels against Dutch rule in Pernambuco had had at first the secret and afterwards the open support of the mother country. . . . There was no inclination in the Netherlands to send any expedition across the Atlantic to recover the lost colony ; but it was felt that there was a claim against Portugal for compensation ; and deWitt in 1657 determined to enforce it. War was declared against Portugal ; and the conquest of Ceylon and Macassar followed. In Europe the hostilities, which dragged on for some years, were confined to naval demonstration on the Portuguese coast.'

(*Cambridge History*, V, 146).

.....for nearly 20 years the Dutch and the Portuguese had been fighting over their possessions in South America and the East Indies. Cromwell had sought to mediate between the two States, and Charles pledged himself by a secret article in his marriage-treaty to follow Cromwell's example. Downing, the very diplomatist Cromwell had employed was despatched again to the Hague to continue mediation. On August 6, 1661, a treaty was signed by which the Portuguese retained Brazil and the Dutch Ceylon, but its ratification was retarded till December 1662, owing to disputes about the comparative privilege

made for the Commissions in France, and the mony for Mareshall de Turein to buy him two setts of Coach horses be sent to Borcele at Paris by the Agent de Heyde and that the presents be likewish sent for England. Here hath been much adoe this weeke in the Estates Generall those of Overysell are in great jealousie among themselves upon the accompt that the Order about the Prayer¹ which they know is past the severall members of their Province is not yet come to their handes and they take much of a Majors place of house being to given by those of Holland to a Brother and hath the sending out the Orders thereof. Moreover Groningen² presiding the last weeke tooke exceptions that Van Bunigen of Amsterdam came into the Assemblie of the Estates Generall to propose matters without haveing or shewing any Commission from Holland to give him the quallitie of a Deputies which together with the bestowing of that charge upon one of frize (of which I lately gave you an accompt) being done against the mind of those of Holland occasioned that Dewitt³ made upon Tuesday last a great harangue against corruption in the Estates and against Cupeing (as they tearme it here) or Caballing, and did propose in the nature of those of Holland, that the oath passed in the grand Assemblie of all the Provinces in the yeare 1651 should be taken by all the Provinces in the yeare 1651 should be taken by all the Members of that Assemblie which occasioned very great heat in so much that the Assemblie state till two of the Clock both upon Tuesday and Wednesday all declareing readiness to take the oath, but said they of Groningneh you of Holland are the greatest Cupers you saith he give by twentees and thirtie thousand Gilders : at a time even to the Members of this Assembly it self. I mean saith he you give to one a Cornets place, to another a Captaine on Majors andc or to their Brethren and Sons and by these corruptions and cupeinge (sayth he) you draw them from their Allegiance to their true souveraigns their perticuler Province of which they are, which sends them hither and sayed they we will have this to be declared to be against the said Oath, others proposed that as well all other inferiour colledges as the Estates Generall and all Ministers depending upon them and perticularly such as are imployed in any Ambassy should also take this oath, And let it be declared that all Ambassadors sent out are accomptible to the Estates Generall for their actions in their Ambassies and not to the particular Province of which they are whereby they might be detained from taking or following any other Instructions then what they receive from the Estates Generall others proposed that it be also first agreed who shall be the judge in case of breach of the said Oath and the Provinces have all signed to those propositions which will make some worck. We now begin to speake of the departure of the Deputies of Holland for Zealand. Dewitt

1. *Order about Prayer* : See p. 14, note 1.

2. *Groningen presiding took exceptions, etc.* : Van Bunigen of Amsterdam came into the States-General without showing the Commission from Holland, to prove that he was a deputy. This created stir and the President refused to permit him to sit in the States-General.

3. *DeWitt* : See p. 7, note 3.

hath written a long letter to Devett expostulateing with him the late resolutions of Zealand and Fannius who is his great Instrument there hath undertaken and gives out that matte shall goe in the next Assemblie to the Contentment of Holland and Thibant who was wholly raised by the late Prince of Orange and his father and is Burgo Master of Middelburgh bandys wholly the same way, and this is certaine that if Zealand can be brought to Dewits mind in the business of the Prayer and of the late Treatie made between the two Provinces concerning the Prince of Orange, that Holland will quitt the late imposition upon Salt and they doe verily hope by this meanes to give their end ; and to my knowledge the Dowager is sufficiently advertised there of that she may in time provide all flissingue and Tervere, if Holland can gaine Zealand they have done their buisiness, and if they cannot gaine them now yet they will not fall out with them, but Dewitt will still be at worke under hand among them, to gaine and take off the Principall of them by any meanes at any cost and in this is his excellencie and skill. Groningen hath also this weeke propounded in the Estates Generall that way Deputie before he take his place in that Assemblie should take an Oath to maintaine Religion¹ as it was established in the union at Utrecht which proposition also gives umbrage to those of Holland, who take it as made with reflection upon them and upon the accompt of the survises that are spread abroad concerning them upon this buisiness of the niw Prayer and it is said that those of Growingen will also propound the nominating of a field Marshall or some such Officer for the better regulateing their Militia. I am informed this week by one that hath a part in the ship, that there is a ship newly arrived att Rotterdam from Dublin with ninty packs of Wool each pack containing five hundred weight.² I am also certainly informed by one come this weeke from Zealand, that there are three ships newly arrived there from Dublin in full freight with wooll and I am informed by others that day by there comes into one or other part of this Country from thence wooll and if no effectual remedie be applied hereunto, it will be a very wonderful decay to the English clothing ; the Irish wooll being fit for all uses for which the English wooll is fitt and the wooll is bought so cheape in Ireland and gott out thence Custome free being loaded there by connivance of the Officers under the notion of carrying it for England, but in truth never retourne the Certificates or Cocquets to England as they ought, and paying no

1. *Maintain the religion* : See p. 14, note 1.

2. *Ships newly arrived at Rotterdam from Dublin, etc* :—' At an early period, the woollen manufactures of Ireland had won a high reputation and were exported in considerable quantities to foreign countries An act of the reign of Charles II prohibited the export of raw wool to foreign countries from Ireland as well as England, while at the same time Ireland was practically excluded by heavy duties from English markets, and as the Navigation Act of 1663 did not apply to her the colonial market was also closed against Irish exports. Their foreign market was, however, still open, and after the prohibition of the export of Irish cattle to England and the Irish farmers turned their attention of breeding sheep, with such good effect that the woollen manufacture increased with great rapidity. Moreover the improved quality of the wool showed itself in the improvement of the finished article, to the great alarm of the English manufacturers. '—*Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Custome in here, so as that if they have Irish wooll¹ they will be able to undersell any woollen manufactures, they shall be brought hither out of England. Irish wooll being cheaper here than English Wooll in England : and all woollen manufactures paying a Custome out of England and very great duties here, I had forgott to insert, that the Estates Generall have sent my Memoriall concerning the ships *Bona Esperanza* and *Bona Adventura*² to the Chamber of the East India Companie at Amsterdam but from there is nothing to be expected but the justifyinge themselves, they have also sent to the severall Provinces in pursuance of my memoriall to send in their severall damages where they have to pretend against the English and have ordered that a person shall be nominated to receive and forme the same into a List, they have also already received an accompt from the West Indies Companie concerning the buisness of the Ships *Charles* and *James*,³ but in regard it is only a particular answere not at all mentioning or relating to the insinuation given by Willre, I have desired that they would send to them againe, and not to give me any answere till they have a retourne thereunto, the maine buisness is whether Willet had Order to doe what he did, only in the mean while give me leave to aske, that expositulateing yesterday at large with Dewitt the unjustness and unwarrantableness of this way of the East and West India Companies⁴ of this Country, their declareing warre with such whom they had a mind to bring to their own Tearmes and then upon the accompt thereof hindring his Majesties Subjects from all Trade with them, he acknowledged to me in terminis that this way of theirs was wholly unjustifiable and unwarrantable and that they could not prohibite Trade with their Enimies except

1. *Irish wool*—See p. 21, note 2.

2. *Bona Eoperanza and Bona Adventura* :

In 1662, a treaty was made between England and Holland, establishing friendly relations between these two countries. In it there was a ' clause which permitted the owners of the English vessels, the " Good Adventure " and, the " Good Hope " " to proceed with the lawsuit which they had commenced. " This lawsuit which had lasted twenty years, originated in the caputtee of these two vessels whose owners had obtained damages from the India Company to the amount of 42,500 florins. But one of the parties interested, having declared that this sum had been improperly paid to the person who had previously made over to him his claims, and who had become insolvent and bankrupt, had brought an appeal before the court of Amsterdam. After long debate a compromise was proposed by DeWitt, and seemed about to be successful, when Downing overthrew it, by professing to be able to obtain double the indemnity, offered. In order to fix the sum at his own pleasure, he bought up the claim and

3. *Ships Charles and James*: In 17-27 Sept., 1663, Downing protested against the action of the Dutch agent on the coast of Africa in refusing to allow the *Charles* and *James* to take in slaves or to trade at Cormantin, on the coast of Guinea, on the pretext that the English E. I. Co. was at war with the inhabitants of the Coast of Africa. On 25th Sept., 1664 the States-General replied that they do not allow that their servants have acted illegally, but in order to preserve the peace concluded on September 14, 1662, they are willing to grant concessions and to arrange for reasonable compensation.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan : *Sources*, pp. 47 and 50.

4. *Unjustness and unwarrantableness, &c.* : In the Dutch war of 1665, both the English and the Dutch accensed each other of highhandedness and robbery.

in Contrabandis or to such individuall place as was actually and ready blocked up and besieged not by sea only but both by land and Sea, this I doe averre he acknowledged to me and I make no doubt as I have often hinted, but that, if my poore advise may be followed in this and in all other matters to bring these people to reason and that his Majesties name and authorities may be as much yea more reveered here in a very little time then ever Cromwells was, and his Merchants encouraged to trade, and his Majestie feele the benefitt of it in the increase of his Customes and shipping and imployment of his Seamen and this without the damage of a warre and on the country if they be suffered to goe on as they have done, the end will certainly be a warre. I have yours by the last Post and am very glad of your good health, I hope this will finde you and the whole Court well retourned to London, I like well of his Majesties intentions of appointing a Commission of English and Scots to consider of matters between the two Nations, it may doe well for Information and I shall be very glad to give any Assistance. I am though absent, and shall be glad to know who are pitcht upon to be of the Comission, for accordingly I shall judge of the issue of the buisiness ; but in the meanwhile let me say that what is done in England in relation to the Scotch Salt, was done merely out of an extreame and unavoidable necessitie, not for the overthrow ; but ballancing only of that Trade, but what is done in Scotland, is to the overthrow of the whole Trade of England, and to give it into the handes of Dutch and French without any maaner of advantage to the Scots themselves, and if ever this buisiness come into the house of Commons (as to be sure it will) it will produce I believe quite contrary effects to what they desaigne, what they have done is so extravagant and groundless, without any ground of provocation there unto, and if what they say was done, should ready be done in England, that is to say, a proportionable Tax layed upon their Salt and Coale, and Cowe and Cattell and sheep comeing into England, they would quickly see their error and crye Peecavi, the very Cattell that come yearly into England amounts to the value of three score thousand pound sterling and they pay in a manner nothing, And you cannot but remember what an outcrie there was against them, in the house of Commons this Spring by those of the North and West and Welch, and severall addressees of the grand juries of severall Countries, and for what the Scots say that they desire to have these thinges as they were in the time of King James, that Argument hath noe tye or obligation by Act of Parliament to that effect, And the Customes have been since that time changed in almost every perticular and you know that in King Jame's time they had in a manner what they pleased, and therefore to bring that up for a Rule would not be at all for England's advantage and I know not why upon the same accompt they might not as well demand the ungarisoning of Berwick and Carlile, if I am in any thing serve you I shall do it most willingly and as I told you at my coming out of London shall if you will allow me for it send you weekly such papers as passe heer, and what I send you shall be ready translated into

English and so save you trouble and time, so as that as soon as you receive the letters you may peruse them and I much desire to give you all the insight that may be into matters concerning this Nation.

I am Sir

Your most aff : humble servant

G. DOWNING.

I find a touch in Mr. Williamson his letter to me that the French Ambassador at London had spoke to him about (a) difference which he sayd was between D'Estrade¹ and me herer, in point of ceremony, it would require two sheets of paper at lest to give you an account thereof, but in a word Monsieur Koswing being heer about five years in the quality which I now beare visited Garrsarah the Spanish Ambassador before De Thon the french Ambassador heerupon De Thon (torn off) knowing else how to revenge himself (torn off) know that unlesse he would be contented without (torn off) hand and the door he could not receive him, whereupon Koswing came not at him at all and hereupon D'Estrade would that I should give him the hand and the door in his owne house a thing never demanded by any but De Thon, and by him not till that occasion, Chanutt the french Ambassador whom he succeeded nor De Bruncre nor any other other never disputed it, and I have it expressly in my instruction not to insist (e ? torn off) any Ambassador who shall dispute me the hand and door (torn off) his own house, besid the Estates themselves give it me in all conferences and this I observe to be sealect by a resolution, so if it shold be yealded to D'Estrade they would immediately flye from their resolution, and the Emperors ministres and ministres of Poland that are heer have neither of them visited D'Estrade upon this score. my paper is done.

1. *D'Estrade*: 'Making choice of a new ambassador whom he thought likely to receive the most cordial welcome at the Hague, he replaced De Thon by Count D'Estrades. De Thon was in ill order with the French government in consequence of his secret despatches of wicquefort . . . D'Estrades enjoyed the entire confidence of his sovereign, and was likely to find no difficulty in insinuating himself into that of the States. He joined to his high reputation as a diplomatist the military renown which he had acquired in attaining successively to the ranks of Major-General and lieutenant-general. Appointed mayor of Bordeaux for life as a reward of the services which he had rendered in Guyenne during the Fronde, he had been sent an ambassador to London after the recall of Charles II and had just induced the King of England to sell the town of Dunkirk to the King of France, who held him in high honour in consequence of the success of this negotiation . . . He had served his first campaign in the war of the United Provinces against Spain, under the orders of the Stadtholder Frederick Henry, who had rewarded his courage by giving him the rank of colonel . . . D'Estrades, who hoped to gain by his liberality the good offices of the principal deputies . . . was at first disconcerted by the disinterestedness of John deWitt . . . far from allowing himself to be gained over by D'Estrades, DeWitt won the latter by his manners and behaviour.'

—*Pontalis* : *DeWitt*, vol. I, pp. 281-2.

(Addressed)

THESE

FOR THE RIGHT HON'BLE : SIR HENRY BENNET
ONE OF HIS MAJESTIES SECRETARIES OF STATE AND
ONE OF HIS MAJESTIES MOST HON'BLE PRIVY COUNCELL.
ATT THE COURT ATT WHITEHALL

LONDON.

Hague the 9th Oct. 1663 : O : St :

RIGHT HON'BLE

All mens discourse here at this time is about the issue of the present negotiation between Holland and Zealand the Duputies apointed by Holland sett forward yesterday thither ward, the Resolution of Holland is briske in defence of their own Resolutions against those of Zealand, and theat of Zealand doe attempt any thing by retortion or otherwise that they will defend themselves how they can, and Orders are given accordingly to the comittee Dereade, but all this is but a Grymasse Dewit is wout alayes to take high Resolutions and those that will be afraid of wordes must never have to doe with him, but his plaine confidence is in the hopes he hath of gaininge some of the cheife of them and if he can obtaine his will in relation to the Treatie concerning the Prince of Orange, and the buisness of the new Prayer he will certainly gratifie them in the buisness of the Salt, and if he should not at present obtain his will, yet he will temporize with them and these matters may depend many years in his side the Estates Generall have againe this weeke let the Portugueeze know, that they will not part with Cochin ; letters are also written from the Estates Generall to such of the Provinces as have not yett furnished their Quoata towards the present for the Commissioners in England, that they doe expediate the sending in the (torn off) The Turks are marching to Presburgh¹ herein inclos (torn off) send the answere of the Estates Generall concerning the Ships Charles and James² belonging to the Royall Companie and I can say no more to it till I hear againe from them, the Estates denying that any thing was taken from the said ships and no proofes haveing been sent to mee to make it out I had none from you this week.

S. P.
Hollan
168, f^c

I am Sir,
Your moust affectionate
Humble Servant
G. DOWNING,

1. *The Turks are marching to Pressburg* : 'Charles of Lorraine had played his part manfully. He had impeded the supplies and interrupted the communications of the besiegers, and he had successfully defended Pressburg from the attack of Tokolyi.'—*Cambridge Modern History*, vol. V., p. 301.

2. *Charles and James*, two ships of the West India Co. destroyed by the Dutch. See p. 22, note 3.

(Addressed)

THESE

FOR THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR HENRY BENNET
ONE OF HIS MAJESTIES PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES
OF STATE AND ONE OF HIS MOST HON'BLE PRIVY
COUNCELL AT WHITEHALL

LONDON.

(ENDORSED)

9th Octob. 1 663 R. 1 3.

SR. GEO DOWNING

answ Octob. 16.

Hague the 16th of Oct: 1663: O: St:

RIGHT HON'BLE

P. for
land. Vol.
fol. 36. Tuesday last the Hollanders Deputies were brought to Audience in the Assemblie of the Estates of Zealand with 3 Coaches their Proposition was only in generall tearmes, referring all to conferences with such as should be thereunto appointed and the next weeke probably we shall know how matters are like to goe, in the mean while there is a very odd passage fallen out here this weeke upon Tuesday last Zealand this week presiding in the Estates Generall a Proposition was made by the Deputies of that Province for the putting one Okkerson a Zelander of Zurickzea into the Admiraltie of North Holland, in the place of one of that Province lately dead, and it so fell out, or those of Zealand did purposely take the time for the makeing thir proposition when Dewit was not in the Assemblie¹ and it was immediatly agreed unto nemine contradicente, and his oath given him and congratulated by every one, and sent away to take his place; the next morning came Dewit into the Assemblie of the Estates Generall with the whole Comittee Deraide harranguing highly against what had passed the day before and declareing that his Masters the Estates of Holland were willing that Zealand should injoy their priviledge they had hitherto had vizt., to have one of their Province in the Admiralty of North Holland but upon this condition that Holland might have one of their Province in the Admiralty of Zeland which (said he) though it is true we never as yet had yett there is as great reason Holland should sett in the Admiraltie of Zealand, as Zeland in any Admiraltie of Holland and in a word that they were resolved not to admit this man or any other untill Zeland should thave consented hereunto, this (as you will readilie believe) made a great stirre and that in the Assemblie,

1. When DeWitt was not in the Assembly: The Députies of Zealand proposed in the States-General to appoint one Okkerson, a Zealander, to a vacancy in the Admiralty. Anticipating opposition from DeWitt they intentionally chose a time when DeWitt was not in the States-General.

Zeland maintained that what was done was lawfully and duely done and what Holland demanded was a Noocltie and of which the Estates Generall could take no Cognizance yett in fine Dewitt gained to him Gelderland, Utrecht and Overysell, and so Zeland was forced to quitt the Chaire and Holland tooke it and voted with the helpe of these three Provinces that a letter should be sent after Okkerson to suspend him his takeing his place in the said Admiraltie for the present till Holland and Zeland should come to an Agreement in this matter, Zeland frieze, and Groningnen vehemently opposing this resolution, what the effect of this buisness will be in Zealand, few dayes will shew, but in the meane while it would seeme to signifie that as yett there is no underhand for certainly if soe he would never have done a thing of this nature especially at such a nick of time, and it is certaine that he hath also caused another letter to be written from those of Holland to take care to keep out Okkerson from takeing his place ; The Directors of the East India Companie have written a letter to the Estates Generall dated at Amsterdam this day seven night wherein they give them an accompt that as concerning the Ship Bona Esperanza and Bona Venture¹ the said Companie did looke upon themselves as injured that this matter should be reserved when all others were mortified yett that seeing it is soe, that they were ready when it should be prosecuted at Amsterdam to declare what they had to say about it, moreover they therein declared that their List of damages is ready to be exchanged against that of the English East India Companie and al so therein give an accompt that they had the day before received newes, that their forces had taken another place from the Portuguezes upon the Coast of Malabarr called Cananor.² Here is one come to this towne from Queen Christiana of Sweden to move this State in her name, to assist the Venetian for the maintaining Candia and that she will her sselve give one hundred thousand Crownes thereunto, but he hath not yett notified his Arrivall nor will doe any good on his message, the give no succours, here but where the Interest of their Trade is involved, as it was in the late warre in the Sound, There are some letters from france as if the King of France would not suffer his commissioners to take the Presents which are sending hence for them unless this Estate will suffer their Ambassoder to take Presents from him but of this there is no certainty ; I expect in my next what is it. I shall doe farther about the buisness of the two ships of the Royall Companie the West Indie Companie of this Country are now sending for the Coast of Guinea³ a friggatt of 12 Guns

1. *Directors of the East India Company, &c* : See p. 22, note 2.

2. *Coast of Malabar, called Caunanore* : In 1498 it was visited by Vasco Da Gama, who made a treaty with the raja, and built a fort in 1505. In 1656 the Dutch effected a settlement and built the present fort. In 1783 Caunanore was captured by the British and the reigning princess became tributary to the East India Company.

3. *Guinea* : The general name applied to part of Western Coast region of equatorial Africa, and also to the gulf formed by the great bend of coastline eastward and then southward.

with a Merchandman from Amsterdam and from Rotterdam. a fly boate which they have conv erted into a Man of warre and mounted with eighteene Guns and put 160 men on board her, she hath been twice at Sea, and driven back by contrary Winds ; there is also a considerable ship now goeing for that Coast from Zealand.¹

Hensins the Resident of this State at Stockholme hath written to his Masters here, that that Court hath lett him know that he must not expect the dispatch of any buisness there untill sattisfaction be made here for the injuries done to the Swedes upon the Coast of Guinie which is the only way of proceeding that these people understand ; who will never doe justice as long as they see they can be repayd with kindness, as in the buisness of the Guns cast away upon Scyllie.

Upon complainte made that some Pickeroons with Portugall Commissions have lately taken some Dutch ships in the Channell, order is given that the Admiralties take care therein, Monsieur Boreeh² writes this weeke that the King of France is levying one hundred sixtie two Troopes besides a filling up and augmenting the Old Regim I have yours by the last Post, and for what concerne the Royall Companie, I forbear till your next by which I expect what you will say to mee in answere to what I sent you in my last, but for Haniball Zestedd I doe not finde you are like it have his Companie so soon as is expected, my thinks it concerns his Majestic where and how the Prince of Denmarke is married the discourse augmenting here, is if his stay were upon that, I am glad you are so sencible of the prejudice by the importing wooll out of Ireland into this Country, the buisness of the Ships *Bona Esperanza* and *Bona Adventura*³ was to this day prosecuted by me in his Majesties name on the behalfe of the Proprietors in generall only so that there was no need of any such order as is made, there would have been time enough when the Beace was killed to have talked of the dividing of her skin, but as this buisness was not with two pence when I took it in hand so I assure you should it by any meanes come to be known here that there is any such contest or debate or doubt, who are the Proprietors it would not be worth two pence againe, the great objection which they have alwayes made is, that they have once payed already, and they would then quickly say we will pay no more, till we are sure of paying to a right hand, and the buisness is in it selfe so intricate and difficult to be brought to any thing, that there needed not such a new rubb.

For the Alarms, you have from the North I have seen too much either to feere or despise them, for Monsieur D'Estrade I hope ere this the answer he is to have is given to Monsieur De Cominges. I was above a yeer in debate with Estate themselves about this very Punctilie at Confernces with them, and at last carryed it and by a Resolution they yeald me

1. *Zealand* : See p. 14, note 5.

2. *Boreel* : Dutch ambassador at Paris in 1660 he negotiated, in the capacity of an ordinary ambassador, a friendly alliance with France. He was assisted by Conrad van Beuningen who was sent as an envoy.

3. *Bona Adventura*, &c. : See p. 22, note 2.

the hand and door at all conferences, and if I should give it to any Ambassador as your reason will easily tell you, they would hyghly blame me for having so contested it with them, who as Deputies are above all Ministers, and yet in this very Court after to yeald it to an Ambassador, and they would quickly withdraw their resolution and that buisness be unsettled again and god knows what other disputs I should be involved in every one would think to ride upon me, which would all fall on my Master, now that its also Known to all that I have an absolute instruction to the contrary and it would be sayd Franncce absolutely rules in England, and I dealt ingeniously in what I cant serve with honor to his Majestie and so as to be in that respect as to be able to do his buisness I shall rather desire to be con(t)ent with the title of Subject only and to retire home, Command always

Sir,

Your most aff. humble servt.

G. DOWNING.

(Addressed)

THESE

FOR THE RIGHT HON'BLE SIR HENRY BENNET
ONE OF HIS MAJESTIES PRINCIPALL SECRETARIES
OF STATE AND ONE OF HIS MOST HON'BLE PRIVY
COUNCELL AT WHITEHALL

LONDON

(Endorsed)

answered 30th

Hague the 23th of Oct: 1663: O: St:

RIGHT HONBLE

The Estates Generall have yesterday ordered the sum of ten thousand Gilders to be sent to Marechah de Tureine¹ instead of the two setts of Coach horses which he was to have had, and those of Frize, did thereupon move that another letters should be sent to such provinces as were defective to send in their Quote, for the Presents, for the Commissioners in England and it was accordingly ordered; Monsieur D'Estrade wrote a letter to the Estates of Zeland recomending to them severall Officers for his own Regiment in such places as were then vacant, with this complaint, that he wrote not that letter as Ambassador but as Collonel and their servant, hoping that now he was Ambassador he should not finde less of their favour in matters of this nature then formerly he had done, but

1. *Marechal de Turcin*: A great general of France, converted by the Jesuits in 1665. Fell in the Dutch war in 1775.

they refused him them all, and not only soe, but putt Dutch men in their steads. The Estates of Zeland have also ordered all their Offices to turne out all private soldiers that are new in their Troopes and Companies that are Papists¹ and that for the future intertaine no Papists in any of them, nor have they this Assemblie given any military office to any Papist at which Mr. D'Estrade stormes highly, threatening that he will write to his Master about it, and no doubt hee hath done it. By letters also yesterday from Middleburgh to some of the Deputies of Zeland in the States Generall here it is certified, that there had been severall conferences, with the Hollands Deputies there that they had gone through all the pointes of their Negotiation except of that of the Prayer without comeing to any understanding in any one of them, each sticking opiniatively to their own Resolutions, and that they were there, upon the buisiness of the Prayer, but little appearance of an Agreement therein, and it is certaine that those of Holland would reserve themselves in all other pointes, till they should see what they could doe in that, and if they could not come to a good understanding theirin and in the buisiness of the Treatie about the Prince of Orange Zeland must expect no condescension in any thing else, here will be strange sayings and contradicting one another in the Estates Generall : Dewit himsele sent me this weeke a Coppie of the prodigiously prolix letter that Holland hath sent to the severall Provinces about the new Prayer, I suppose to convince me in that buisiness but it is infinitely short of the paper I formerly gave you an accompt of which was printed by those of Zeland against it, It was this weeke printed in Harlom Gazett that his Majestie was about selling Jamaica, to the Spaniards for a Sum of mony. (torn off) there should be newes come to England by a ship which came from thence the 22th of July that (torn off) of the people should be already gone out of that Island for feare thereof. Moreover there are severall letters written hither that his Majestie was a bout selling of Tangier also to the Spaniards and some of the Estates themselves asked mee about it, I replied, that I neither knew nor believed any thing thereof, I have here inclosed a Coppie of my reply to the answere given mee by the Estates Generall concerning the ships. Charles and James² and I have made it a little larger, thereby to lay open that grand trick whereby by little and little they have almost beaten his Majesties Subjects quite out of the trade of the East Indies, and now endeavour to doe the like upon the Coast of Africa, that is to say by making warre with the Natives of such Countries as they could not bring to their owne tearmes and then keeping a few ships upon their Coasts and upon the accompt thereof keeping the English from all trade with them till such time as they had brought them to an Agreement with them to sell them all their Como (torn off) and then the Keeping off the English upon the acc (torn off) of such an agreement or otherwise seazing or building of one or more small

1. For the future they would entertain no Papists.

2. Ships Charles and James : See p. 22, note 3.

forts upon some harbour and then upon the accompt thereof challenging the whole trade of such a whole Coast I have as you see dealt very freely with them, but it were much better to say nothing at all, then only to speake, but when they shall once come to feele that his Majestie makes at good in fact, it will be great how to him, much advance his Customes incourage his Subjects, and make them more carefull here of their actions, and for the protestation therein against the insinuation of Wilree my Lord Chancellor gave me order to doe it and in round tearmes, and I hope in my next to heare of some such answer given to C uneas in answer to his Memeriall concerning those Pickeroones that troubled them, at Jersey ; as I hinted in my last to have been lately given to the Resident of this Country at Stockholme, and I must againe hegge that either no order at all be sent, to make a ny complaintes here concerning any injurie suffered by his Majesties Subjects or that it may appeare that they are not (as they say here) gained of course, but that you doe really lay them to heart Boreel writes word from Paris that they begin now there, to be sencible that this Progress of the Turck in Hungarie may come to concerne them a little nearer ¹ that they are troubled at the great preparation the King of Spaine makes against the Portugalls against the next Spring, and that it is reported there, that the King of Portugall hath sent to the great Turck to proferre to make a league with him against the house of Austria, and perticularly against Spaine ; and to proferre him the full use of all his Harbours for the Pirates of Algier, Tunis, Tripoli and all other his Ships : The Ellection of Brandenburg is now installed at Koningsburgh. This afternoon the Dawager and prince of Orange are come to towne.

I understand from Secretary Morice ² that the King hath given Monsieur De Cominges his answer concerning the point of Ceremony in debate between Monsieur D'Estrade and me, for my part I am such that thow this matter be but a matter of ceremony yet in this place as this (torn off) as this matter hath been debat (torn off) — dering the late dispute with the Deputy (torn off) Estats themselves I am sure otherwise would have layd his Majesty and me so low heer that it would have made me wholly incapable to serve him heer, matters may be done in a Princes Court which in such a republiq ue cant wher men look so much to outward actions, and Monsieur Pelnice master of the house to the Elector of Brandenburg ³ told me but the other day that being some few years since at Vienna as bare Envoyee from the Elector an Extra-

1. *Progress of the Turks, &c* : Downings says that though the Dutch are not immediately concerned, with the Turk advance, they may be so in the future if the Turk inroad continue in the interior of Austria.

2. *Secretary Morice* : Sir William 1602-1676. Secretary of State and theologian. Country justice in 1640, high sheriff of Devonshire in 1657. Elected to Parliament in 1648. In 1660, he was appointed Secretary of State. In 1668, he found his position intolerable and resigned. A renowned theologian and the author of many books.

—*Dict. of Nat. Biography*, vol. XXXIX, pp. 47.

3. *Elector of Brandenburg*, i.e., Frederick William, who vastly increased the possessions of Brandenburg — Prussia by diplomacy and war.

ordinary Ambassador of Spaine being then there, made difficulty of giving him the hand and the door in his house but he refusing otherwise to visite him, the Ambassador yealded and ga(ve) him both you find my inclosed memorial what I say to the Esta (torn off) of let me find how I am backed, and I am sure so long (torn off) can have all the asks you must expect still to be under the (torn) eporte of so petty an agent, and I had much better say nothing heer it being firmly believed that what orders are gi(en) me as to complaynts the issue is not at all regarded with you at Court, which makes th(em) bold and presumptions heer.

God send better news of her Majesties good health every day heer some rumors as if shee were dead, I have yours and am

Sir

Your most aff. humble servt.

G. DOWNING.

(Addressed)

FOR THE RIGHT HONBLE SIR HENRY BENNETT
PRINCIPALL SECRETARY OF STATE TO HIS MAJESTIE AND
ONE OF HIS MAJESTIES MOST HON'BLE COUNCELL ATT
WHITEHALL

(Endorsed)

Octob. 23 : 63th Hague

SR. G. DOWNING.

Answ : 30th.

Hague the 30th of Oct. 1663 : O ; St.

RIGHT HON'BLE

By letters from Zeland we are informed that the Deputies of that Province who were to conferre with those of Holland have at last yeilded to them in the buisiness of the Prayer¹ and that Zeland will not farther press their late Resolution concerning it, but every Province to be left to pray as they please And though I wrote in my last these of Holland persisted in the buisiness of the Salt and other matters, yet Zeland haveing yeilded to them in this they imediately yeilded to Zeland in the other, so that you see I was not mistaken in my gess ; nor is it new for Zeland to change the prsuealist resolution when they can gaine any little advantage by it, they have 5 times changed their resolutions concerning this Prince of Orange and D Wett the Pentionaire who was the man that layd the foundation of all these buisinesses with Dewitt yet now not findieing his accompt therein, and that they were carried on farther then he intended doth his utmost to oppose them, on the other hand Thibaut of Middle-

1. Have yielded to them in the business of the Prayer, &c. : See p. 14, note 1.

burgh a person wholly raised and trusted by the late Prince of Orange, and who at the said Prince's death injoyed thirteen district charges under him, he is the man that carries on the desseignes of Holland, and draws in such as would not be drawne in, but for him, and that assuredly the meaning must be good where he is ingaged, Flissing and Tewere¹ did oppose and it is said that in the Councell of the Towne of Middleburgh there was but one more for this Agreement then against it, we expect hourly an accompt, of what is done in the Estates themselves in ratefying and avowing what is done by their Deputies, in the mean time De witt hath appeared extraordinarily gay and jocound and on the other hand, the Deputies of Zeland in the Estates Generall are almost ashamed to looke any men in the

1. *Tervere*. A town in Holland, its modern name being 'Terwolde.

(To be continued.)

SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN- ENGLISH VOCABULARY

پ

پارسا : "Circumspect, prudent." (Sh. N., I., 53).

بخوبی سخنهای پاسخ دهید چو پرسد سخن رای فروغ نهید
از ایراکه پرورده پادشا نباید که باشد مگر پارسا
سخن گوئی روشن و پاک دین بکاری که پیش آیدش پیش بین

Answer his words appropriately : when he questions upon any matter, offer a suitable opinion ;

Since those fostered by a King must be nothing but circumspect,

Eloquent, enlightened, pure of faith, and foresighted in any affair which might occur.

پاشنه خیز کردن : "To spur up." (Sh. N., IV., 1926).

دل روشن را دراز تیز کرد مر آن باره را پاشنه خیز کرد

His bright and noble heart was stimulated (at the sight) ; he spurred up his horse (to meet the procession).

پاسخ دادن (with prep. به) : "to accede" (to), "acquiesce" (in). (Sh. N., III., 1461).

سترده شد از جان او مهر و داد هیچ آرزو نیز پاسخ نداد

Kindness and justice were erased from his soul ; he never acceded to any desire.

[Yazdagird, the father of Bahrām Gūr, is spoken of here].

پانید : "White sugar-candy." Cf. the German "Penidzucker," "White barley-sugar."

(پا) پای

پای: "Humble;" (lit., "feet" as opposed to "head"). (M., II., 323).
(Cf. پای "Humility"). (Steingass).

ای بسا دانش که اندر سر رود تا شود سرور بدان خود سر رود
سر نخواهی که رود تو پای باش در پناه قطب صاحب رای باش

How often does some knowledge run in the head in or that (the possession of it) may become a chief, (whereas) in effect (his) head is lost through it!

If you do not wish your head to be lost, be feet (i.e., on the ground, humble); be under the protection of the wise Kutb.

(طیامتَن): "To bear patiently, to hold up against." (Cf. Turkish). (M., II., 352).

شد شریف از زخم آن ظالم خراب با فقیه او گفت ما جستیم از آب
پای دار اکنون که ما ندی فردو کم چون دهل شو زخم میدار بر شکم

The Sharif was disabled by that oppressor's blows. He said to the Jurist: "I have sprung over the water,

(But) you bear patiently now that you are left alone and destitute (of friends). Be like a drum and suffer blows on your stomach."

—(with prep. با): "To cope" (with). (Sh. N., IV., 1911).

چو نامه بخواند زبان بر کشای بگفتار با تو ندارند پای

When (the Kaiṣar) has read the letter, use speech; they cannot cope with you in eloquence.

[Khusrau Parvīz is sending a letter to the Kaiṣar by Kharrād-e Barzīn and telling him to speak with his unequalled eloquence].

پای کشیدن (پا): "To stretch out (one's) legs." (M., II., 69).

که تو زان دوری درین دورای کلیم پا بکش زیرا درازست این گلیم

For (in reality) you are of that age (even) in this age, O Interlocutor; stretch out (your) legs, for this carpet is long.

پای گذاردن. "To set out, to walk, to step out." (Sh. N., IV., 2017, and 2021).

2017 :

همی باش تا من بجنیم زجای تو با لشکر خویش بگذار پای
چو زین رو و زان روی باشد سپاه شود در میان رای قیصر تباه

Remain, you, till I move from here, (then) with your troops set out.

When on each side there is an army, the judgment and counsel of the Kaişar will be helpless.

2021 :

فرو ماند شیروی گریان بجای ازان خانه تنگ بگذارد پای

Shirūy stood there distressed and weeping, (then) stepped out from that narrow chamber.

پای گرفتن "To grasp the feet, to fetter." (L. A., I., p. 153).

دست اجل که با و کس باید ارناید لڑ پای من نگیرد آخر بدستش آرم

If the hands of death, against which none can keep their feet, do not grasp my feet, I shall at last bring her to my hands.

[From a ترجیع by Farīdu 'd-Dīn, the Secretary].

انگندن (از پای انگندن) "To throw down, to knock down." (Sh. N., II , 505).

گرفتند نفرین بران رهنمای برخس فگندند هر يك زپای

They uttered curses on the (stupid) guide ; They knocked him down with blows dealt by each.

آوردن "To bring down, to make fall." (Sh. N., III., 1504).

مرشاه فرمود کین سبز جای بدینار و گنچ اندر آرد زپای

The King had commanded me to bring down this verdant and flourishing place by the use of gold and treasure.

نشستن "To sit down, to rest, to desist." (Sh. N., IV., 1902).

چو بندوی بگرفت استا وزند چنین گفت کز کرد گار بلند
میناد بندوی جزدرد ورنج مباد این اندر سرای سپنج
اگر من چو خسرو پیامد زجای چو بینم من اورا بجنیم زجای
مگر کو بنزد تو انگشتی فرستد همان افسر مهتری

When Bandūy took the Zend Avesta, he said : “ From the exalted Creator.

May Bandūy see nought but pain and trouble, may he be not secure in this transitory abode,

If he rest, when he sees the Prince on his return,
Until the latter has sent you a signet-ring and a crown of greatness.”

[Turner Macan’s reading of the third distich is

اگر نه چو خسرو بیا مد ز جانی نه بینم من اورا نه شینم ز جانی

The two negatives make a very awkward construction, and شینم is objectionable, though of course one could render :

“ Unless I fail to see the Prince on his return, I will not rest until, etc.” but this leaves no connection with the previous lines unless another اگر could be understood or taken from اگر نه which is impossible].

از سر پای : “ Quickly, immediately.”

بیای آمدن : “ To be brought down, to come to the ground, to fall.” (Sh. N., III., 1504).

بدو گفت موبد که از يك سخن بیای آمدن شارسان کهن
هم از يك سخن ده خود آباد کشت دل شاه ایران از ان شاد گشت

The Mūbid said to him, “ At one expression this flourishing and populous place was brought down

At one expression also the village became prosperous, and by that the King of Persia’s heart was rejoiced.”

بیای اندر آمدن (as بیای آمدن). (Sh. N., III., 1504).

چو مهر شدند آن که بودند که بیای اندر آمد سر مرد مه

When those who have been subject become rulers, the head of the ruling man is brought down.

بیای آوردن : “ To examine thoroughly.” (Sh. N., IV., 2009).

چو آن را مثنی گفت خسرو شنید باواز او جام می در کشید
بفرمود کین را بجائی آورد همان باغ یکسر بیای آورد
بجستند بسیار هر سوئی باغ بردند زیر درختان چراغ

When he played and sang that modulation, the King heard, and drank a cup of wine to the tones.

He ordered them to find out about it, and to examine the garden thoroughly throughout.

They searched much on every side of the garden, (even) carrying lamps under the trees.

—(Sh. N., I., 394) :

همه روز بانان درگاه شاه بفر مودتا بر گرفتند راه
همه شهرو برزن بیائی آوردند زن بدکنش را بجائی آوردند
بزدیکی اندر نشان یافتند جهانندگان تیز بشتافتند

The King ordered all the " Farrāshes " of the court to set out.

To examine thoroughly all the town and streets, and to find out about the wicked woman.

Those experienced men found some indications not far off, and they hastened on.

پای بودن : " To subsist. " (Sh. N., IV., 1770).

چنین داد پاسخ که تن تا زمان که بیش آید از گردش آسمان
بیپائی است دارونیاید بکار نگه داردش گردش روزگار

He gave answer thus : " Until the appointed time, which comes on from the revolution of the sky,

The body subsists, and remedies are not required, for the revolution of time preserves it."

پای شدن : " To come to an end, to cease. " (Sh. N., IV., 1892).

چو شد گردش روزهرمز بیپائی تهی ماند آن تخت وفرخنده جائی

When the revolution of time ceased for Hurmuzd, that throne and felicitous place remained empty.

پای کردن : " To appoint " (to some work). (Sh. N., III., 1504).

یکی با خرد پیر کردم بیپائی سخن گوئی و بادانش ورهنمائی
بکوشید و ویرانی آباد کرد دل زبر دستان بران شاد کرد

I appointed a wise old man, persuasive, having knowledge, fit to guide.

He used exertion, and turned the desert into a flourishing place ; rejoicing by this the hearts of the subjects.

—“ To bring down, destroy.” (Sp. Chrest., p. 114).

ماوتو بگذریم و پس ما بسی بود دور فلک بکار و قرار زمین بجا
و آخر بنفخ صور کند قهر کردگار بند فلک گسسته و جرم زمین بپا

I and you will pass away, and for long after us the revolution of the heavens will go on, and the stability of the earth will rest.

But at last, by the blast of the trumpet, the might of the Creator will break the bonds of the heavens and destroy the earth.

[From a “ *ḵiṭ‘a* ” by *Khākānī*].

پای ماندن : “ To be or remain in a subordinate position.” (Sh. N., IV., 1819).

پرهیز ازین جنگ و پیش من آی نما من که مانی زمانی پهای
ترا کدخدائی و دختر دهم همان از جندی و افسردهم

Abstain from this war and present yourself before me ; I will not let you remain a moment in a subordinate position.

I will give you kingly rule and my daughter ; I will give you distinction and a crown.

[The literal sense of پای ماندن is, of course, “ To remain on foot,” as one who serves].

بر پای کردن (ا بر پای) : “ To station, place.” (Sh. N., IV., 1818).

همان چل هزار از دلیران مرد پس پشت لشکر ا بر پای کرد

He stationed also in the rear forty thousand of the brave and bold.

دو پای کشیدن : “ To drag along with one.” (*Hādīqa*, Ed. Stephenson, p. 36).

گر بگوید بمرده که بر آی مرده آید کفن کشان در پای
و ر بگوید بزنده که بمیر مرد در حال و ر چه باشد میر

If he say to a dead person, “ Arise !” the dead comes, dragging his shroud along with him.

And if he say to a living man, “ Die !” the man dies at once though he be a prince.

پایمرد : An “ intermediary,” a “ middleman.” (M., II., 73).

شیخ و امی سالها این کار کرد می ستدی داد هر چون پایمرد

The indebted *Shaikh* continued this practice for years : he took (from some) and gave (to others), like a middleman.

پخته : " Inured." (Masnavī, II., 477).

یو نست در بطن ماهی پخته شد مخلصش رانیست از تسبیح بد

Your Jonah has become inured to the fish's belly ; there is no deliverance for it but by celebrating the praises of God.

["Jonah" means here "the higher soul" or "the spiritual nature," "the fish's belly" is "the carnal soul."

The T. C. renders پخته by پشمش cf. the Turkish پشمك].

پدرود (padrūd).

پدرود باش : " Farewell !" (Sh. N., IV., 1906).

ببازارگان گفت پدرود باش خرد را بدل تار و هم بود باش

He said to the merchants, " Farewell ! Be wise and follow the dictates of wisdom."

[Lit., " Be in heart the warp and also the weft of wisdom "].

پدرود بادی : " Farewell !" (Sh. N., IV., 2038).

بدان کودک تیز نادان بگوی که ما را کنون تیره گشت آبروی
که پدرود بادی تو تا جاودان سرو کار ما با دبا بخردان

Say to that foolish and impetuous boy, " My honourable place has now become disgraced.

Farewell to you for ever then ! (henceforth) let my business be (only) with the wise."

[From the two expressions پدرود باش and پدرود بادی we may infer a verb. پدرود بودن : " To receive a farewell greeting, to bade farewell to. "]

پذیر

پذیر آمدن : " To be accepted, to be acceptable." (M., II., 552. Rubric).

پذیر آمدن سخن باطل در دل باطلان

How absurd and false words are acceptable to the hearts of the foolish.

پذیره

پذیره شدن (with prep. به) : "To accede" (to), "to acquiesce" (in). (Haft Paikar, p. 80).

گر چه طاقت نبود در بایش هم برقتن پذیره شد رایش

Although no strength was (left him) in his legs, his will acceded to the thought of flight.

پر (par)

پر : A "petal." (Ch. M., p. 226. footnote).

(حقه گل) : یعنی میوه گل که بعد از ریختن پرهای گل باقی ماند

(The cup of the rose) : That is, the fruit of the rose, which remains after the petals are shed.

پر بر آوردن : "To develope wings : " (i.e., to race as a bird flies). (Sh. N. I., 427).

همه شهر از آواز چنگ و رباب همی خفته را سر برآمد ز خواب
همه خاک مشکین شد از مشک تر همه تازی اسپان برآورده پر

The whole city (was alive) with the tones of the harp and rebeck ; the sleepers (even) raised their heads from sleep.

All the ground was musky with fresh musk ; the Arab horses raced as though with wings.

[In description of festivities held on the approach of Siyāvash to the city of Afrāsiyāb].

پرنهادن : "To droop the wing, to show weakness." (Cf. پرافگندن and پروبال فروهلیدن (Ḥadīka, p. 4).

عقل کانجا رسید سربنهد مرغ کانجا پرید پر بنهد

When intellect reaches that place, it lowers its head ; when a bird reaches that place, it droops its wing.

[" That place " means the *Essence* of the Deity].

پرتابی : "Of very long range," (arrow). (M., II., 207).

تیر را مشکن که این تیر شهیست نیست پرتابی زشت آگهیست

Do not break the arrow, for it is the arrow of a King. It is not an arrow of long range ; it is from the thumb-stall of One Who knows.

[The arrow is God's decree, and its aim is unerring].

پرچم : A "top-knot, forelock," is used in the Masnavi, II., 66, for the "rays of the sun."

گرچه ناخوب رفت چون باشی مرا برکنم من پرچم خورشید را

Though my claws have gone,—since you are with me, I will tear away the forelock of the sun.

پرداختن : "To settle, pay" (accounts). (Beck's P. G., p. 467).

مقرر فرمائید در دفتر خانه مبارکه در حضور جناب وزیر با اسناد خود که همه قبض و برات دیوان است حاضر شده هر قدر باقی دارم ضامن می سپارم که بمدت بیست روز پردازم

Give orders for my presence before the Minister in the office of the Exchequer with my documents, which are all receipts and vouchers of the Department, and I will offer a surety for my paying in 20 days any amount that remains to my debit.

پرداختن : (A form of پرداختن with prep. به of thing and از of person) : "To use, employ." (Sh. N., I., 394).

وزان پس بخواری و چوب و بید و پردخت ازو شهریار بلند

Afterwards the exalted King employed ignominious treatment, blows, and bonds with her.

پر (pur).

پرمايه : "Wealthy." (Sh. N., IV., 1792).

بدرویش بر مهربانی کنم به پرمايه بر پاسبانی کنم

I will be kind to the poor and a guardian to the wealthy.

—Excellent, noble." (Sh. N., I., 468).

از ایران بیاید یکی چاره گر فرمان دادار بسته کمر
بود نام آن گرد پرمايه کیو بتوران نه بینی چو او نیز نیو

One to restore affairs will come from Persia, prepared to help you by the command of God.

The name of that noble champion is Giv ; in Tūrān you will see no hero like him.

پرمش : "Ambitious, proud." (Sh. N., IV., 1850).

همان کاخ جادوستانی شناس بران تخت زن جادوئی ناسپاس
که بهرام را زو سترگی فزود چنان تاج و تخت بزرگی نمود
چو برگشت ازو پرمش گشت و مست چنان دان که هرگز نیاید بدست

Know that palace as a witch's abode ; the woman on the throne as an ungracious witch,

Through whom contentiousness increased in Bahrām-e Chūbīn, to him appearing such a crown and throne of greatness.

When he turned from her, he was full of ambition and drunk (with pride) ; know well that he will never be recovered.

— "With ambition gratified, having reason to be proud." (Sh. N., IV., 1883).

بدو گفت خسرو که ای بدکنش نه از تخم ساسان شدی پرمش

Khusrau Parvīz said to him : "O evil-doer, have you not gratified your ambition through the descendants of Sāsān ?"

پرهیزگاری : "Scrupulousness, scruples." (M., II., 474, Turkish Commentary, in which پرهیزکاری is precisely equivalent to the Persian گاری).

ابلهان تعظیم مسجد میکنند در خرابی اهل دل جد میکنند

Fools give honour to the mosque, but strive to ruin the Ṣūfī saint).

[In illustration of this, the Turkish Commentator tells a story of how some of those engaged against Ḥusain and his sons in the battle of Karbalā afterwards enter the Ka'ba, and one of them kills the mosquitoes which are swarming in it. The legality of this being doubted by others, the question is referred to a Companion who arrives, and the purport of his answer is as follows :

ای بد بختلر اولاد رسولی و اصحاب خولی قتل ایلمکده اتقا و اجتناب ایتمیوب اول
خصوصدن استغنا ایلمد یکنز شمعی تعظیماً للحرم قتل بعوضه ایتمکده اتقا و پرهیزکاری
ایدرسز بونه حماقت درونه عظیم جهالت در

Ill-fated wretches ! you had no scruples or hesitation in the matter of killing the sons of the Prophet and the brave and noble Companions, nor did you ask for any legal opinion as to that. But now, in honour of the Ka'ba you are full of scruples as to killing some mosquitoes. What excessive folly and ignorance is this !]

پس

ازان پس : "Thenceforth, in consequence." (Sh. N., II., 510).

کندی و اسی مرا یار پس شاید کشیدن بدان مرز کس
چو مردم برم خواستار آیدم ازان پس مرا کار زار آیدم

A lasso and a horse suffice me as companions ; I should not take any one to those regions.

If I took people I should meet with enquirers, and difficulties would in consequence arise for me.

——"Flat." (Haft Paikar, p. 91).

بیمشی دید پست افتاده چون کسی زخم خورده جان داده

He saw a man unconscious lying flat, like one who, wounded, has resigned his life.

پست کردن : "To dip," (as a pen into ink). (Sh. N., I., 423).

نخستین که برنامه بنهاد دست بعبور سر خامه را کرد پست
جهان آفرین را ستایش گرفت بزرگی و رایش نمایش گرفت

First, when he put his hand upon the letter-paper, and dipped the head of the reed into ambergris,

He entered upon praise of the World-Creator, and set forth His greatness and wisdom.

[Ambergris being dark, is used as a symbol for ink].

پست گشتن : "To be ruined or destroyed." (Sh. N., IV., 1790).

چنان شد که از شب گذشته سه پاس يك آواز آمد چنان پر هراس
که گفتی جهان سر بسر گشت پست پس آنگه یکی گفت کایوان شکست

It so befell that when three watches of the night had passed, a noise was heard so fearful

That you might say the world had been destroyed from end to end.—Then someone cried : "The portico has crashed."

[A sign of Muḥammad's birth, shortly before the death of Nūshīrvān].

پشت کردن (with prep. بر) : "To rely " (upon). (Gulistān, I., 14).

مکن تکیه بر ملک دنیا و پشت که بسیار کس چون تو پرورد و گشت

Do not rest or rely upon the Sovereignty of the world, for it has killed many a one like you after cherishing him.

پشت باز هشتن (with prep به) : "To rely" (upon). (Sh. N., IV., 1892).

سخنهای درازست و کاری درشت بیزدان کنون باز هشتیم پشت

There is much to be said, and it is a hard matter ; I (can) now rely (only) upon God.

پناه

پناه خواستن (in rubric) : "To seek protection." (Sh. N., IV., 1834).

پیام فرستادن بهرام نزد پرموده و پناه خواستن پرموده

Bahrām-e Chūbīn sends a message to Parmūda, and Parmūda seeks protection.

پناه گرفتن (with را of the person) : "To take as refuge." (Sh. N., IV. ; ?).

بموبد چنین گفت کاین داد خواه زگیتی گرفتست مارا پناه

(The Kaišar) said to his Minister : "This seeker of justice would take me as refuge out of all the world."

پوزش

پوزش باز جستن (with genitive of "fault" or بر) : "To make excuses, to ask pardon" (for). (Sh. N., IV., 2028).

کنون پوزش این همه باز جوی بدین نامداران ایران بگوی

Now ask pardon for all this : address yourself to these renowned ones of Persia.

پوزش کردن (as پوزش باز جستن qv). (Sh. N., III., 1414).

هر آن کس که پوزش کند بر گناه تو بپذیر و کین گذشته مخواه

Whosoever asks pardon for a fault,—accept (his plea), and exact not vengeance for what has passed.

پوشیدگی : "Obscurity." (M., II. ?).

—"Retirement, seclusion." (Sh. N., IV., 2047).

سه دیگر که بالا درویش بود به پوشیدگی نیز خویش بود

Thirdly, (a King's bride) should be tall and beautiful ; her temperament should be disposed to seclusion.

په (for). (pih, pīh).

په پیاز : “ Onion-broth with fat.” (T. N., p. 827).

ازوپس رابعه پرسید رازی که چه خوردی تو گفتا به پیازی
درین ساعت مرا ای پاک خاطر پیازی بود و اندک به حاضر

Then Rābi'a asked him a secret, saying, “ What have you eaten to-day ?” He answered, “ Onion-broth with fat :

At this time, pure-minded one, I had an onion and a little fat.”

پی (pai).

پی بریدن : “ To hamstring.”

(. روزگاران (See) پی روزگاران سپردن).

پیچ پیچ : “ Intricate, tangled, involved.” (M., I., 317).

ما کیم اندر جهان پیچ پیچ چون الف او خود ندارد هیچ هیچ

Who are we in the tangled world ? We are like “ Alif ” which has nothing at all.

پیچیدن (with prep. در or اندر) : “ To be involved ” (in), “ to attach one-self ” (to). (M., II., 556).

هر که اندر نام پیچد کین ثقه است همچو تو نو مید و اندر تفرقه است

Whoever attaches himself to names, thinking they are to be depended upon, is, like you, hopeless and distracted.

—(with prep. به) : “ To engage ” (in). (Sh. N., IV., 1742).

که چندان به پیچد برزم این جوان که بر خویشتن بر سر آرد زمان

(I had foretold) that this young man would engage so much in war that he would bring death upon himself.

[Lit., “ that he would bring time to an end for himself ”].

—“ To be vexed or troubled.” (Sh. N., IV., 1850).

نبایست آن خلعت ناسزا فرستاد نزدیک آن پر جفا

که ایرانیان زان به پیچیده اند امید از شهنشاه بریده اند

That unmerited robe should not have been sent to that man of oppression,

For, by that, the Persians have been troubled, and have lost hope in the King.

پیدا

پیدا (with prep. از) : “ Distinguished ” (from). (M., II., 291).

گام پای مردم شوریده خود هم ز پای دیگران پیدا بود

The footprints of distracted people in truth are distinguished from those of others.

پیر : “ Decrepit, infirm, helpless.” (Sh. N., IV., 1829).

فرستاده گفت ای سرافراز شاه بکام تو شد کار آن رزمگاه

انوشه بدی شاد و رامش پذیر که بخت بد اندیش تو گشت پیر

The envoy said : “ Exalted King, the business of that battlefield has turned out to your wish.

May you be blessed, glad and joyous, for the fortune of your enemy has grown infirm.”

پیر سر : A “ grey-headed or bald-headed old man.” (Sh. N., II., 499).

و دیگر که از پیر سر و بدان زاختر شناسان و از بخردان

زاختر برو نیک بشنوده بود جهان را چپ و راست پیموده بود

And moreover from grey-headed old Mūbids, astrologers and sages

He had heard of the bad and good fortune (prognosticated) by the stars ; he had traversed the world in all directions.

پیروز : “ Fortunate, auspicious.” (Redhouse). The Turkish verse Translation has عنوان ظفر (M., II., 364).

کم نمودن مرد را پیروز بود که حقش یار و طریق آموز بود

Making (this holy warfare) appear slight was auspicious for him, because God was his friend and guide.

پیره سر (as پیر سر). (Sh. N., IV., 1897).

بخا نام او بود شهران گراز گوی پیره سر مهتری سرفراز

Whose name was Shahrān Gurāz, a grey-headed old hero, an exalted chief.

پیش (with gen.) : “ In comparison ” (with). (M., II., 387-8).

حد ندارد وصف رنج آن جهان سهل باشد رنج دنیا پیش آن

Description of the pains of that world has no limit ; the pains of this world are easy in comparison with them.

پیشه بودن : " To practise."

پیکر : " The design " of a stuff as opposed to its " groundwork." (Sh. N., IV., 1846).

برآن تخت فرش زدیای روم همه پیکرش گوهر و زرش بوم

On the throne was a covering of Grecian brocade, the design of which was entirely of jewels, the groundwork of gold.

پیل : " The bishop " (in chess).

بیان

بیان ستن : " To receive a pledge " (to fidelity). (Sh. N., I., 393).

چو بیان ستن زرش بسیار داد سخن گفت ازین درمکن هیچ یاد

When she had received a pledge (to fidelity from her) she gave her much money, and said, " Do not utter a word on this subject."

پیوسته (with genitive) : " Connected " (with). (Sh. N., IV., 2004).

هم آنان که پیوسته او بدند که رای جستن براو شدند
همی برگرفتند ازایشان شمار که و مه فزون آمد از سه هزار

Those also who were connected with him, and who came to him when he sought counsel—

Of them they took count, (and found that) they amounted, small and great, to more than three thousand.

پیه : " The white of the eye." (H. P., p. 90) : (Cf. a شحمة العين).

گر خراشیده شد سفیدی توز پیه درمقله مانده بود هنوز

Although the outer membrane had been scratched, the white around the eyeballs still remained.

پیه پیاز. See پیاز.

ت

تا " Before." (M., II., 131).

سرنگون می افتد از بام سرا تازیانی کرده باشد خواجه را

He falls headlong from the roof of the house before he has done any injury to (his) master.

———“ Even.” (M., II., 111).

تا کلوخ و سنگ بشنید این بیان مفلسست و مفلسست این قلتبان

Even the clods and stones heard this declaration : “ He is an insolvent, this rogue, he is an insolvent.”

———“ At the moment when.” (Ilāhī Nāma, p. 793).

به پیش او نقاب از روی برداشت نزد يك نعره شویش تا خبر داشت

She raised the veil from her face before her husband, who raised a loud cry at the movement when he was cognizant (of her appearance).

———“ Inasmuch as.” (Ḥadīka, p. 12, p. 6).

ترسم از جاهلی و نادانی ناگهان بر صراط درمانی
جاهلی مرا ترابنار دهد تا ترا کوك و کوكنار دهد

I fear that through folly and ignorance you will suddenly fail on the Bridge.

Folly (and ignorance) will give you to the fire, inasmuch as they give you lettuce and laudanum.

———“ Whether.” (Sh. N., IV., 1755).

چنین گفت پرسنده را راه جوی که بیژ وه تا دارد این ماه شوی

The investigator said to him who was asking questions (for him) : “ Inquire whether this beautiful woman has a husband.”

[Buzurjmihr, Nūshīrvān's Vazīr, has been blinded and imprisoned by the King ; but he is subsequently called upon to solve a momentous puzzle, and, being blind, engages a learned man to ask questions for him].

تاب

تاب آوردن “ To be angry, to resent.” (Sh. N., II., 504).

بدوگفت آن کس که تاب آورد دگر یاد افراسیاب آورد
هم آنگه سرش راز تن دورکن وزو کر گسان را یکی سورکن

(Rustam) said to (Tūs) : “ The person who is angry (at this change), and again bears Afrāsiyāb in mind——

At once separate his head from his body, and make a feast for the vultures of him.

تاختن (sometimes transitive) : “ To ride over.” (Sh. N., IV., 1745).

برقی زهر سورخ کینه خواه همی تاختی او همه رزمگاه

The hostile "rook" would move in any direction ; it would ride over the whole field of battle.

[In description of the game of chess].

تاخیر کردن (used transitively, may have a direct accusative). To postpone." (L. A., p. 227).

اهی ثنای تو گر کرد تا کنون تاخیر مدان ز غفلت و تقصیر بل ز محض قصور

If your slave has hitherto postponed the praise of you, do not consider it is from negligence or failure in duty, but from sheer inefficiency.

(. بی تار و بود See تار و بود).

تار referring to one thing and بود to another are used to indicate a close connection. (Sh. N., II., 527).

بدو گفت خسرو که پدرود باش جهان تار و تو در میان بود باش

Khusrau said to him, "Fare you well ! May the world be warp and you within it woof !"

[i.e., may you live as long as the world !].

تاسوعا "The ninth day of the month Muḥarram." (Beck's P. G., p. 484).

اخطار

بمناسبت ایام عزاداری شاه مظلومان روز نامة ما چهارشنبه (تاسوعا) و پنجشنبه (عاشورا) و روز شنبه را تعطیل خواهد نمود

Announcement (in a newspaper).

On the accasion of the days of mourning for the King of the oppressed, our journal will not appear on Wednesday the 9th of Muḥarram, on Thursday the 10th, and on Saturday.

["The King of the oppressed;" i. e. Husain].

(تبه) تهاه

ته "Set against." (Sh. N., IV., 2020).

دل زاد فرخ تبه داشت نیز سپه را همی روی برگاشت نیز

He considered the heart of Zād Farrukh as set against him, and that the face of the army was turned from him.

تباہ کردن (with با): "To set against." (M., II., 348).

حیلہ کرد و کرد صوفی را براہ تا کند یار انش را با او تباہ

He used a device to send the Šūfī off, so that he might set his friends against him.

تتبع (tatabbu'): "Study, investigation." (pl. تتبعات). (Ch. M., p. 178)

پس نسبت تالیف اصل این کتاب نیز بازرقی مانند سند باد خطای محض و وہم صرف

ناشی از قلت تتبع است

Hence to attribute the original composition of this book also to Azrakī, like the Sindibād, is a mere error and fancy arising from want of investigation.

تحت الحفظ "In custody." (Ch. M., p. 163).

بجوز جان فرستاد و در آنجا تحت الحفظ روزگار بسر می برد

(Maḥmūd) sent him (i.e., Khalaf, Ruler of Sīstān) to Jūzjān, where he lived in custody.

تخصیص

تخصیص دادن (with را): "To make special mention of."

تخلف (takhalluf): "Difference, variation, not being consistent." (Redhouse.)

تراجع

تراجع افتادن "To decline." (D. Sh., p. 189).

بعہد سلطان شاہرخ کہ کار سربدال در تراجع افتاد و اور جوع ہشاہزادہ بایسنغر نمودہ
و شاہزادہ را نسبت بدوالتفاقی بودی و بعضی اسباب و اموال و املاک موروث او کہ در
فترت سربدال بحوزہ دیوان افتادہ بود بسی بایسنغر میرزا بدورد کردند

In the reign of Sultān Shāhrukh, when the affairs of Sarbadāl had declined, he resorted to Prince Bāysunghur, who showed him some favour, and by whose efforts some of his hereditary effects, goods, and lands, which during the break in the affairs of Sarbadāl had fallen to the Imperial Exchequer, were restored to him.

[The person in question was the poet Amīr Shāhī, a nephew of the last Sarbadāl Prince of Sabzvār and Khurāsān].

تراشیدن

“To play the learned, to affect learning.” (M., II., 379).

محتسب گفت این ندانم خیز خیز معرفت تراش بگذار این ستیز

The Muhtasib said, “I know not of this ; arise, arise ! Do not play the learned ; give up this litigiousness.”

ترائی

“Vying with one another to first see the new moon.” (Redhouse.)

(Cf. the first story in Book II. of the Masnavi).

ترجمان

“The Universal Spirit.” (‘A. M., p. 68).

آدم کبیر See under

ترجمه

“A biography.”

“A biography.”

“The subject of a biography.” (Ch. M., p. 204).

جمال الدین علی بن یوسف القفطی در تاریخ الحکما در حق صاحب ترجمه گوید المشتهر فی الملة الاسلامیة بالتبحر فی فنون الحکمة الیونانیة والفارسیة والهنديہ

Jamālū 'd-Dīn 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Kiftī in “the History of Philosophers” with regard to the subject of (this) biography says (under al-Kindī) : “He who was famous in the Muslim community for his profound knowledge of Grecian, Persian, and Indian philosophy.”

[The subject of (this) biography is “Kindī the famous Arab philosopher”].

صاحب ترجمه Means also “the author of a biography.” (Passim).

تردد (taraddud) : Cultivation (of people) ; but the exact expression in Daulatshāh is تردد بجوانب اهالی (D. Sh., p. 199).

بجهت انقطاع و فقر تردد بجوانب اهالی مناصب نمی کرد

Owing to his spiritual isolation and asceticism he used not to cultivate people in office.

[The person spoken of is the poet Darvīsh Kāsim-e Tūnī].

تسخر (taskhar).

تسخر زدن (with prep. بر): "To mock." (M., II., 462).

تو بران مسجد کنان تسخر زدی چون نظر کردی تو خود زیشان بدی

You have mocked those builders of the mosque, but when you (carefully) look, (you see that) you yourself have been one of them.

تسویه (tasviya).

تسویه "Formation, development." ('A. M., pp. 43-4).

همچنین ولادت معنوی مشروطست بوجد کلمه ایمان و استقرار آن در دل و تسویه
حقائق ایمان

In the same way the spiritual birth is conditioned by the existence of the Profession of Faith and the establishment of it in the heart and the (consequent) development of the truths of the Faith.

تشبه (tashabbuh) (with به): "Becoming like, imitating." (A. M., p. 103).

و معنی تواجد استدعاء و استجلاب و جدست بطریق تذکریا تفکر یا تشبه باهل وجد
در حرکات و سکونات بدالات صدق

And the meaning of "Tavājud is seeking and trying, under the guidance of sincerity, to bring on the feeling of "Vajd" (ecstasy), through keeping in mind, considering, and imitating, in action and quiescence, those possessed of that feeling.

تشت (tasht).

تشت از بام افتادن "To become notorious, disgraced," (as the lover, عاشق)

The ordinary expression would be رسوا شدن (M., II., 334).

دردمندی کش ز بام افتاد تشت زونهان کردیم حق پنهان نگشت

The sufferer of these pangs, who has become notorious (through his love),—though we (try to) conceal the truth from him, it is not concealed.

—— به تصرف یسر "With a slight change or modification." (Ch. M., p. 115, foot-note; *ct. passim*).

————(کردن) تصرف (with prep. در): “To deal” (with): (Ch. M., p. 172 foot-note).

صاحب مجمع الفصحا برسم معمول خود در تصرف در اشعار شعرا در یکی از قصاید از رقی
طغانشه بن محمد را به طغانشه بن مؤید بدل کرده است

The author of the *Majma'u'l Fusahā*, according to his usual custom in dealing with the works of the poets, has, in a *Qasida* by Azrakī, changed *Tughānshah* b. Muḥammad to *Tughānshah* b. Mu'ayyad.

تصریح

از رقی از مداحان خاص وی بود و در قصاید خود تصریح باسم لقب و نسب و مقر حکومت او میکند

Azrakī was a special encomiast of his, and in his *Qasidas* speaks explicitly about his name, lineage, and seat of government.

تعبیر

آخرین ایشان ابو عبدالله محمد بن احمد بن محمد بن عراق بوده است که ابوریحان از و بشپید تعبیری می نماید

The last of them (the ancient Rulers of *Khvārazm*) was Abū 'Abdu'llāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Irāk, whom Abū Raiḥān designates as a martyr.

————(with prep. به and accusative):

بعضی روح حیوانی بمرکب تعبیر کنند

Some describe the animal soul as a steed.

تعرف (ta'arruf).

تعرف “The study” (of a subject).

تعمیم (ta'mīm).

تعمیماً للفائدة “For the general advantage.”

تعین (ta'aiyun).

على التعین "Individually, distinctively." ('A. M., p. 304).

و بداند که شکر هر يك على التعین چیست مثلاً داند که زبان نعمتست و نطق درو
نعمتی و شکر آن تلاوت کلام الهی و ذکر حق و اظهار نعمت او و صدق و نصیحت

And he should learn what thanksgiving for each and every bounty is, individually and distinctively: for example, he should know that the tongue is a bounty and its speech a bounty; and thanksgiving for such is the intoning of the Word of God, the commemoration of Him, the acknowledgment of His bounty, sincerity, and truthful counsel.

تقبل (taḡabbul): "Guaranteeing." (D. Sh., p. 18).

استعانت باستا درود کی بردند تا امیر رادر مجلس انس در عزیمت بخارا تحریر کند و
مال عظیم استاد را قبل کردند

They had recourse to master Rūdakī, and guaranteed him a large sum if he could instigate the Amīr when at a social meeting to decide on setting out for Bukhārā.

تقصیر (Used by Rūmī in the sense of مقصر in M., II., 88): "Failing in duty, morally deficient."

صوفیان تقصیر بودند و فقیر کاد فقران یی کفرأ ییر

The Ṣūfis were morally deficient and poor:—

"Poverty falls not far short of including infidelity which destroys."

تقصیری "Want, poverty." (M., II., 104. T. C. reads درویشی but comments on تقصیری the reading of T. T.).

لرز زندانم برای تو برد خود بمرم من ز تقصیری و کد

If you drive me away and expel me from the prison, I shall assuredly die of poverty and the hardships of begging.

تک تک Used apparently in the sense of "incidental" in Ch. M., p. 188. The ordinary sense would be "here and there," "scattered."

در باب تک تک "Incidentally, in scattered way." (Ch. M., p. 188).

ساد سآ شذراتی متفرق که در تاریخ یمنی و تاریخ بهقی ×××× و غیرها در باب
تک تک از ملوک این طایفه یافت میشود

Sixthly, the different fragments concerning the Kings of this tribe which are found incidentally in the "Ta'rikh-e Yamīnī," the "Ta'rikh-e Baihakī, etc., etc."

تلاش (talāsh) : "Scattered, dispersed." (In this sense seems connected with the Arabic تَلَاشَى). (Sh. N., IV., 1887).

بدین رزمگه امشب اندر مباش مان تا شود گنج و اشکر تلاش

Do not remain on this battle-field to-night ; do not stay till treasure and troops are dispersed.

.....*

جهان بردل تنگ آوردن "To bring distress upon the heart." (Sh. N., II, 515).

فرنگیس گفت اردرنگ آوریم جهان بردل خویش تنگ آوریم

Farangīs said : "If we delay, we shall bring distress upon our hearts."

تنگ خو "mean, avaricious." (Sh. N., IV., 1762).

جهان تنگ دیدیم بر تنگ خو مرا آز وزقی نکرد آرزو

We have found worldly possessions to be of narrow compass for the mean ; covetousness and hard dealing are no desire of mine.

تنوق (tanavvuk) : "Supereminence, distinction." (Ch. M., p. 99).

محمد عبده الکاتب که دبیر بغرا خان بود و در علم تعمقی و در فضل تنوق داشت

Muhammad 'Abdu, the secretary, who was secretary to Bughrā Khān, and had depth in learning and high distinction in accomplishments.

تیندن

تیندن (with prep. بر) : "To associate" (with). (neuter). (M. II., 543).

قاصداً زیر آیم از اوج بلند تاشکسته پایگان بر من تند

(Sometimes) of set purpose I descend from the exalted heights, in order that those whose position is low may associate with me.

گرد چیری تیندن (gird-e chīzī tanīdan) (active or neuter) : "To wind round." (M., II., 345).

But he who knows with whom he makes an engagement, will let his body be reduced to a thread, and wind round that (engagement with it).

*Some pages of the original MS. are missing here. Ed., I.C.

گرد کسی تنیدن "To try to ensnare." (M., II., 428).

باز اسپدم شکارم شه کند عنکبوتی کی بگرد ماتند

I am a white falcon ; the King hunts me. How should a spider try to ensnare me ?

———— "To be attached or devoted to" (M., II., 527).

Since idolaters are devoted to (their) idols, they are inimical to those who impede the way to them.

بت پرستان چون که کرد بت تنند مانعان راه بت را دشمنند

تواجد (tavājud) : "Trying to have a feeling of rapture" (by reflection on, or by imitation of the attitude of those possessed by it). ('A.M., p. 103).
تنبه See under

توپ گیر (tup-gir) : "Under cannon-fire." (H. Ik., p. 543 b).

توجیه

با توجیه "Suitable, properly applied, reasonable." (M., II., 92).

بحث با توجیه کن حجت میار آنچه من بسپردمت واپس سپار

Use reasonable argument, and do not cavil : consign again to me that which I entrusted to you.

توژ (tūzh) : "The bark of the white poplar." (*Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, by La Strange, p. 459). Sh. N. Glossary : پوست درختی که برزین
اسپ وکان پیچند

"The bark of a tree which they fix on to saddles and bows." La Strange says, "used for covering shields."

توسع (tavassu').

توسعاً "By extension." (Ch. M., p. 106).

ملطفه بمعنی نامه ایست کوچک که بطریق ایجاز حاوی خلاصه مطالب باشد ××××
و این اصل معنی آن بوده پس از آن توسعاً بمعنی مطلق نامه استعمال شده است

"Mulattafa." A "short note" conveying in abstract the gist of subjects (communicated).

This was its original meaning, but afterwards, by extension, it came to be used in the general sense of a "letter."

توهم (tavahhum).

توهم بهم رسانیدن (with prep. از of person): "To conceive suspicion." (Ch. M., pp. 162-163).

و با این همه فضائل در قساوت قلب ثانی نداشت چنانکه پسر خود طاهر را بواسطه توهمی که از او بهم رسانید بدست خود کشت

And with all these accomplishments (Khalaf of Sistān) had no rival in hardness of heart, so that on account of a suspicion he had conceived of his son Tāhir he killed him with his own hand.

تیر

منزل اوقی See پرتابی and Cf. the Turkish

تیره روان "Gloomy, disturbed, troubled, vexed, angry." (Sh. N., IV., 1854).

ز گفتار شان خواهر پهلوان همی بود پیچان و تیره روان!

The hero's sister (Gurdiya) at their words was troubled and disturbed.

[Bahrām-e Chūbīn's sister tries to dissuade him from aiming at the sovereignty].

تیمار (tīmār).

تیمار بردن (with از): "To show solicitude" (about), "have care" (for). (Sh. N., IV., 2029).

گلینوش گفت ای جهان دیده مرد بکام تو نادا همه کار کرد
تو تیمار بردی ز نازک تنم بکجا آهین بود پیراهنم
بکاری بکجا آمدستی بگوی پس آنگه سخنهای من باز جوی

Galīnūsh said to him: "Experienced man, may all deeds be according to your wish!

You have shown solicitude about my tender frame, seeing my garment is a coat of mail.

(But) say (now) on what business you have come, and then ask words in answer.

[Galīnūsh, who is in charge of Khusrau Parvīz, has been asked by an envoy from Shīrūya (Siroes), Khusrau's son, why he is fully armed when the latter has peacefully taken his father's place].

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

The Quran-Archives of Munich

THE quarterly *Quranic World* has an interesting article by Prof. Pretzl of the University of Munich. It appears that for over a decade the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and the University of Munich have collaborated in organising a grand Quran-Archive there. The successor of Nöldeke and Bergsträsser, the Rev. Otto Pretzl, has been touring all over Europe, North African and Near Eastern countries in search of old MSS. of the Quran and works on Quranology. And within a decade, the Quran-Archives of Munich boast of possessing the largest library on the Quranic sciences in the world. The camera has been useful to them in more than one way, rapid, correct and facsimile copies of thousands of Kūfic Qurans and works on the Quran could not otherwise have been possible.

Besides the collection of MSS.-photos, they have already edited several classical works, such as :—

- (١) كتاب التيسير للداني في القرآت السبعة (٢) كتاب المقنع للداني (٣) كتاب النقط للداني
- (٤) كتاب الشواذ لابن خالويه (٥) طبقات القراء لابن الجزري

And many more are in preparation, such as :—

- (١) كتاب الابانة في معاني القراءة لابي محمد مكي (٢) فضائل القرآن لابي عبيد قاسم بن سلام
- (٣) معاني القرآن للقراء (٤) كتاب المحجة لابي علي الفارسي (٥) جامع البيان للداني
- (٦) ايضاح الوقف والابتداء لابن الانباري (٧) لطائف الاشارات للقسطلاني
- (٨) كتاب الجامع المعروف بسوق العروس لابي معشر الطبري

Actually, the Archive staff is busy with the preparation of a card index on a grand scale. Each verse of the Quran will form a separate section, and a card will be dedicated to the commentary of each and every commentator of note from earliest times, with full reference. Further, each word of the Quran which has any variety of spelling or

pronunciation will have a separate card registering all the differences and the sources of information, as well as the reasons therefor in so far as they are given in the available works on *Qirā'at*. Again, differing punctuations, as gleaned from the MSS. of the Quran, differences in the numbering of the verses, and the differences in pauses, *waqf* and *ibtidā'*, mentioned by classical authors, will be noted. Thus one will be able at a glance to know all that has ever been taught or done by Islamic authors regarding each and every word and verse of the Holy Quran. These Archives will obviously be so extensive and comprehensive that they cannot possibly be printed. The card-system will enable the archivists to add and alter and correct whenever necessary and as new materials are available.

The Archives are prepared to supply photographed copies at cost price of any document or MS. in their possession to any scholar.

The following information we owe to the *Oriente Moderno* of Rome, (September 1939) :

TURKEY

MR. EBUZZIYĀ VELĪD, chief editor of the daily *Ikdām* of Istanbul, in a leading article (dated 18-8-'39) observes that the exaggerations made in the linguistic reforms of Turkey are gradually being eliminated, and with judicious revision there is a return to the old in many matters. It is significant that the departure has begun with the Ministry of Education, whose neologistical name *Kultur Direktörlüğü* has now been replaced by the older *Ma'ārif Mudīrlüğü*. Again, the Home Office has issued instructions that the terms *il* and *ilçe* (province and district respectively) should again be called *Vilāyat* and *Qaḍā*.

SPANISH MOROCCO

THE INSTITUTE of Moroccan Studies of Tetuan was the scene of welcome to its new Honorary Director in the person of the famous Syrian Christian writer Amīn Rihānī. The Spanish High Commissioner Senor Beigbeder saluted the distinguished personality in the name of Spanish Morocco, and said that the Spanish policy was that of a benevolent protection of the moral and social progress of the people, and expressed the hope that the Arabic language would again become the language of culture and civilization as it was in the Middle Ages, and the co-operation of the Arabic and Latin cultures would be of benefit to both. The High Commissioner thanked the Moroccans who fought, along with Gen. Franco, the enemies of civilization who wanted to destroy also the Arabic treasures of the Escorial. (*Al-Waḥdah al-Maghribīyah* of Tetuan, 23-6-'39).

JAPAN

PROF. OKUBO, who has been studying Islam for the last thirty years, has been appointed as a lecturer of Islamic Studies in the Waseda University of Tokyo, writes *The Waseda Guardian* of Tokyo, dated 17-5-'39. Prof. Okubo was delegated by the ministry of foreign affairs in 1936 to deliver lectures on Japanese history in the universities of Ankara and Istanbul. He has founded a Society of Muslim Research for the progress of Islamic Studies in Japan.

THE DECCAN

THE CONFLAGRATION in Europe has hampered many a cultural and useful activity even in countries as far removed as the Deccan. The Treaty of Perpetual and General Defensive Alliance, concluded in 1800 between Hyderabad and the British, renders the enemy of each the enemy of the other automatically. The heavy war expenditure, especially in time of famine, necessarily curtails expenditure on cultural activities. So it has been proposed even to postpone the forthcoming session of the All-India Oriental Conference in Hyderabad in December next.* The severity of the famine may be gauged from the fact that the Government has sanctioned the expenditure of about a crore of rupees on famine relief work.

For some years past, the Idara-i-Adabiyat-i-Urdu has been functioning in the City of Hyderabad, and beside a monthly magazine, *Sabras*, the editing of several classical MSS. is to its credit.

Ever since the Anjuman-i-Taraqqī-i-Urdu removed to Delhi, a branch of it has been working in the city of Hyderabad.

So far, a healthy competition is going on between these two co-extensive institutions, and lately the City was fortunate in getting fulfilled a long-felt need by arrangements to teach Urdu to beginners and by institution of several graded proficiency examinations.

It has been a praiseworthy practice of the Hyderabad Government to require its servants to be at least bilingual : those whose mother-tongue is Urdu should pass the proficiency examination in one of the three district languages, and those whose mother-tongue is not Urdu should learn this State language. It is hoped that soon the Government will find it feasible to recognise the higher proficiency examination of the local Urdu institution for official purposes, and thus save the expenditure incurred on conducting an examination of their own.

Twenty years have now passed since the opening of the Osmania University. On the occasion of the moving of the Arts College to its new

It is announced that the 10th session of the Oriental Conference will instead take place in Tirpatur (Madras Presidency) next Easter.

premises at Adikmet *University Town*,—opened by H.E.H. the Nizam himself on 4th December 1939,—the 20 years' Jubilee was also celebrated by the Students' Union.

In the words of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Osmania University is "no more a mere experiment, it is a challenge" to those who dare deny the possibility of imparting instruction of a modern university-standard through the medium of the Indian national language. The faculties of Arts, Theology, Science, Teaching, Medicine, Law, Engineering, and Technology are now full-fledged institutions of this Urdu University. And even research work for the degree of Ph. D. is going on creditably.

Faculties of Agriculture and Mineralogy are conspicuous by their absence in a country where agriculture is the profession of the majority of the people, and where natural resources abound.

Exactly 13½ centuries have passed since the conquest of Mecca by the Prophet in Ramaḍān of the year 8 of Hijra. The occasion was observed on a grand and befitting scale all over the State, and some journals even brought out special numbers. As a writer put it, "It is really worth both admiration and serious study, how a lonely fugitive of the year 1 H. entered only seven years later triumphantly into his native country, without shedding blood, and this as the monarch of the whole of Arabia, exacting the praise and not the contempt of the conquered." The *Rahbar-e-Deccan* of 22nd Ramaḍān had many thoughtful articles by eminent writers on the subject.

A *Jagirdars' College* has been in existence in Hyderabad for very many years, and every *Jāgīrdār* (fief-holder) is required to pay a tax of 2 per cent. of his income towards the maintenance of the institution. As many a *qāḍī* and other *Ahl Khidmāt Shar'iyah* are *jāgīrdārs*, and as their children are required to obtain the degree of the theological *Jāmi'ah Nizāmiyah*,—and not the certificate of the secular and purely western type of education offered in the *Jagirdars' College*,—the Government have wisely been advised to sanction that the amount recovered from the *jāgīrs* of the *Ahl Khidmāt Shar'iyah* should go to the *Jāmi'ah Nizāmiyah* which has long been in need of funds. The Old Boys of the *Nizāmiyah* expect that the Director of the Ecclesiastical Department will be appointed secretary of the Board of Governors of this theological institution, since it is he who comes into direct contact with the *Ahl Khidmāt Shar'iyah*, and his interest in the institution should be maintained to the advantage of all parties concerned.

The great bio-bibliographical dictionary of Arabic authors, *Mu'jam al-Muṣannifīn*, by Maḥmūd Ḥasan Khān, is rapidly approaching completion. Its first four volumes were published long ago. Now, it is expected that from next year the Osmania University will begin the printing of

the remaining volumes as well as the addenda to those already out. Under a competent board of editors, its scientific value will be greatly enhanced. More than 10,000 pages are the modest expectation of the size. A brief biographical note of every author in the Arabic language down to the year 1350 H., with full bibliographical information, is the main feature of the work.

H. U.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

THE ANJUMAN-I-KHUDDĀM-UD-DĪN, Lahore, was founded in 1921. During the eighteen years of its life it has served many and varied interests of Islam and particularly of Indian Muslims. Steady and constant as its method of working have been, it has put in much more work than most of its older sister Anjumans, despite the limited means at its disposal. The dissemination of Quranic teachings has been the special object of the Anjuman and every year about fifty post-graduates from religious institutions of India and abroad come to this Anjuman's Madrasa-i-Qāsim al-'Ulūm for the study of the Holy Quran.

The Anjuman has published and distributed free of cost four million and fifty-six thousand copies of thirty pamphlets both in Urdu and English, the demand for which is still growing from day to day on account of their simple style and their appeal to the masses. Some of them are : A Biography of the Holy Prophet ; The Need of the Quran, The Remarriage of Widows ; The Real Hanifite Sect ; Prayers ; The Law of Inheritance ; An Outline of Islamic Principles ; The Message of the Prophet ; The Philosophy of 'Id al-Adhā ; The Philosophy of Prayer ; The Philosophy of the Fast in Islam ; The Purpose of the Quran.

The Anjuman has published an Urdu Translation of the Holy Quran by *Shah Abdul Qādir* along with a brief commentary by its own *Amīr*, *Moulānā Aḥmad Ālī*, under the name of *Qurān 'Azīz*. The English tracts are : *Reforms of Muslim Society* by Prince Sa'id Ḥalīm Pāshā and *Islam and Ahmadism* by Dr. Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl, which serve the cause of true Islam in foreign countries. Moreover, there is an English organ of this Anjuman under the name of *Islam* published fortnightly.

Muslim History of Sind. Dr. Daudpota deserves congratulation for his labours in publishing two most important works on Sind : the *Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī* of the well-known traveller Ma'sūm Bhakkārī of Akbar's reign and the *Chach Nāma*, a much earlier compilation on the Muslim history of Sind. The first has been published by the Bombay University and the latter by the Persian Manuscripts Society of Hyderabad, Deccan.

It will not be out of place to recall that it was the *Idāra M'aārif Islāmīa*, Lahore which repeatedly drew the attention of the Government of India

towards the neglected Muslim inscriptions found on Muslim monuments which embody the correct history of the Musalmans, and urged their publication by competent scholars. But the credit goes to Principal Muḥammad Shaffi' of the Oriental College, who took the lead and himself visited Thatta, Sahwan, Sakhkhar and Rohri for that purpose. He brought back a large collection of most important inscriptions which he edited in a scholarly way and published in his *Oriental College Magazine* in 1935 and 1937. These inscriptions have, without doubt, solved a good many problems of the Muslim history of Sind.

Now, after a long silence, we find that the Government of India have directed their attention to it, and it has recently been announced that for the first time inscriptions numbering 378 bearing upon the Muslim History of Sind have been collected by the Archæological Survey of India from the districts of Karachi, Dadu, Larkana and Hyderabad and in the light of these it is likely that the chronology of Sind history will have to be rewritten. The inscriptions cover the period from 1370 to 1739 A.D., and throw light on the rule of the princes of the Somma dynasty.

The Oriental College Magazine for August contains a long original research article by Prof. Muḥammad Jamīl-ur-Raḥmān of the Osmania University on *Mimbar wa 'Aṣā* (pulpit and staff) in which he has ably traced their origin in Islam from the days of the holy Prophet who used to preach from a pulpit holding a staff in his hand. Later on it became a practice among the Imāms, especially those who address audiences on the congregational prayers of Fridays or 'Īds.

Prof. Shairānī has contributed the second instalment of his article on *آتشین اسلحه* (Firearms). This discussion is of quite a new kind, especially in the Urdu language. He has shown how the Muslim armies have used guns, cannon, catapults, battering-rams, etc., both as besiegers and besieged, along with the use of their fortifications in case of danger from the enemy.

Professor Muḥammad Iqbāl of the same college has described the unique MS. of *مجمع النوادر* from the collection of Professor Shairānī, which is the work of Faiz Allāh bin Zain al-'Ābidīn bin Ḥisām Bunaynī, who composed it during the reign of Maḥmūd Begdah of Gujrāt (863-917 A.H.). He has mentioned in the preface that he compiled it in Muḥammadābād (Champaner) which was conquered by Maḥmūd Begdah in 889 A.H. This old capital of Maḥmūd Begdah is now lying in ruins and full of Muslim remains of that period. Dr. Iqbāl has compared this *Majma' al Nawādir* with *Chahār Maqāla* of Nizāmī 'Urūdī, illustrating his article with many specimens of episodes, which generally originated in Persia or Central Asia.

The *Burhān* of Delhi has published three very important articles by its editor Moulvī Sa'īd Aḥmad in three issues about the compilation of the *Hadīth* (Tradition) with a view to prove its necessity and genuineness, refuting those who allege the contrary. Moulvī Hifz-ur-Raḥmān's contribution *Islam and Revolution* is also an original one in which he has

discussed the pros and cons of the subject in the light of the Quran. Dr. M. Abdulla Chaghtāi writes on *Ghiyāth Naqshband*, giving a brief survey of carpet weaving among the Musalmans, with special reference to the life of the great weaver *Ghiyāth* who became proverbial for his fine designs. He was also a good poet of his period with the same *nom de plume*.

Shams al 'Ulamā Moulānā Abdur Raḥmān, professor of Delhi College, has contributed a constructive article in the October issue on *United Nationalism and Islam*, criticising a publication of the same name published by Idāra Tulū'-i-Islam, in the light of the Quran and the Ḥadīth.

M.A.C.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

DURING the period under report the Muslim University, Aligarh, looms large for its literary activities. In the last week of August Dr. Brugmann, Director of Education of Java, visited Aligarh and delivered a lecture on 'The Cultural Relations of the Musalmans of Java and the Dutch,' under the auspices of the Historical Society of the Muslim University. The speaker stated that the Dutch in Java have ever been friendly to the Musalmans, and he supported this statement by saying that in the regime of the East Indies Company Islamic Missions were placed in a better position than Christian Missionaries. And when Dutch rule was established in Java, the Musalmans enjoyed every kind of freedom in their religion. There is as yet no restriction whatsoever against Musalman propagation, but the Christians have to obtain permission from the Government to do so. The speaker added further that the Musalman population in Java is about fifty millions, and as in other Islamic countries there is a general awakening there also. Modern education is being disseminated, and various cultural movements are in progress. In the very near future a Muslim University is to be established there, devoted chiefly to promoting the cause of Muslim education in Java. The speaker concluded by saying that the progress made by the Musalmans of Java is highly encouraging, and before long they will occupy an honourable place in the Islamic World.

The Executive Council of the Muslim University, Aligarh, passed in August some important resolutions, which may be called a landmark in the history of the University. It resolved to make Urdu its official language instead of English. Hence all transactions such as correspondence, resolutions of the Executive Council, and the Court, annual reports and budgets shall be recorded in Urdu, except in rare and extraordinary cases, when English may be adopted as before. The Executive Council has also recommended the Academic Councils of the University to adopt Urdu as the medium of instruction in the Intermediate Course at their earliest convenience.

In the last week of August the Majlis-e-Islāmiāt of the said University celebrated its annual week, in which many renowned religious scholars of India participated. Maulānā Syed Sulaimān Nadvī gave a historical discourse on 'The Literary History of the Muslims of India.' Moulvi Abdul Mājīd Daryābādī read a thought-provoking paper entitled 'The Message of Islamic Culture to the World of the Twentieth Century.' This has been published in the *Šidq*, edited by the learned lecturer. Maulāna Hāmid of Badaun, Muḥammad of Junagadh, and Sibghat-ullāh of Firangī Mahal, Lucknow, also spoke on different aspects of the Life of the holy Prophet, and his teachings.

In September, lovers and scholars of Indian History founded an association, attached to the Muslim University to carry on exhaustive scientific research concerning the Muslim period in India. The Honourable Sir Shah Muḥammad Sulaimān, Judge of the Federal Court, is the Chairman of the Association but its Executive Committee will function under the presidentship of Nawab Šadar Yār Jung Bahādur. The association commenced its work by inviting Mr. Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī, I.C.S., on 2nd October 1939, to deliver a lecture on the scope of Islamic history, which was highly appreciated by the audience. On the following day Mr. Yūsuf 'Alī spoke under the auspices of the Majlis-e-Islāmiāt of the University on Islamic Culture, when he asserted, on the basis of Quranic verses, that it is the only culture which is a living force, based on the laws of nature and world-wide fraternity, and free from all geographical barriers.

Mr. M. M. Šarīf, B.A. (Cantab.), Chairman of the Department of Philosophy, delivered an extension lecture on Individualism in Social Sciences on the 15th of November 1939. The learned lecturer denied that self-interest was always the guiding principle in human affairs. Altruistic considerations operate in life with equal force. Humanitarian tendencies are as instinctive as self-tendencies, perhaps they are more deep-rooted. In support of the theory the lecturer referred to the latest schools of psychologists. The exponents of Behaviourism, Psycho-analysis, Gestalt Psychology, the Purposivists and Introspectionists, all agreed that other-regarding tendencies are as instinctive as selfish tendencies. The error, according to the learned lecturer, lay in confusing the proposition that each individual does seek nothing but self-interest with the proposition that he should seek nothing but self-interest. This second proposition is ethical and an ethical examination showed that it is also equally false. Perpetual war, revolution, and other cataclysmic changes, said the lecturer, were due to the influence of this egoistic theory. Salvation will only come when human affairs are broad based on the recognition of altruistic principles in human conduct. Religion, and particularly Islam, holds the key to such an era, for the Islamic conception of the State is based on the recognition of altruistic as well as individualistic motives.

The U. P. Muslim Educational Conference has just published a report of its sub-Committee which was set up to examine from the Muslim point of view the report of the Primary and Secondary Education Re-

organisation Committee appointed by the U. P. Government. The sub-Committee complains that the official committee has failed to appreciate the special nature of the religious and cultural safeguards which the Muslims rightly demand for their self-development and indirectly for the betterment of the country as a whole. The sub-Committee endorses the basic principles of the new system of education that there should be a uniform system of compulsory education for rural and urban areas, but it harbours a doubt about the success of the scheme, for it is likely to incur, besides the capital expenditure of Rs. 10 Crores on buildings, equipment, etc., a stupendous amount of Rs. 11.25 Crores per annum to impart education on new lines. The sub-Committee agrees with the view that education should be co-related with one and more forms of manual and productive works and with the social and physical environment of the child. But it adds that in selecting subjects for vocational education, the social and physical environment of the children should be kept in mind, particularly in the case of Muslims, whose occupations are not shared by other communities. The sub-Committee disfavours co-education and advocates separate provisions for the education of boys and girls, except in rare cases where financial considerations may make such separation impossible. The sub-Committee does not agree with the view expressed in the Reorganisation Report that denominational institutions are incompetent and harmful, and resents the suggestion of abolishing Islamic Schools. As regards the syllabus, it raises objection to the fact that in optional subjects Arabic and Persian find no place in the curriculum of the upper classes of Basic education. It also characterises music and dancing as unsuitable for Muslim boys, and favours drawing and painting in their stead.

The 18th of November 1939 saw the 25th anniversary of the death of the late Maulānā Shibli Naomānī, the founder of the Shibli Academy, also known as *Dārul-Muṣamfafeen*, Azamgarh. Some lovers of the Academy suggested celebrating the anniversary this year more attractively than usual, but Maulānā Syed Sulaimān Nadvī, was not in favour of disturbing the serene calmness of his Academy by noisy shows. He, however, proposes to publish shortly a biography of his revered master in two volumes, which will also give a background of the literary and cultural history of India of the latter part of the 19th century.

In the October number of the *Ma'ārif*, Azamgarh, appears a very learned article on the etymology of Baghdād, generally supposed to be a compound of "باغ"—Garden and "داد"—justice, and to have been founded by Nūshērwan the Just. But the learned writer of the above article says that the name of the city existed eleven or twelve hundred years before Nūshērwan, and prior even to Zoroaster. 'Bagh' was originally Fagh (فغ) which means in old Persian 'God or Idol.' "Fagh" was transformed into "Bagh" by constant use. Dād (داد) means 'Gift.' Thus Baghdād would mean 'Gift of God' i. e., city populated by God.

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The 23rd volume of the Catalogue of Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore has just been received and contains notices of 139 manuscripts, subdivided into six groups of Poetry, Anthologies, Elegant Prose, Letters, Fables and Tales. Among the old and rare manuscripts the following were considered worthy of special mention in the preface.

(1) An old and valuable copy of *An-Nahhās* :—a commentary on *Al-Mu'allagāt*, probably of the 6th century A.H.

(2) A very fine and valuable copy of *Dīwān* of 'Alī compiled by Ar-Rāwandī dated A.H. 858/A.D. 1454.

(3) An exceedingly valuable copy of Al-Buṣrī's *Qaṣīdat-al-Burdah*, originally presented by Abdal Qādir bin Muḥammad Ibn Zuhairah al Ḥanblī al Makkī to Sulṭān Bāyazīd II (A.H. 886-918/A.D. 1481-1512).

(4) An old and unique copy of Az-Zarkashī's commentary on *Qaṣīdat-al-Burdah*.

(5) A very rare copy of an abridgement of Ibn Nubātah's *Sūq ar-Raqīq* dated A.H. 1006/A.D. 1597.

(6) A very old copy of Aṭ-Ṭabrīzī's commentary of *Al-Ḥamāsah* dated A.H. 678/A.D. 1279.

(7) A very rare or probably unique copy of *Nūr-al-Azhar* by Sulaimān bin Amīr bin Rashīd bin Abī al Haqīr at-Tarāwī al Aqarī.

(8) A very fine and old copy of *Nahj-al-Balāghat* dated A.H. 868/A.D. 1463.

(9) A fine and old copy of Al Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* dated A.H. 630/A.D. 1232.

(10) An illustrated copy of *Maqāmāt* written in elegant Arabian Naskh within double red-ruled borders with forty-two quaint miniatures.

(11) A valuable copy of *Nasīm-aṣ-Ṣabā*, by Badruddīn Abū Zāhir ad-Damishqī ash-Shāfi'ī (dated A.H. 779/A.D. 1377). The manuscript was transcribed in A.H. 765, that is, within the author's lifetime, by his son Ṭāhir.

The Bengal Asiatic Society has published a useful book, namely, *Tārīkh-e-Shāhī* by Aḥmad Yādgar, which is also known as *Tārīkh-e-Salāṭīn-e-Afghānān*. The author was a servant of the Sūr Kings, and wrote the above history at the instance of Dāūd Shāh, who died in 984 A.H. The book commences with the reign of Bahlol Lodhī and ends with the defeat, capture and execution of Himū, the rival of Akbar the Great. It pays little regard to dates, and consists of a good number of "Marvellous and Ridiculous Stories"; still it provides some useful materials for contemporary period. It has been ably edited by Shamsul-ulema Khān Bahādur Dr. Hidāyat Ḥussain, who has already won laurels for his scholar-

ship by editing a large number of Persian manuscripts published by the above-mentioned society.

A valuable collection of Muhammadan Coins has been published by the Curator of the Dacca Museum. These coins formerly belonged to Maulānā Ḥakīm Ḥabībūr Raḥmān, the renowned scholar of Dacca, who presented them to the said Museum. The coins number 211 of which three belong to the Hindu period, viz., one of the ruler of Kashmir, one of the ruler of Waihend, which was swept off during Maḥmūd Ghaznavī's raid, and one of the Gharwara dynasty of Kanauj. The rest are coins of Muhammadan rulers, the oldest among them being of the Ommayyad Caliph Abdul Malik, who was the first sovereign in Islam to issue coins. It is dated 81 A.H. On one side there is the *Kalama-e-Tauḥīd* and the date and on the reverse is inscribed the "سوره اخلاص" and one more Quranic verse. The largest collection is of Sher Shāh's coins, numbering 59, of which the one dated 945 A.H. is very rare. Then there are the coins of rulers of Bengal, Jaunpur, and Gujrāt. There is one coin of the king of Nepal, and another of the rulers of Ghaznī. The Timuride and Šafvī dynasties of Irān as well as Amīrs of Kabul are also represented.

S. S.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

HAMĀRĪ NAFSIYĀT, an Urdu translation of A. E. Mander's *Psychology for Every Man and Woman*, by *Shaidā Muḥammad*, which covers over a hundred pages.

SHAKUNTALĀ OF KĀLIDĀS (pp. 128), translated into Urdu by Sayyed Akhtar Hussain Raipuri, direct from Sanskrit.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN CONSTITUTION, by Dr. Yūsuf Hussain Khān, D. Litt (Paris), Reader at the Osmania University.

NUṢRATĪ a critical study of the works of the poet laureate, Nuṣratī of Bijapur, at the court of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, by Dr. Moulvī Abdul Haq, the secretary of the Anjuman pp. 337.

THE above publications of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Delhi, have recently appeared in quite up to date get-up and neat binding, just like European publications :-

Hamārī Nafsiyāt is an Urdu translation of A. E. Mander's *Psychology for Every Man and Woman*, by *Shaidā Muḥammad*, which covers over a hundred pages. The main function of this book is to help us to *understand ourselves*, and the English original in its general appeal has been so popular that within one year six editions were published. The language of the translation is also very simple, and sometimes one feels that one is reading an original publication into Urdu.

Shakuntalā of Kālidās (pp. 128) is translated into Urdu by Sayyed Akhtar Hussain Raipuri, direct from Sanskrit. The foreword covers fourteen pages, in which Mr. Akhtar has discussed the life and work of Kālidās, of which we possess very scanty

information. The translator has also given the popular plot of *Shakuntalā* for the general reader. On the whole the translation is highly successful. It is a pleasure that the Anjuman has furnished us with a most important complete Urdu version, breathing the original spirit of this classical masterpiece.

A History of Indian Constitution, by Dr. Yūsuf Hussain Khān, D. Litt. (Paris), Reader at the Osmania University. Dr. Yūsuf has discussed the historical development of British Indian constitution from the beginning of the East India Company up to our days. This may serve as a useful text-book. The compiler has appended a brief bibliography of works he has utilised. The study of this book will also supply the reader with the Urdu terminology of Political Science.

Nuṣratī :- a critical study of the works of the poet laureate, Nuṣratī of Bijapur, at the court of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, by Dr. Moulvī Abdul Haq, the secretary of the Anjuman, pp. 337. The learned author has traced the details of the life of Nuṣratī from his own writings, which he has so ably discussed in a long introduction, incidentally refuting the theory that Nuṣratī was of Brahman origin. His works, *Gulshan-i-Ishq*, *'Alī Nāma* and *Tārīkh-i-Sikandarī* have been fully explained in the light of history and literature, which was most necessary to an understanding of the real background of Nuṣratī's writings.

The *'Alī Nāma* is something of an epic, describing wars of the poet's patron 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh against the Mahrattas, while the *Tārīkh-i-Sikandarī* is an account of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's successor Sikandar, who came to the throne in 1083 A.H. The vocabulary used by Nuṣratī is practically unintelligible to the present-day reader, and it

must be regarded as a marvel of scholarly research that the learned author succeeded in reading and interpreting all obsolete words and idioms with perfect certitude. Of very great help to students of old Urdu, the book may well be cited as an eloquent testimony to Dr. Abdul Haq's profound erudition.

STUDIES IN SHĀHNĀMEH, by Sir J. C. Coyajee (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co.)

THIS is a collection of six essays written with the object "to contribute to the study of that body of Iranian and foreign legends and mythology which form the groundwork of the *Shāhnāme*." To achieve this, the learned author had to undertake a comprehensive study of comparative Mythology, which enabled him to show traces of the ancient Hittite motifs preserved in the Iranian epic, and, on the other hand, to indicate the extent to which the *Shāhnāme* has influenced legendary tales in Europe. This seems to open a new field of research and, from this point of view alone, Sir Coyajee's pioneer work should attract the attention of all lovers of Mythology.

In dealing with Firdausi's Theology, the author is inclined to assume that the poet's notions about Wisdom, Soul, etc., were borrowed directly from such Pahlavi books as *Mainog-i-Khirad*, *Dāstān-i-Dīnik* and *Dīnkārd*, but ignores the likelihood of Firdausi's having used the Persian translations of these works which are known to have existed in his time.

M.A.C.

TABAQĀT AL-SHU'ARĀ' AL-MUḤ-DATHĪN of Ibn al-Mu'tazz reproduced in facsimile with introduction, notes and variants by A. Eghbal. *Gibb Memorial*, London 1939. 4 to 226 pp. Arabic text; 32 pp. Introduction and 56 pp. Notes and additions.

ABDALLAH son of the Caliph al-Mu'tazz was born in 247. An unsuccessful attempt was made on the 20th of Rabi' I 296 to make him caliph; he

was compelled to seek refuge with the celebrated jewel-dealer Ibn al-Jassās, was made prisoner and strangled on the 2nd of Rabi' II of the same year. Very little is known of his life before that eventful day. As a rich prince of the imperial house, he lived the life of a patron of learning, and himself was a productive author. Several of his works have come down to us and four had been published before the appearance of the present volume. A collection of his poems, a *Diwān* in two volumes, was published in a very inadequate edition in Alexandria in 1891 (Reprinted since in Bairut), apparently representing the text of his pupil Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣūlī. This is practically confirmed by a similar *Diwān* which is incorporated by aṣ-Ṣūlī in his *Kitāb al-Aurāq* dealing with the poetry of the sons of the caliphs (*Ash'ār Aulād al-khulafā'* pp. 114-296). Most poems in these two collections are identical and errors in either collections can be corrected from the other. A smaller work *Fuṣūl al-Tamāthīl fī Tabāshīr as-Surūr* was published in 1344 (1925) after the Cairo manuscript. It deals with the poetry on wine, etc., with short prose excursions and is really a collection of poems, mostly by modern poets, including many specimens of his own composition. In *Monde Oriental* vol. XVIII pp. 56-121. Kratshkofski published a prose collection of aphorisms based upon the unique manuscript in the British Museum. This work, I feel sure, is identical with the "*Kitāb al-Fuṣūl*" mentioned in Brockelmann's *History of Arabic Literature* (Supplement I. 130) as No. 14. Extracts from this work are found in Ibn al-Jauzi's *Muntaẓam* (ed. Hyderabad VI. 84) and elsewhere which give the impression that the British Museum manuscript is not complete.

Of greater importance and of more lasting influence was his *Kitāb al-Badī'* which has appeared in the same series as the present work and edited by Kratshkofski also, as it is the first attempt of a literary classification of Arabic poetry. This work was composed in 274 when the author was 27 years of age and is the only one of his works of which we know the date of composition.

The library of the Escorial in Spain possesses a fine copy of an abridgement

instead of facetious tales which often throw a lurid light upon the manners of 'Abbāsī civilisation. This applies specially to the second half of the volume.

To sum up, Professor Iqbāl has rendered a signal service in widening our knowledge of the literary activity in the cultural centre of the Caliphate in the second and third century of the Hijra.

EARLY ARABIC ODES CHOSEN FROM THE SELECTIONS OF AL-MUFADDAL AND AL-AṢMA'Ī by S. M. Husain, *University of Dacca* 1938. 8vo. 366 pp. of Arabic text ; 43 and 189 pages of Introduction and English Translation.

THIS is a sterling piece of work both as regards the Arabic text and the English translation. The manuscript was at one time in my possession and Sir Charles Lyall had it for many years when preparing his monumental edition of the Mufaḍḍaliyāt. It is now the property of the library of the India Office.

The editor in his introduction discusses at length the origin of this anthology of ancient Arabic poems and how it gradually grew in dimensions. According to the accepted version, it consisted originally of thirty poems (we do not know which) made by the Kūfī scholar al-Mufaḍḍal for his pupil, the future caliph al-Mahdī. He himself later added other poems and the Baṣrian al-Aṣma'ī made further additions. This collection of poems the exact extent of which we do not know, was called *al-Ikhtiyārāin*, the two selections, the title which it has in the manuscript which forms the basis of the edition. A curious account as to its origin, unknown to Sir Charles Lyall and the present editor is found in the *Maqātil aṭ-Ṭālibiyyīn* by Abul Faraj al-Isbahānī, the author of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Tihiran edition 1307 p. 119). Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. al Madī a rebellion against the Caliph al-Manṣūr as a result of which he was killed in 145 A.H. Among his followers was al-Mufaḍḍal. The account runs as follows after a complete Isnād : Muḥammad b. Sulāimān related that Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh said :

Al-Mufaḍḍal aḍ-Ḍabbi settled with me at the time he was in hiding and al-Mufaḍḍal was an adherent of the Zaidi faction. Ibrāhīm said to him : Bring me some of thy books that I may look into them for I am greatly worried since I started the rebellion. So he brought him some poetry of the Arabs and he selected certain poems which he copied out in a separate volume. Al-Mufaḍḍal stated : Then, when Ibrāhīm was killed, I did publish them and the people attributed them to me. These are the poems which are called the Selection of al-Mufaḍḍal, seventy poems. Later I added to them and made them with the additions to be 120 poems."

Whatever value this account may have, coming from a reliable source, so much is certain that this collection has always been attributed to the two scholars named. Unfortunately the India Office manuscript contains only the second volume. While for the collection of al-Mufaḍḍal we have a well-authenticated recension by the elder Anbārī and finally issued by his son Abū Bakr (died 328), such is not the case for the selections of al-Aṣma'ī; and as Professor Husain has pointed out there are indications that his selections contained poems found neither in the Aṣma'īyat published by Ahlwardt nor in the present edition. I fully agree with him that in this volume we have a much earlier recension than that of al-Anbārī, namely, that of Ibn as-Sikkīt who died murdered in 245. Ibn as-Sikkīt though belonging to the Kūfī school had studied under the most eminent Baṣrians like al-Aṣma'ī, Abū 'Ubaida and others. It is also evident that Ibn Qutaiba (died 291) had before him this very collection. I could place at the disposition of the editor the second volume of the *Kitāb al-Ma'ānī al-Kabīr*, one of the treasures of the India Office Library, but have since been able, through the kindness of Professor August Fischer, to make a copy of the first volume of this work, the original of which is in the Aya Sofia in Istanbul. In this volume also verses of the *Ikhtiyārāin* are cited together with the commentaries almost verbatim. Ibn Qutaiba in this work has practically nowhere acknowledged the sources which he has plagiarised, but many of his sources,

like the works of al-Jāhīz, we can even now trace in very many cases.

The publication of this important collection brings us nearer to penetrating the obscurity of the preservation of so much ancient Arabic poetry. As regards the poets, they range from the time of paganism to the early times of the 'Abbāsi rule, the latest in date being an-Nazzar b. Hāshim of the clan of Faq'as, a subdivision of the Banū Asad. Several poets are almost or entirely unknown. I had already added the two poems by Khālid b. as-Šaq'ab and Jubaiha' respectively to the *Hamāsa* of Ibn ash-Shajari (pp. 291-295) from the same manuscript in the British Museum, but we have them here fully vocalised, so essential for such difficult Arabic texts.

The English translation too is very satisfactory and we must be grateful to the author and the authorities of Dacca University for publishing this important work in such an attractive form.

SIRAT AHMAD B. TULUN by Abū Muhammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad al-Madīnī al-Balawī edited with notes by Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī. Damascus 1358, 8vo. 400 pp.

IT is well-known that the large chronicle of Ṭabarī is not very exhaustive for the history of Syria, Egypt and the West for the period after the fall of the Umayyade rule. We have far more information in the works on the governors and judges of Egypt by al-Kindi published by Guest in the Gibb Memorial. Yet even this work devotes only a few pages to the period when Ahmad ibn Ṭulūn was virtually an independent ruler of Egypt and Syria from 254 to 270. In 1894 Vollers published a portion of the *Kitāb al-Mughrib* by the Spanish author Ibn Sa'īd which contained large extracts, but not a complete monograph on the life of Ibn Ṭulūn by Ahmad. b. Yūsuf ibn Dāya who died in 324 and had collected his material from persons who were relations or otherwise in close connection with the Amīr. That Ibn Sa'īd did not embody the whole work of Ibn Dāya in his work transpires from the history of

al-Balawī now published. Moreover the work of Ibn Dāya contains much gossip which though of little historical value throws a good light upon the character of Ibn Ṭulūn.

As regards al-Balawī we know precious little about him. According to information furnished to the editor by Prof. Ivanov and the Mujtahid Abū Abdillāh az-Zinjānī he was probably an adherent of the Isma'īlī sect, but Shī'ah authors stigmatised him as a liar and as untrustworthy, which I understand to refer to purely Shī'ah doctrines. We have to fix his date approximately near the Faṭimide conquest of Egypt, i.e., he was a younger contemporary of al-Kindi. He himself in his introduction finds fault with the manner of writing history as found in the book of Ibn Dāya, yet he copies about 50 anecdotes taken from the work of the latter to which he adds about the same number the source of which is not certain. He tries to outline the history of Ibn Ṭulūn in chronological order and we get a vivid picture of the intrigues between Ibn Ṭulūn, al-Muwaffaq and the latter's brother the caliph al-Mu'tamid, who plays quite a secondary role. The character of Ibn Ṭulūn, in spite of his great works in building and alleviating the lot of the toilers of the soil, does not appear in a very favourable light. His treachery and cruelty towards those who intrigued against him or displeased him make him a model for the ruler as depicted in Machiavelli's *Principe*. The revolt of his own son al-'Abbās shows what he had to contend with and the punishments meted out to those who aided the latter throw a glaring light upon the ferocity of the times. Ahmad's own brother, when banished to Tarasūs, openly assumed white garments, the emblem of Shī'ah tenets. The caliphate was too weak to check Ibn Ṭulūn's ambitions, and expeditions sent against him ended in failure. During a winter-campaign against the Greeks, he contracted influenza, hastened back to Egypt, had his doctor executed because he had incurred his displeasure and died on Sunday the 10th of Dhul Qa'dā 270 A.H.

Only one manuscript of this important work is known, that in the Zāhiriya library

in Damascus and this perhaps is not complete at the end as the author gives us to understand that his history should contain also the reigns of his successors. It was no easy task to publish a work so valuable for the history of the times as it contains references to persons and places not mentioned in any other history and some such names had to remain in their form without points as in the manuscript.

However Mr. Kurd 'Alī has in most cases been successful in elucidating such difficulties on account of his profound knowledge of the mediæval history of Syria and Egypt. This has been amply proved by this his latest work. The book is printed in clear large type on good paper and has the essential indices.

F. KRENKOW.

THE LIBRARY OF TĪPŪ SULTĀN

(A.H. 1197-1214/A.D. 1782-1799)

SULṬĀN Faṭḥ 'Alī better known as Tīpū Sultān¹ was a great patron of learning. Under his fostering care a large number of books were written by scholars who adorned his court. When Tīpū Sultān was killed² in battle, and Seringapatam was conquered by the army of the East India Company in May 1799, his library was preserved and presented, with the exception of a few manuscripts selected for the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to the East India Company. By the order of the Marquis of Wellesley, the then Governor-General, all the Mysore manuscripts were transferred to the Fort William College which was founded in 1800³ for the instruction of the Company's European officers in oriental languages. Stewart has written a Descriptive Catalogue of this Library which was published at Cambridge, 1809. He says in the preface, page V: "The Library consisted of nearly 2,000 volumes of Arabic, Persian and Hindī manuscripts in all the various branches of Mohammadan literature." Further Stewart remarks: "Theology or Sufyism was his (Tīpū Sultān's) favourite study. But the Sultān was ambitious of being an author; and, although we have not discovered any complete work of his composition, no less than *forty-five books*, on different subjects, were either composed, or translated from other languages under his immediate patronage or inspection."

1. The mother of Tīpū Sultān, by name Fāṭima, was the daughter of Mīr Mu'īnuddīn, the Governor of the Fort at Kuddapah. When she became pregnant, she, with her husband Ḥaidar 'Alī, paid a visit to a saint to beg his blessings for the child and to pray for her safe and easy delivery. The holy man informed them that the lady would give birth to a boy. The prediction of the saint became true and the parent named the new-born babe "Tīpū" after the name of the saint. He was also called "Faṭḥ 'Alī" after the name of his grandfather. He was born on Friday, the 20th of Dhī'l Hijja, A.H. 1163 (8th November, A.D. 1750): See *Tārīkh Salṭanat Khudādād*, p. 166, and also Stewart, *Catalogue*, p. 43, where the year of birth is given as 1749 A.D. Haig in *The Ency. of Islam*, vol. IV, p. 184, gives the year of Tīpū's birth as A.D. 1753 (A.H. 1167).

2. A poet has written a fine chronogram on the death of Tīpū Sultān. It runs as follows:—

چو آن مرد میدان نهای شد ز دنیا خرد گفت تاریخ شمشیر گم شد

When that great warrior hid himself from the world,

Wisdom recorded the date (of his demise) "the sword is lost" (A.H. 1214/A.D. 1799).

3. See Thomas Rosbuck, *The Annals of the College of Fort William*, Calcutta, 1819.

When the Fort William College was abolished in 1830,¹ the manuscripts were transferred to different institutions and libraries of India and England. I give at first a short description of those manuscripts which were composed for the Sultān or under his direct supervision or order and are preserved in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and then I shall deal very shortly with those MSS. which are preserved in the India Office Library, basing my description chiefly on the *Catalogue of the Persian MSS.* by Dr. Hermann Ethé, printed at Oxford, 1903.

Before embarking on the subject, I wish to say something on two points,— (1) the bindings of the manuscripts and (2) the dates which are generally written at the end of the manuscripts composed for the Sultān.

(1) All the volumes have inscriptions pressed into the leather of the binding. Stewart, in the preface to his *Catalogue*, p. V, says: "All the vols. that had been rebound in Seringapatam have the names of God, Mohammad, his daughter, Fāṭimah, and her sons, Ḥassan and Ḥussain, stamped in the medallion on the middle of the cover; and the names of the four first Khalīfs, Abu Bakr, 'Omar, 'Oṣman, and 'Alī, on the four corners. At top is *Sirkārī Khodādād*, (Government given by God); and at the bottom *Allāh Kāfy*, (God is sufficient). A few were impressed with the private signet of Tipū Sultān." For further description of the binding see the India Office Cat. No. 2801. The manuscript described in this number still retains the binding made in Seringapatam during the reign of Tipū Sultān.

(2) As regards the dates, these are given in the Mawlūdī Era. For an explanation of this era and other changes in the Islāmic chronology made by the Sultān, please see Appendix A.

The following manuscripts are in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

QUR'ĀNIC SCIENCE

1. *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān* (جواهر القرآن): A complete index to all the *Rukū'āt* (Sing. *Rukū'*, an inclination of the head or bow. These are sections of about ten verses or less; they are marked on the margin of the Qur'ān with the letter 'ain, with the number of *rukū'* over it) which are found in the Qur'ān, arranged alphabetically in 254 *bābs* or chapters according to the first two letters of the words at which the *rukū'* is due. The work was compiled at the request of Tipū Sultān by Ghulām Ahmad (the author of the *Zād al-Mujāhidīn* and the *Khulāṣa-i-Sultānī*, see Nos. 19 and 20) and Sayyid 'Alī, the Qāḍī of the Army. It is practically a concordance of the Qur'ān arranged alphabetically for an easy location of the place where a verse in the sacred book occurs. It may not be out of place to mention here that a similar work, under the title *Nujūm al-Qur'ān* by

1. See *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. XXII, 1921, p. 138.

Mustafā bin Muḥammad Sa'id, was dedicated to the Emperor 'Ālamgīr in A.H. 1103/A.D. 1691. All pious and religious monarchs paid special attention to the study of the Qur'ān. We find in the work under notice, after the preface and the long eulogistic poem on Tīpū Sultān, a prologue (*muqaddima*) in three chapters on different matters connected with the subject. The work begins on fol. 16a and ends on fol. 153a. The colophon indicates that it was written by as-Sayyid 'Alī in 1223 of the Mawlūdī Era. Dr. Ethé in his catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the Library of the India Office No. 2709, p. 1472 thinks that "Mawlūd (birth) is taken in a symbolical sense and means the same as *bi'that* (mission) there; in this case it would be about A.H. 1211 (A.D. 1796)." See also Appendix A.

For copies see Catalogue of Asiatic Society of Bengal (1924) Nos. 979, 980, page 475 and for another copy see the India Office Catalogue No. 2709, page 1472. Stewart has also mentioned this work in No. 32, p. 173. The Society's copy (No. 979) is neatly written in Nasta'liq character.

2. *Rukū'āt Qur'ān*. (دکوعات قرآن): A short index to the *Rukū'āt* (see the meaning in No. 1) found in the Qur'ān, compiled by order of Tīpū Sultān. In this treatise all the *Rukū'āt* mentioned in *Nujūm al-Qur'ān* (described in No. 1) have been selected and compiled in the form of a treatise for ready reference. The name of the author is not known. It amounts to 574 *rukū'āt*. There is a seal of Tīpū Sultān on fol. 1 just below *Bismillāh*. It has 29 foll.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1924) Nos. 981 and 982. For another copy see Ethé; India Office Catalogue No. 2710.

Written in Nasta'liq character by Mīrzā Muḥammad Naṣīr Aḥmad in 1223 of the Mawlūdī Era.

3. *Qir'at-i-Muḥammadiya* (قرأة محمديه): A work in Persian on the seven legitimate "Readings" of the text of the Qur'ān in general and the views of 'Umar bin Ḥaṣṣ (died about A.H. 240/A.D. 854. See al-Jazārī's *Ghāyat an-Nihāya*, Vol. I, p. 591) in particular, written at the request of Tīpū Sultān. Four eminent scholars of the Court, Sayyid 'Alī Husainī, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Siddīqī, Shaikh Aḥmad and 'Abd al-Hakīm, undertook the task of compiling the book and in 1222 of Mawlūdī Era, according to 1209 Hijra, the work was completed. It contains altogether 14 chapters which are enumerated in Ethé Catalogue. No. 2708, p. 1471. It is also called *Qawānīn-i-Haṣṣiya* (قوانین حفصیه).

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1924) No. 983 and also Ethé: India Office Catalogue, No. 2708. It contains 78 foll. written in clear Nasta'liq, dated 1222, Mawlūdī Era, scribe Sayyid Ḥusain.

Foll. 80-101, another copy of the *Rukū'āt-i-Qur'ān* دکوعات قرآن described in No. 2.

4. Foll. 102b-110, *Fihrist Juzhā-i-Kitāb Allāh* (فهرست جزهائی کتاب الله): In this treatise only the names of the 30 parts of the Qur'ān have been written at the request of Tīpū Sultān.

5. Foll. 111b-120a *Risāla-i-Āyāt* (رساله آیات): In this treatise the total verses found in each of the thirty parts of the Qur'ān have been enumerated. The treatise was written by order of Tīpū Sultān. At the end it is stated that the Qur'ān contains 30 parts, 114 Sūrahs and six thousand two hundred and thirty-eight verses.

Written in clear Nasta'liq.

6. *Fihrist Sūrahā-i-Kitāb Allāh* (فهرست سورهائی کتاب الله): This is another treatise in which a list of the chapters of the Qur'ān is given together with a statement with regard to each chapter, whether it was revealed in Mecca or Madinah, the number of verses, words and letters in each chapter, and also the peculiarities of each chapter. This work was also composed by order of Tīpū Sultān. It has 6 foll.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1924) No. 978, and the Catalogue of the India Office by Ethé No. 2711.

Written in semi-Shikasta

HADĪTH (SAYINGS OF THE PROPHET)

7. *Aḥādīth dar bāb Ma'kūl wa Mashrūb* (احادیث در باب ما کول و مشروب): In this treatise the Traditions of the Prophet regarding food, drink and fruits have been collected and a Persian translation of Arabic version has been given. It was composed by order of Tīpū Sultān by Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh in A.H. 1212 (A.D. 1797). The Arabic version is marked with red ink. It contains altogether 33 foll.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1924) No. 1021.

Written in Nasta'liq.

8. Foll. 34-39 contain a small treatise by Tīpū Sultān on the hygienic principles of food.

Written in semi-Shikasta, Scribe 'Abdul-Qādir Thanā Khwān.

MUḤAMMADAN LAW

9. *Fakhr ash-Shaykh* (فخر الشیوخ): A compendium of scholastic theology, law and art of government in Persian compiled at the request of Tīpū Sultān (A.H. 1197-1214/A.D. 1782-1799) by 'Alī Ridā Sharaf. In the preface the author mentions two other works composed by order of the Sultān, viz., *Faṭḥ al-Mujāhidīn* by Zain al-'Ābidīn of Shushtar (See No. 18) and the *Mufarraḥ al-Qulūb* by Ḥasan 'Alī, with poetical surname " 'Izzat " (See No. 62). The work is divided into three chapters. The first chapter is on scholastic theology and begins on fol. 6b and ends on fol. 12a. The second chapter comprises thirty-four *faṣls*, dealing with the regulations for ablutions, prayers, holy war, etc. It begins on fol. 12

and ends on fol. 28a. The third chapter is on the art of government and contains three sub-sections and begins on fol. 28a and ends on fol. 44a.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1056. Two copies of this work are in the India Office Library, see Ethé, Catalogue Nos. 2616 and 2617.

Written in clear Nasta'liq.

10. *Fiqh-i-Muḥammadī* (فتحه محمدی): A small treatise in twenty-five chapters in Persian on the important laws of Islām. From the preface it appears that when about *four lakhs* of people from the neighbourhood of Patan came and accepted Tipū Sultān as their religious leader and made a pledge (*Bai'at*) with him, he called the eminent 'Ulamā' of his Court and requested them to collect the important problems of Muḥammadan Law in general and also those which are particularly connected with female sect according to Ḥanafī School. The 'Ulamā' after consulting reliable works selected the important problems of law and narrated them to the Sultān who in turn dictated them in his own words which were written down. Consequently I think this work is composed by Tipū Sultān.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1057.

It contains 23 foll. and is written in ordinary Nasta'liq character by Sayyid 'Alī Qāḍī.

11. *Fatāwā-i-Muḥammadī* (فتاوی محمدی): A work on Muḥammadan Law according to Ḥanafī School in Persian composed at the request of Tipū Sultān by a number of Court Scholars. The names of reliable works on Muḥammadan Law, such as *Hidāya*,¹ *Sharḥ Wiqāya*,² *Fath al-Qadīr*³ and other books used as a source for this work, are enumerated on fol. 5a. It contains 313 chapters.

The work ends on fol. 325a. A complete index is given on the fly-leaves (pp. I-XI). Pages 326-350 contain prayers against various diseases etc., and ninety-nine names of God, the Prophet, 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan

1. *Hidāya* is a commentary by Burhānūd-Dīn Abū'l Ḥasan 'Alī bin 'Abdal-Jalīl Marghīnānī (d. A.H. 593' A.D. 1196) on his own work *Bidāyat al-Muṭtadī* on Hanafite law. The work was printed in Calcutta, A.H. 1234 and lithographed repeatedly in India. It has been translated into English by C. Hamilton, London, 1791, and this translation was edited for the second time by S. G. Grady, London, 1870. See Ḥājī Khalīfā, vol. VI, p. 479 and Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, vol. I, p. 376.

2. *Sharḥ Wiqāya* is a commentary on *al-Wiqāya* (an abridgement of *Hidāya* by Tāj ash-Sharī'a Māhmūd bin Šadr ash-Sharī'at al-Awwal Aḥmad al-Maḥbūbī) by Šadr ash-Sharī'a al-Aṣghar 'Ubaidallah bin Mas'ūd bin Tāj ash-Sharī'a Māhmūd bin Šadr ash-Sharī'at al-Awwal Aḥmad al-Maḥbūbī. He was the grandson of the author of the text, *al-Wiqāya* and died in A.H. 747/A.D. 1346: See *Tāj at-Tarājim*, p. 118, and Brockelmann, vol. II, p. 214. The commentary along with its text has been frequently lithographed in Lucknow and Calcutta: See Sarkis, *Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'āt*, p. 1200.

3. *Fath al-Qadīr* is a well-known commentary on *al-Hidāya* by Kamālud-Dīn Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Wāḥid, commonly called Ibn al-Humām, died in A.H. 861/A.D. 1456: See Brockelmann, vol. II, p. 225. The present commentary has been frequently printed and lithographed: See Sarkis, p. 278.

Husain and Ghawth A'zam Muḥī ud-Dīn 'Abd ul-Qādir Gilānī.¹ Foll. 350-352 are a mandate to Muslims in general to unite and to follow one leader.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1924) Nos. 1056 and 1059 and also Ethé, Catalogue of India Office Library No. 2618.

Written in clear Nasta'liq character, Scribe Ghulām Husain Khān Ghilzī.

12. *Risāla dar Nikāḥ* (رساله در نکاح): A treatise in Persian exclusively dealing with the question of marriage and its religious and moral advantages. It was composed by order of Tipū Sultān. From the colophon it appears that this treatise is a translation of a portion of *Sharḥ 'Ain al-'Ilm*. Muḥammad bin 'Uthmān al-Balakhī has written '*Ain al-'Ilm*² and 'Alī bin Sultān Muḥammad al-Haravī, known as Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī, (d. A.H. 1014/A.D. 1605) has written a commentary on it under the title *Sharah 'Ain al-'Ilm*. Both the text and the commentary are in Arabic and were printed at Constantinople³ in A.H. 1202.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1060. It contains 14 foll. and is written in Nasta'liq character.

13. *Ṭā'āt Sanīya* (طاعات سنیه): A work on the prayers each of which is fixed for a particular month of the year. It is based on reliable works and on six Canonical books of Ḥadīth (*Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta*)⁴ and chiefly on *Jawāhir-*

1. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī was born in A.H. 470/A.D. 1077 and died in A.H. 561/A.D. 1168. He is considered as one of the greatest Saints of Islām. For details of his life and works see my article in the *Indian World*, vol. I, No. 6, December, 1938, pp. 36-38.

2. '*Ain al-'Ilm* is an abridgement of Muḥammad bin Muḥammad al-Ghazālī's (d. A.H. 505/A.D. 1111) work entitled *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, see Stewart, Cat. of the Library of Tipū Sultān, p. 139. Loth in his Catalogue of India Office No. 680 rejects this statement and writes that it is an independent work on asceticism and Sufism, but 'Alī Qārī (d. A.H. 1014/A.D. 1605) in his commentary on this work states in the preface that it is an abridgement of '*Iḥyā' al-'Ulūm*. Hājī Khālifa, vol. VI, p. 159 and Ahlwardt in Berlin Cat. No. 3064 prefer the title *منهاج العارفين* (*Manāḥij-al-'Arifīn*). There is also disagreement as to its authorship. Hājī Khālifa and Berlin Cat. ascribe the work to 'Abdallāh bin 'Abd ar-Rāhmān al-Madā'īnī; Brockelmann, vol. I, p. 201 to Abū 'Abd ar-Rāhmān Muḥammad bin Husain as-Sulaimī, d. A.H. 412/A.D. 1021. Again Hājī Khālifa vol. IV, p. 283 and Sarkis, p. 586 say that Muḥammad bin 'Uthmān bin 'Umar al-Balakhī al-Hanafī a scholar of the 8th century, is the author of the book. 'Alī Qārī in his commentary on the authority of Ibn Hajar 'Asqalānī (d. A.H. 852/A.D. 1449) holds that it is a work of a certain Indian scholar. For detail life of Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī see my *Catalogue of the Buhār Library*, vol. II, p. 37.

3. See Sarkis, *Mu'jam al-Maṭbū'āt*, p. 586.

4. *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta* is the name of the six famous collections of Ḥadīth (Sayings of the Prophet) according to Sunni School. They are by (1) al-Bukhārī (d. A.H. 256/A.D. 870); (2) Muslim (d. A.H. 261/A.D. 873); (3) Abū Dā'ūd (d. A.H. 275/A.D. 888); (4) at-Tirmidhī (d. A.H. 279/A.D. 892); (5) an-Nasāī (d. A.H. 303/A.D. 915); (6) and Ibn Māja (d. A.H. 273/A.D. 886), or Mālik bin Anas (d. A.H. 179/A.D. 795). The Moslem traditionists of Africa consider that the work of Mālik bin Anas (*al-Muwatta'a*) should be reckoned as the sixth book, while others are of opinion that the book of Ibn Māja (*as-Sunan*) should be reckoned as such.

i-*Jalālīya* (probably means *Jawāhir-i-Khamsa*¹ by Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauth, d. A.H. 970/A.D. 1562) and *Du'āt-i-Saifī*.² It was composed by order of Tipū Sultān for his use. It contains twelve chapters, enumerated on fol. 3. The twelfth chapter gives the prayers which should be recited at the time of draught, lunar and solar eclipses and during earthquakes.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1096.

It is defective at the end and contains 296 foll.

Written in ordinary Nasta'liq.

14. *Mu'aiyid al-Mujāhidīn* (مويد المجاهدين): A collection of *Khutbas* or sermons in verse to be read from the pulpit. Composed at the request of Tipū Sultān by Zain al-Ābidīn Mūsawī bin Sayyid Raḍī Shushtarī. He lived for a long time at Madras and was in the service of Nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh. Subsequently he went to Bālāghāt and entered in the service of Ḥaidar 'Alī Khān (d. 7th Dec. 1782), and finally he became a courtier of Tipū Sultān. He died at Ḥaidarabad: See *Subh-i-Waṭan*, p. 105, and Sprenger, *Cat. of the Oudh MSS.*, p. 591.

The Society has two copies of this book :—

(a) The first copy (No. 882) has a preface in Persian. On the top of the first fol. and below the *Bismillāh* is the seal of Tipū Sultān, and another *Bismillāh* is also written most probably by the hands of Tipū Sultān. It contains altogether 104 *khutbas* in different metres in Persian most of which are in the form of *Qaṣīdas* and only a few in *Mathnavi-baits*.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1924) No. 882 and Ethé, *India Office Library Catalogue* No. 2619.

Sprenger in his Catalogue, page 593, refers to the above copy of the Society.

It contains 126 foll. The colophon says that it was copied by Ghulām Aḥmad in 1221, Mawlūdī Era, or A.H. 1207.

Written in Nasta'liq.

(b) The other copy (No. 883) is without any prose preface and begins at once with the *khutba* in verse. It is to some extent defective. It has 47 foll. and is written in bad Nasta'liq.

Three small treatises most probably written by order of Tipū Sultān are found in this volume. They are (1) on the benefit of *Jihād* (Holy War) (2) on 'Ilm (Knowledge) and (3) on prayer as follows :—

15. Foll. 48b-81b. *Majālis dar Faḍīlat-i-Jihād* (مجالس در فضیلت جهاد): It contains quotations from the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth on the advantages of the Holy War.

1. *Al-Jawahir al-Khamsa* is a work in the Arabic language on Sufism in five books by Abū'l Mu'aiyad Muḥammad bin Khaṭir ad-Dīn, commonly known as Shaikh Muḥammad Ghauth. He was a celebrated saint and died probably in A.H. 970/A.D. 1562 and was buried at Gwalior: See Loth, *Cat. India Office* No. 671, Hajī Khalifa, vol. II, p. 643, vol. III, p. 52 and Herklots' *Qānoon-e-Islām*, p. 305. It has also a Persian version described in Ethé, *Cat. India Office* No. 1875.

2. For *Du'ā-i-Saifī*: See Ahlwardt, *Berlin Cat.* No. 3649 (38).

16. Foll. 81b-83. A small treatise on the superiority of learning (رساله در فضیلت علم).

17. Foll. 84-86. A small treatise on Prayer (رساله در فضیلت نماز).

Written in bad Nasta'liq.

18. *Fath al-Mujāhidīn* (فتح المجاهدين): A work on the rules and regulations for the army describing the duties of a soldier engaged in the Holy War; written in Persian under the direction of Tipū Sultān by Zain al-'Ābidīn Mūsawī bin Sayyid Raḍī Shushtarī, the author of the *Mu'aiyid al-Mujāhidīn* (see No. 14). It is a very important work and served as a military encyclopædia in his army. It is divided into the following eight chapters:—

1st Chapter. —On general points of the Muslim creed, ablution, prayers, Holy War, also on the prohibition of tobacco, on disloyalty and on bequest.

2nd Chapter—On the *fāl nāma*, bequeathed by 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib and the newly fixed names for arithmetical divisions, weights and measures, computations, etc.

3rd Chapter—On strategy.

4th Chapter On the commands issued by the paymaster-general or commander-in-chief and the lower officials connected with the royal head-office. In some copies in place of "royal head-office" we find "troops."

5th Chapter—On appointments of military officers.

6th Chapter—Rules relating to artillery practices.

7th Chapter—Rules relating to cavalry practices.

8th Chapter—Rules relating to infantry practices.

The last two folios contain prescriptions for the venomous bites of snakes, scorpions, mad dogs and big mice. In some copies we find also Urdū songs for soldiers.

The Society has twenty-six copies of this work.

See Cat. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1924) Nos. 1650-1675 and the Library of the India Office has twenty-three copies of it. See Ethé, Cat. of the India Office Library Nos. 2738-2760. For other copies see Rieu, Supplement Cat. Br. Mus., p. 260; Ethé, Bodleian Library Cat. No. 1903 and Pertsch, Berlin Library Cat., pp. 134 and 135. See also Kirkpatrick: *Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan*, London, 1811, p. 163.

Copy of the MS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 1665, ends on fol. 154b and is written in clear Nast'aliq. A seal of Tipū Sultān and *Bismillāh* written by him, are found on fol. 11b. Foll. 155a-171a contain miscellaneous subjects, connected with war, and foll. 157b, 159-160a, and 171a are very important as they are in the handwriting of Tipū Sultān and contain rules and regulations as to the use of the war implements. In copies Nos. 1668-69 we notice also the seals of Tipū Sultān and *Bismillāh* written by him.

19. *Zād al-Mujāhidīn* (زاد المجاهدين): A work on ethics, morality, prayers, eschatology and specially on the duties of a Musalmān with regard to Holy War against infidels in Persian by Ghulām Aḥmad, the Qāḍī of Pattan. It appears from fol. 4a that he was in the service of the Sultān and was the head of the ecclesiastical department of the state. From fol. 4b it is ascertained that in 1221 Mawlūdī Era (A.H. 1207/A.D. 1792) Tipū Sultān requested the Qāḍī to compose this work in order to instruct his subjects in the principles of Islām and to prepare them for Holy War. The book is full of quotations from the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth.

The book is divided into three *bābs* (sections), the first of which comprises seven *faṣls* (chapters), the second, ten, and the third fifteen, which are mentioned in the India Office Cat. and also in fol. 6a-7a of the MS.

See Cat. Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1147 and Ethé. Cat. Lib. India Office No. 2621.

Fol. I has a seal of Tipū Sultān and a *Bismillāh* which is written by him. Maḥmūd Khan Banglawrī, in his work *Tārīkh Salṭanat Khudā Dād*, printed in Bangalore, 1934, p. 346, says that at first Tipū Sultān used to sign his name as Tipū Sultān but subsequently he used for his signature *Nabī Mālik* in *Tughrā* form. The MS. at the end bears this signature. It has 190 foll., Scribe Sayyid Ḥusain, dated 1222, Mawlūdī Era. Kirkpatrick also in his work "*Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan*" p. XXXIX says that "Most of the articles composing the preceding, as well as the following instructions, are subscribed at the end of each with the words *Nubby Malik* (or, the Prophet is Lord), written in the Sultan's own hand, and formed in the manner of a cypher. This was the signature by which he always attested his order."

Written in Nasta'liq character.

20. *Khulāṣa-i-Sultānī* (خلاصة سلطانى): A work on fundamental principles of Islām giving also important points of civil law, written for Tipū Sultān by Ghulām Aḥmad, the author of the previous work *Zād al-Mujāhidīn*. It is not a translation from the Arabic original of Abū Ḥafṣ Bukhārī¹ as Ethé thinks in No. 2623 of his Catalogue, India Office, but is an independent work written in Urdū for Moslems in general and chiefly based on *Majmu'-i-Sultānī* مجموعہ سلطانى. It was written at the request of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna (A.H. 388-421/A.D. 998-1030) by the whole company of his 'Ulamā'. See Ehté, India Office, No. 2551; the Cat. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1924), p. 508, No. 1046, and the Curzon Collection of the Asiatic Society (1926), p. 257, No. 359. The Urdū translation is divided into two sections (Qisms). The first section is on scholastic theology and ends on fol. 9a. The second section begins on fol. 9a and deals

1. Abū Ḥafṣ al-Bukhārī was an eminent Jurist of the Ḥanafī School. His name is Aḥmad bin Ḥafṣ and is known as Abū Ḥafṣ al-Kabir al-Bukhārī. He had a son who was also a jurist and is known as Abū Ḥafṣ aṣ-Ṣaghīr. He died in A.H. 264 (A.D. 877): See *al-Fawā'id al-Bahiya*, page 18 and *al-Jawāhir al-Mūḍī'a*, vol. I. page 67.

with problems of civil laws such as prayers, ablution, marriage, divorce, etc. A complete index is given at the beginning of the MS.

It has 79 foll., written in Nasta'liq by Muḥammad Sa'id, dated the 1st month called Raḥmānī, year Shād, 1223 of Mawlūdī Era : See Hand-list of Urdū MSS. of the Royal Asiatic Society No. 5.

21. *Aḥkām an-Nisā'* (احكام النساء) : It is an abridgement of the previous book, *Khulāṣa-i-Sulṭānī*, in more refined Urdū dealing only with matters connected with womenfolk. It was written by the same Ghulām Aḥmad. It has 39 foll. Naṣīr ad-Dīn Hāshimī in his work, *Yūrup Main Dakanī Makhtūtāt* p. 414 on the authority of *Cat. of Urdu MSS.*, India Office Library by Blumhardt wrongly opines that *Khulāṣa-i-Sulṭānī* and *Aḥkām an-Nisā'* are one and the same work. They are two distinct works, the former has 79 foll. and the latter 39 foll. : See Hand-list of Urdū Books, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Nos. 5 and 4.

SUFISM

22. '*Urūs 'Irfān* (عروس عرفان) : A work on Sufism and ethical subjects by Maḥmūd Bahrī (See fol. 112b). From fol. 113 it appears that at the request of Sayyid Aḥmad bin Sayyid Ismā'il bin Sayyid Aḥmad Habīballāh, a successor of Shāh Chānd, the author wrote a work in the Dakahani language on Sufism and named it *Lagan*. But subsequently some of his friends advised him to compose a work in Persian for the benefit of the friends of other cities. He agreed to the suggestion and translated his previous book into Persian. The author lived at Kūkī, a small town near Bījāpūr. The chronogram in fol. 112b gives the date of composition as A.H. 1108 (A.D. 1698).

The whole work with a new preface and probably in a more refined Persian language has been revised for Tipū Sulṭān whose name we notice in fol. 2b. In fol. 3b, it is stated that Tipū Sulṭān converted about *ten lakhs* of people to Islām and built 2227 mosques for saying prayers, and for the sake of Moslems this new book was composed. The colophon (fol. 113) says that it contains 21 sections (*partaw*) divided into small chapters but our copy has 23 sections and I think that more sections have been added to the original work.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1924) Nos. 1283 and 1284 ; and that of Stewart, p. 45, No. XCV.

In the Society's collections, Copy No. 1283 ends on fol. 113, 22a. In foll. 114b-117a there is another treatise by the same author on Sufism called *Dastūr ul-'Amal* دستورالعمل : See also for this treatise, Ethé, Cat. India Office No. 1916, written in Nasta'liq. The other copy, No. 1284, has 119 foll. and foll. 120-123 also contain the same above-mentioned treatise.

Written in clear Nasta'liq, Scribe Mīrzā Muḥammad Naṣīr Aḥmad Lū Afshār.

HISTORY

23. *Muthmir an-Nawādir* (مثمر النواذر): A small useful work chiefly giving important information regarding the Prophet, his immediate four successors, and about most important personages of Islām, composed at the request of Tīpū Sultān by Muḥammad Ghīyāth. The work is divided into four sections, each called *Shākh* which is subdivided into chapters, named *Thamar*. The first section has 11 chapters, the second 4 chapters, the third 22 and the fourth 7. The book has altogether 44 chapters which are enumerated on pages 1-4 of the MS. It also gives 99 names of God, 201 names of the Prophet, 99 names of Ṣiddiq Akbar, 99 names of 'Umar, 99 names of 'Uthmān, 99 names of 'Alī, 99 names of Fātima, 99 names of Ḥasan, 99 names of Ḥusain and 99 names of 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī. The third chapter of the first section, foll. 7b-14a, gives a description of the Prophet in Arabic with a translation in Persian. At the end we find drawings of the *Sandal* of the Prophet. It has four 'Unwāns, on foll. 1a, 2a, 2b and 3a : see Cat. Asiatic Society of Bengal (1924) No. 1146. It has 55 foll. and is written in clear *Naskh*.

24. *Ṣaḥīfat al-A'rās* (صحيفة الاعراس): A historical almanac, giving the dates of the death of the Prophet, saints and renowned personages, compiled by order of Tīpū Sultān by Muḥammad Sharīf. It begins with the 1st of Rabi' I, and goes down to the last of Ṣafar. It is also called *Tārīkh Wafāt-i-Buzargān* or 'Arā'is-i-Buzargān (عرائس بزرگان) .

See Cat. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1634, and also Ethé, India Office Cat. No. 2733.

It has 47 foll. and at the end of the work the dates of the deaths of several persons are also added as a supplement to the book.

Written in Nasta'liq character.

25. *Risālah-i-Kachihri* (رساله کچهری): A list of the officials of state of Tīpū Sultān with the names of places of their jurisdiction, compiled on the 27th of the month called Taqī, year named *Shādāb*, 1226 Mawlūdī Era. It has 41 foll.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1643.

Written in Nasta'liq, Scribe Sayyid Ḥusain.

26. *Waqā'i' Manāzil-i-Rūm* (وقائع منازل روم): A detailed account of the journey of Ghulām 'Alī Khān and others as ambassadors to Sultān of Rūm (Constantinople), written for the perusal of Tīpū Sultān in Persian. It gives a detailed account of the places which they visited. It appears that the embassy proceeded to Constantinople on the 19th Rabi' I, A.H. 1202. It contains also a minute account of the expenses of the embassy. It has 123 foll.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1678 and also Stewart Catalogue No. XXX, p. 92, written in Nim-Shikastah.

27. *Rūz Nāmchah-i-Wakālā-i-Haidarābād* (روزنامه و کلائی حیدرآباد): A detailed report of Sultān Tipū's ambassadors, (Qutb al-Mulk and others) sent to the Court of Haidarābād in Persian. It contains a minute detail of their proceedings written in the form of diary, and also gives an account of their disbursement for the information of Tipū Sultān. It begins with the 15th of Haidarī month, 1217 of Mawlūdī Era. It has 37 foll. Two foll. at the beginning also contain similar matters.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1680 and also Stewart, Catalogue No. XXXII, p. 93.

Written in Nīm-Shikasta.

28. *Nasab Nāma-i-Rājahā-i-Maisūr* (نسب نامه راجهائی میسور): A chronicle of the Rājahs of Mysore and Nagar giving the dates of their birth, and the number of their wives and children. The work was originally written in the Carnatic language, but by order of Tipū Sultān, two translations into Persian were made by Asad Anwar and Ghulām Husain. One of these translations is represented here. The date of the order for translation, as mentioned in the preface, is the 22nd of the month Naqī, year Shādāb, 1226, Mawlūdī Era, 20th Dhi'l Hijja, 1212 A.H. It begins with the account of Timmarāj and goes down to the reign of Kishanrāj (giving the history of about 266 years).

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 199; Morley, Catalogue, pp. 86 and 87; Stewart, Catalogue No. XLVII, p. 19 and Ethé, India Office Catalogue No. 514.

It has 65 foll. Written in Nasta'liq.

29. *Nishān-i-Haidarī* (نشان حیدری): A history of the reign of Haidar 'Alī and his son, Tipū Sultān, in Persian, by Mīr Husain 'Alī son of Sayyid 'Abd al-Qādir Kirmānī. It is stated in the preface fol. 1b, that the author served successively Haidar 'Alī and his son Tipū Sultān and remained in the service of the latter from A.H. 1196 (A.D. 1718) to A.H. 1202 (A.D. 1787). Further the author states that he was an eye-witness of various events which are recorded in this work. He names the above-mentioned two kings as Shams al-Mulk Amīr ad-Dawla Nawwāb Haidar 'Alī Khān Bahādur and 'Umdat al-Mulk Mubārak ad-Dawla Tipū Sultān (Fath) 'Alī Khān Hizabr Jang respectively. The author also wrote in A.H. 1215 (A.D. 1800) another history in Persian called *Tadhkirat al-Bilād wal Hukkām*, in which he detailed the history of principalities of the Bālāghāt country from their origin to A.H. 1215 (A.D. 1800).

The last fol. 158b indicates that the work was completed on the 9th Rajab, A.H. 1217 (A.D. 1802).

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 200, Ethé, India Office Catalogue No. 522, Browne, Cat. of the Cambridge University No. 105 and Rieu, Catalogue of British Museum, vol. I, p. 331.

It was lithographed at the Karīmī Press, Bombay, A.H. 1307 (A.D. 1889). The work was translated for the Oriental Translation Fund by Col. William Miles, 'The History of Haidar Naik,' London, 1842, and as

sequel to it, " *The History of the Reign of Tipu Sultan*," London, 1844.

Two additional foll. at the beginning give the chapters of the work. It has 158 foll. Written in Nasta'liq character, dated A.H. 1230.

MEDICINE

30. *Baḥr al-Manāfi'* (بحر المنافع): A huge work on medical science in Persian composed at the request of Tipū Sultān by Diyā' bin Khwājigī. It is divided into five parts, each subdivided into sections and chapters.

A list of all of them is given in foll. 2b-11a.

It consists of 466 foll. See Cat. of Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 1579. Written in Nasta'liq.

31. *Risāla-i-Ma'kūl wa Mashrūb* (رساله مآکول ومشروب): A treatise on foods and drinks in Persian verse composed for Tipū Sultān by Yūsuf. He was in the service of the King and most probably was in charge of the kitchen. Foll. 2b-7a on different kinds of food, foll. 7a-10 on drinks. All are in *Mathnavī* baits. Foll. 11-16 are in the form of a *Qaṣīdah* and give rules for the preservation of health. The chronogram on fol. 2b az *Faiḍ-i-Shāh*, by the bounty of the kings, gives A.H. 1224, the date of its composition.

See Catalogue of Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 881.

It has 16 foll. Written in Nīm-Shikasta.

Copyist 'Abd al-Qādir Thanā Khwān.

GRAMMAR

32. *Kitāb Āmūkhṭan* (کتاب آموختن): A Persian vocabulary of tenses and moods of Persian verbs in alphabetical order with an interlinear Urdū translation. It begins with the word *Āmūkhṭan*, meaning in Urdū *Sikhṇā*; then follow *Āmīkhṭan*, meaning *milānā*. The meaning of each tense is given only in foll. 1 and 2a. From fol. 2b up to the end of fol. 89a, only the meaning of the infinitive verb (*Maṣḍar*) is supplied. Fol. 89b indicates that this work was written by order of Tipū Sultān. On the top of the 1st fol. it is named *Āmad Nāma*.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1475, and Ethé, Catalogue of India Office No. 2446.

It has 89 foll.; Written in Nasta'liq, dated 23rd of the month, called *Dīnī*, year *Shad*, 1223 of Mawlūdī Era, Scribe, Muḥammad Rustam.

33. *Risāla dar Khaṭṭ-i-Tarz-i-Muḥammadī*, (رساله در خط طرز محمدی): A treatise in Persian on the rules of calligraphy invented by Tipū Sultān. It was composed in 1224 of the Mawlūdī Era.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1626.

It consists of 16 foll. Written in Nasta'liq.

ASTROLOGY

34. *Zabarjad* (زبرجد): A work in Persian chiefly dealing with planetary conjunctions and astrological matters. From fol. 4b it appears that the work was composed by Tipū Sultān. It has forty-five chapters, which are enumerated in foll. 5a-6b.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1506.

It contains 128 foll. Written in Nasta'liq character on coloured paper.

STRATEGY

35. *Dābiṭa-i-Sawārī* (ضابطه سوارى): A small treatise in Persian on the regulations for cavalry-marches during war, and for drill, giving the time and day on which the different tunes of the bands are to be played. It was composed under the direction of Tipū Sultān. It is stated that the day for beating the drum from the beginning of the reign of 'Alamgīr (A.H. 1069-1118/A.D. 1659-1707) was fixed for Sunday, as on that day he sat on the throne of Delhi; but considering Friday as the most auspicious day for Moslems, the king ordered the day to be changed from Sunday to Friday.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1645.

It has 3 foll. and it is bound with the MS. bearing No. 949. See foll. 37b-39b. This volume contains miscellaneous subjects, among which we notice also poems by some of the scholars connected with the Court of Tipū Sultān such as Zain al-'Abidīn Shushtarī, Mahdī 'Alī Khān and others. It also gives some of the regulations observed by the army of Tipū Sultān. It has 39 foll. Dated 1217 Mawlūdī Era, written in Nīm-Shikasta.

HUKM NĀMAS

36. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامه): A treatise in Persian containing instructions of Tipū Sultān to Ghulām 'Alī Khān, Quṭb al-Mulk, and Muḥammad 'Alī Ridā, sent as ambassadors to Nawwāb Nizām ad-Dawla.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Nos. 1646-1647.

Copy No. 1646 contains 17 foll., the seal of Tipū Sultān and *Bismillāh* written by him are on the first fol., and it also has the signature of the Sultān as *Nabī Mālik* on fol. 9b.

Copy No. 1647 has 34 foll. and only *Bismillāh* written by him on the first fol.

Both the copies are written in Nīm-Shikasta.

37. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامه): A treatise in Persian containing instructions to the Commanders of garrisons of various forts by Tipū Sultān.

It contains altogether 39 orders and each order ends with the signature of the Sultān as *Nabī Mālik*.

The first fol. has a seal of Tipū Sultān and *Bismillāh* written by him.

See Cat. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1648.

It has 33 foll. Written in Nasta'liq.

38. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامہ): A work in Persian on various instructions to military and civil officials by Tipū Sultān.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1649.

It ends on fol. 19a. Foll. 19b-43 contain a Hindī translation of the book in Devanāgarī characters.

Written in Nīm-Shikasta.

39. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامہ): A treatise in Persian which contains account of a diplomatic mission sent by Tipū Sultān to France.

Foll. 1-3a contain instructions which the Sultān gave to three of his officials, viz., Muḥammad Darwīsh Khān, Akbar 'Alī Khān, and Muḥammad Uthmān, for their general conduct on sailing to France. It is dated the 25th month of Haidarī, year Dalw, A.H. 1200. It has on fol. 4a the signature of Tipū Sultān as *Nabī Mālik*. Foll. 5-14 give diplomatic matters to be placed before the Rāja (king) of France, and the fol. 14a bears the signature of Tipū Sultān in the form of *Nabī Mālik*. Foll. 15b-22a give the scale of allowance of each individual of the party of the mission, and fol. 22a has also the same signature of Tipū Sultān as *Nabī Mālik*.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1676.

The first fol. bears the seal of Tipū Sultān.

It has 26 foll. Written in Nasta'liq.

40. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامہ): A work in Persian containing the instructions which Tipū Sultān gave to some of his officials sent as ambassadors to Constantinople, France and England.

Letter I.— Contains general instructions to Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Khān, Sayyid Nūrullāh Khān, Luṭf 'Alī Khān and Ja'far Khān, who were appointed as ambassadors, about their general conduct.

Letter II.— On the engagements to be entered into with the Sultān of Rūm and a list of articles to be presented to him.

Letter III.— On the engagements to be entered into with the King of France.

Letter IV.— On complaints and propositions to be made with the King of England about the actions of the East India Company in the Carnatic.

Letter V.— Contains instructions to Muḥammad Ḥanīf, Mardān Khān, Diyā' ad-Dīn and Muḥammad Shams ad-Dīn to proceed to Jeddah and to join Ghulām 'Alī Khān and other ambassadors, and after selling the merchandise to hand over

fifty thousand *hūn*¹ *kalān* to Ghulām 'Alī Khān and to other ambassadors.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1677, also Asiatic Register of 1799, No. XXX of Tipū's correspondence, and Stewart, Catalogue No. 39, p. 92.

It has 64 foll. Written in Nīm-Shikasta.

41. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامہ): Instructions in Persian for Qutb al-Mulk and 'Alī Ridā, ambassadors, sent to the Court of the Nizām of Hyderabad by Tipū Sultān in the year 1789-90, with list of presents for the Nizām and his ministers.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1679 and also Stewart, Catalogue, p. 93.

The top of the first fol. has a seal of Tipū Sultān and *Bismillāh* written by him. Fol. 3 has also his signature as *Nabī Mālik*.

It has 69 foll. Written in Nīm-Shikasta, dated 1218 of the Mawlūdī Era.

42. *Hukm Nāma-i-Jāsūsān* (حکم نامہ جاسوسان): A small treatise in Persian which contains code of regulations for spies and the Intelligence Department composed by order or dictation of Tipū Sultān.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1581, and Stewart, Catalogue, p. 93.

It was composed on the 25th, Month Rabbānī, year Shād, 1223, Mawlūdī Era.

A translation in Kanarese characters is attached to it. Scribe Sayyid Husain. On Foll. 3a and 3b are signatures of Tipū Sultān as *Nabī Mālik*.

43. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامہ): A collection of mandates in Persian issued by Tipū Sultān to officials of the State. It contains about 15 mandates concerning the grant of lands or the Dīwānī of Carnatic or alliance with Nawwāb Shujā' khān, with Rām Chandar Jādhū and others.

It is named *Majmū'a-i-Sanadhā* in the Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1682.

It has 24 foll. Written in Nīm-Shikasta.

44. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامہ): Two mandates of Tipū Sultān in Persian for observing the orders of Islāmic religion. They are addressed to 'Alī Rāja 'Abd al-Qādir and to his wife Bibī Zainab who violated some of the rules of Islām.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1683.

1. *Hūn* is another name of the gold coin generally known as *pagoda*. This name, *hūn*, was used locally by the *Ṣarrāfs*. The *pagodas* or *varahas* in general circulation were those coined by the Ikkeri rulers of Bednur. The Ikkeri *varahas* followed the Vijayanagar coinage. Weight 53 grains. After the conquest of Bednur, Haidar 'Alī issued the same coin under the name of *Bāhadurī hūn*. Under Tipū Sultān it was used as the *Sultānī hūn*. For further detail see Taylor, *The coins of Tipū Sultān*, p. 12; Lewis Rice, *Mysore* vol. I, p. 803, Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, pp. 47-9, *Salṭanat Khudā Dād*, pp. 339-40., and Henderson, *Coins of Haidar 'Alī and Tipū Sultān*.

The ink has eaten up the paper. At the end of fol. 7, we find seals and signatures of several scholars who testified to the correctness of the mandates. On the top of fol. 1, *Bismillāh* is written by the Sulṭān and we notice also seals on foll. 1 and 4.

It has 7 foll. Written in Nīm *Shikasta*.

45. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامہ): A small treatise in Persian on the system of teaching by Tīpū Sulṭān, addressed to the tutors and governors of Sulṭān's son, Ghulām Haidar by name.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1684, and Stewart's Catalogue No. XXXVI, p. 93. It contains 3 foll. Foll. 4-8a are blank.

46. Foll. 8b-17a. *Pand Nāma-i-Haidarī* (پند نامہ حیدری): A moral poem in Persian named on the top of fol. 8b as mentioned above. Judging from the style and contents (see fol. 14a), I am of opinion that it was composed by a poet of the Court of Tīpū Sulṭān.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 920.

Two foll. are in Nasta'liq and the rest in Nīm-*Shikasta*.

47. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامہ): A treatise in Persian containing rules and regulations on fidelity to be observed in the affairs of the State, and rules of Revenue and Military Departments, etc. It was composed by order of Tīpū Sulṭān.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1685.

It contains altogether 21 orders. The top of the first fol. has a seal of Tīpū Sulṭān and *Bismillāh* written by him. At the end of each order is the words *Nabī Mālik* which the Sulṭān used for his signature.

It has 13 foll. Written in Nasta'liq.

48. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامہ): A treatise in Persian which contains the orders of Tīpū Sulṭān to officials in charge of Mūdī Khāna (Store Department) of Pattan and the amount of salaries sanctioned for them.

A translation in the Kanarese language is annexed at the end.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1686.

It has 13 foll. Written in Nīm-*Shikasta*.

49. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامہ): A treatise in Persian on the instructions of Tīpū Sulṭān to officials in charge of Jāmadār-Khāna (Clothing Department).

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1687.

The first fol. has a seal of Tīpū Sulṭān, dated 1215 and *Bismillāh* written by him. Foll. 3a, 6a, 7b, and 8a have signatures of Tīpū Sulṭān as *Nabī Mālik*.

It has 8 foll. Written in *Shikasta*, dated 1224 of Mawlūdī Era.

50. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامہ): A treatise in Persian containing instructions given by Tīpū Sulṭān to the officials in charge of remount depots concerning the purchase and disposal of horses.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1688.

It contains altogether 17 instructions and at the end of each instruction is the usual signature of Tīpū Sulṭān. The first fol. has a seal of the

Sultān and the *Bismillāh* written by him.

It has 13 foll. and written in Nasta'liq character.

51. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامہ): A treatise in Persian on instructions given by Tipū Sultān to physicians in charge of hospitals.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1689.

It contains altogether 11 instructions and bears the signature of the Sultān at the end of each instruction. The last two lines of the colophon on fol. 6a are written by the Sultān himself. The first fol. has the seal of the Sultān and the *Bismillāh* written by him. Foll. 8b-9 give the names of the officials of the hospitals. Foll 6b, 7 and 8a are blank.

It has 9 foll. Scribe Muḥammad Ḥabībullāh, dated 1223 of the Mawlūdī Era.

52. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامہ): A treatise in Persian on the instructions given by Tipū Sultān to the officials in charge of Kār-Khāna (Workshops). A translation in Hindī is annexed.

See Cat. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1690.

It has 13 foll. Written in *Shikasta*, dated 1198 A.H.

53. *Hukm Nāma* (حکم نامہ): A treatise in Persian on the instructions issued by Tipū Sultān to officials in charge of Bāwarchī-Khāna (Kitchen Department). A translation in Hindī is annexed.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1691.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal has 3 copies of this MS. which bear the numbers 1691, 1692 and 1693.

In the copy No. 1691 the first fol. has a seal of Tipū Sultān and *Bismillāh* written by him. Fol. 11b has the signature of the Sultān. It has 12 foll. Written in Nīm-*Shikasta*, dated 1221 Mawlūdī Era.

VARIA

54. *Risāla dar Ādāb Tafang* (رساله در آداب تفنگ): A small treatise in Persian on the origin of the rifle, the necessary prayers to be recited at the time of its use, and similar matters connected with it. It is in the form of fifteen questions and answers. It was composed most probably for Tipū Sultān.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 1148.

It contains 6 foll. Written in Nasta'liq, dated A.H. 1210, Scribe Sirāj ad-Dīn Jamālallāh.

55. *Muntakhab-i-Dawābiṭ-i-Sultānī*. (منتخب ضوابط سلطانی): An extract from a larger work on official decorum, royal insignia, decorations, medals, banners, etc., compiled under the direction of Tipū Sultān. Probably it is an abridgement or a first draft of a larger work on this subject, called *Dawābiṭ-i-Sultānī*, a copy of it is in the India Office Library and has 78 foll. For detailed description and chapters see *Ethé*, Catalogue No. 2761. Our copy has 36 foll.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1642.

On the first fol. it is named *Hukm Nāma* and bears the old seal of the Sultān.

It is an important copy as it bears the handwriting and signature of the Sultān on each page.

Written in Nīm-Shikasta.

56. *Hukm Nāma Mutafarraqa* (حکم نامہ متفرقہ): A small treatise which contains the following:—

Foll. 1-10 verses in Persian and Urdū composed by order of Tipū Sultān for recitation by soldiers at different stages of war, and other matters connected with military regulations. Foll. 11b-20a on different colours of banners, viz., green, yellow, red and white for different purposes, and also different songs and miscellaneous matters connected with war. Foll. 11b-13 are written by Tipū Sultān himself. Kirkpatrick, in *Select letters of Tippoo Sultan*, London 1811, Appendix (p. 2) has given a fac-simile of a memorandum of Tipū Sultān and the writing of this fac-simile and these pages are exactly the same. Foll. 24-37 contain military regulations.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1644 where it is called *Majmū'a*. It has 37 foll. Written in Nīm-Shikasta.

57. *Risāla-i-Padkhā* (رسالہ پدکھا): A work on different shapes of medals, decorations, forms of royal insignia with numerous models and specimens compiled under the direction of Tipū Sultān. At the end there is a description of different kinds of flags, carried on elephants, or assigned to armies or specialised for warships. The blankness of many intervening leaves, as well as the abrupt manner in which our copy comes to a close, indicate that this was the first sketch which was probably arranged or completed afterwards. On the first fol. it bears the seal of Tipū Sultān and *Bismillāh* which was written by him. It is also named there *Hukm Nāma*.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1640.

It has 83 foll. out of which about 45 foll. are blank. Written in clear Nasta'liq.

Another copy of the same work No. 1641 with a short defective preface in Persian. The first fol. bears the handwriting of Tipū Sultān. It has altogether 59 foll., out of which a few foll. are blank. It is dated 20th of Rahmānī month, year Sarāb, 1217 of the Mawlūdī Era. Written in Nasta'liq.

58. *Majmū'a* (مجموعہ): A collection of Urdū and Persian poems. It contains Qaṣīdas, Ghazals, etc., by poets of the Court of Tipū Sultān. Some of them (see fol. 45b) are in praise of the Sultān.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 1747.

It has 45 foll. Written mostly in Nīm-Shikasta.

59. *Majmū'a* (مجموعہ): A note-book containing extracts from various works on prayers, *Jihād*, explanation of some of the verses of the Qur'ān

and similar religious subjects collected for Tipū Sultān. In some cases the name of the authorities, such as, *Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn*,¹ *Sharḥ Shamā'il Tirmidhī* are given after the extract.

See First Supplement to Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 920.

It has 200 foll. Written in various hands.

60. *Majmū'a* (مجموعه) : An album of poems mostly composed by the poets of the Court of Tipū Sultān. We find in it poems of Zain al-'Abidīn *Shushtarī*, Hasan 'Alī "Izzat," 'Abd al-Khāliq, Ḥāfiẓ Ḥabībullāh, Maḥdī 'Alī Khān, Khalīl ad-Dīn, Āgāhī, Luṭfullāh Beg, Sayyid 'Alī Qādī, Mīr 'Abbās 'Alī. It contains also a little prose. The poems are mostly chronograms or in praise of Tipū Sultān.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 950.

It has 181 foll. Mostly written in Nasta'liq.

61. *Majmū'a* (مجموعه) : An album of miscellaneous writings in prose and poetry. The poetical portion is mostly composed by Court-poets of Tipū Sultān. They are Ḥāfiẓ Ḥabībullāh, who composed a poem in praise of Tipū Sultān in 1226 of the Mawlūdī Era, Zain al-'Abidīn, Maḥdī 'Alī Khān and Hasan 'Alī. They composed chronograms of several royal buildings. In prose there is a treatise on the influence of Qur'ānic verses, chiefly dealing with those which secure victory, and also on rules with regard to the organisation of cavalry. It is dated 1217 of the Mawlūdī Era.

See Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 949.

It has 71 foll. Mostly written in Nasta'liq.

62. *Mufarriḥ-ul-Qulūb* (مفرح القلوب) : A work on the Music of Mysore and its different tunes and melodies commenced under the direction of Tipū Sultān, by Hasan 'Alī "Izzat" and completed in A.H. 1199 (A.D. 1785). It has a prologue of six chapters and an epilogue which are enumerated in Ethé, Catalogue No. 2024. Blumhardt in the Cat. of Urdū MSS. in the India Office has described the nine copies of this work.

N. U. Hāshimī, in his work *Yūrup Main Dakahanī Makhtūtāt*, p. 417, wrongly attributes the authorship of the work to 'Ibādullāh. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has four complete copies, Nos. 87, 88, 89 and 90, and one among them No. 87 is probably in the handwriting of the author. It has 159 foll. The three other copies, Nos. 91, 93, 293 are abridged versions of the same.

1. *Al-Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn* is a famous book of prayers by Muḥammad bin Muḥammad al-Jazarī, died A.H. 833/A.D. 1429. It has been repeatedly printed : See Hidayat Hosain, *Cat. of Buhār Library*, vol. II, p. 60.

2. *Shamā'il Tirmidhī* or *Shamā'il an-Nabī* is a collection of Traditions concerning the person, manners, and character of the Prophet by Moḥammad bin 'Isā at-Tirmidhī, died A.H. 297/A.D. 892. See *Ibid.* p. 21. Many scholars have written commentaries on this work. Probably here the commentary by Mullā 'Alī bin Sultān Muḥammad al-Qārī (d. A.H. 1016/A.D. 1607) is meant. For other commentaries see *Hāji Khalifa*, vol. IV, p. 70.

63. *Bayād* (بیاض) : A collection of Urdū and Persian poems in praise of Tīpū Sulṭān by Court-poets, such as Mutrib and 'Izzat. It has 41 foll. and is an extract of *Mufarriḥ al-Qulūb* (see No. 62). Written some portion of the MS. in imitation of the handwriting of Tīpū Sulṭān by a lady called Badi' al-Jamāl بدیع الجمال. See Hand-list of Urdū MSS. in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 133.

Besides the works mentioned above, we find several other works also composed by order of Tīpū Sulṭān or dedicated to him in the library of India Office, London. I give below a short description of these MSS. basing my notes chiefly on Ethé, *Cat. of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library*.

64. *Bahār Dānīsh Manẓūm* (بهار دانش منظوم) : A poetical paraphrase of the well-known work *Bahār Dānīsh*. The original work is in prose and contains the romance of Jahāndār Sulṭān and Bahrawar Bānū, a story which serves as a frame for the insertion of many other tales. The author of the original works is Shāikh 'Ināyat Allāh Kanbū, died in A.H. 1082/ A.D. 1671. The preface of this work is by the author's younger brother, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū, the author of '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, which is a detailed history of Shāh Jahān's reign, together with an account of his ancestors. For further particulars of the latter work see Elliot, *History of India*, vol. VII, pp. 123-132, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, vol. III, p. 463, and Ethé, *India Office Cat.* No. 332.

The original work was rendered in *Mathnavī baits* by Ḥasan 'Alī, 'Izzat, a poet of Tīpū Sulṭān's Court, to whom this work is dedicated.

It contains 247 foll. See Ethé, *Cat.* No. 818.

65. *La'l wa Gauhar* (لعل و گوهر) : The love story of La'l and Gauhar (ruby and pearl) in *Mathnavī baits*. It was composed by the above-mentioned Ḥasan 'Alī by order of Tīpū Sulṭān. The last verse gives the date of composition as A.H. 1192 (A.D. 1778).

It has 69 foll. See Ethé, *Cat.* No. 1717.

66. *Risāla-i-Taṣawwuf* (رساله تصوف) : A short treatise on Sufism by Darwīsh Muḥammad Qādirī. It was written in A.H. 1210 (A.D. 1795) and dedicated to Tīpū Sulṭān.

It has 17 foll. See Ethé, *Cat.* No. 1906.

67. *Tuḥfa-i-Muḥammadī* (تحفة محمدی) : *Materia Medica* by Mīrẓā Muḥammad Naṣīr Aḥmad Lū Afshār. It was compiled for Tīpū Sulṭān, to whom it is also dedicated.

It has 745 foll. and the India Office Library has the autograph copy of the MSS. For further particulars see No. 2365 of the said Catalogue.

68. *Risāla-i-Ḥarb* (رساله حرب) : The regulations for the encampment of the Moslem army, illustrated by seven tables and drawn up under the guidance of Tīpū Sulṭān.

It has 8 foll. See Ethé, No. 2760.

69. *Jalwa Nāma* (جلوه نامہ): A work on a series of Nuptial Songs, celebrating the various stages of the wedding feast, by Ghulām Husain Khan Lūhānī, composed in 1223 of the Mawlūdī Era by order of Tipū Sultān. The majority of the songs are in Hindustānī.

It has 152 foll. See *Ethé*, No. 2764. An abridged version of it in Urdū under the title جلوه نامہ ناز میخانہ راز is in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. It has 7 foll. See Hand-list of Urdū MSS. No. 78.

70. *Risāla-i-ʿItṭiyāt* (رسالہ عطریات): A treatise on the preparation of perfumes, the art of dyeing and cleaning, etc., drawn from the writings of Tipū Sultān.

It has 30 foll. See *Ethé*, No. 2785.

71. *Aḥwal-i-Bāgh-i-Iram* (احوال باغ ادم): It contains the accounts of the wonderful garden, called Bāgh-i-Iram. It was named Iram after the name of the garden which was devised by Shaddād bin ʿĀd in imitation of the Garden of Paradise. It was situated in the Carnatic, in Tipū's realm. The author of the book is Mīrzā Aqbāl.

See *Ethé*, No. 2813.

72. *Tipū Nāma* (ٹیپو نامہ): A Mathnawī on the warlike exploits of Tipū Sultān, by Ghulām Hasan who wrote it at the order of the Sultān and finished it on the 25th of Ramaḍān A.H. 1198 (12th August, 1784). It has forty-nine chapters, called *Dāstān*. It is also called *Shāh Nāma* and *Fath Nāma*.

It has 93 foll. See *Ethé*, No. 1719.

It has also been rendered in Urdū verses by the same Ghulām Hasan in an abridged form by order of the Sultān. It contains only twenty-three *dāstan*. See *Garcin de Tassy, Histoire de la Litt. Hind.*, vol. I, p. 543.

Hāshimī, Yūrup Main Dakahanī Makḥṭūtāt, pp. 404-407 mentions this translation and says that its author is Ṭarab طرب, and assigns two names to this work, one *Fath Nāma* فتح نامہ and the other *Aḍrāb Sultānī* اضراب سلطانی. For copies see *Cat. Royal Asiatic Society* No. 5 and *Blumhardt*, No. 145.

73. *Tuzak-i-Tipū* (توزک ٹیپو): The memoirs of Tipū Sultān written by himself. A defective copy of it is preserved in the India Office Library. See *Ethé*, No. 2990 and also No. 525.

74. *Khwāb Nāma* (خواب نامہ): A treatise on Tipū Sultān's dreams, with their interpretations in his own handwriting.

See *Ethé*, No. 3001.

M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN.

APPENDIX A

The Mawlūdī Era and certain innovations in the Islamic Calendar attempted by Tīpū Sultān

In the year 1811, a volume entitled *Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan to various Public Functionaries* was published in London. The volume contains some 435 letters selected from the public correspondence addressed by the ruler of Mysore to his principal military commanders, Governors of Forts and Provinces, diplomatic and commercial agents, the Imperial Moghul Court at Delhi, the King of France, etc., arranged and translated into English, from the original Persian by William Kirkpatrick, a Colonel in the service of the East India Company. The published correspondence covers a period of about 9 years, from February 1785 to November 1793, with, many gaps apparently due to loss by destruction or other causes.

The principal feature of the correspondence is that the letters bear dates which do not conform to the dates of the Islāmīc Calendar which was in common use at the time among the Muḥammadan rulers and their people. To obtain the correct dates of the English Calendar corresponding to the years, months, and dates employed by Tīpū Sultān in his letters, it was necessary for the translator to unravel the complicated innovations made by the Sultān in the system of Islāmīc chronology and calendar in vogue throughout the Muslim world for well-nigh twelve centuries. The importance of these letters to the modern student does not consist so much in the light they throw on contemporary events of historical importance, as on the genius of their extraordinary author, who, in the midst of his many-sided political activities and military schemes, found time to devise certain reformatations in the calendar, with a view to introduce a new style of reckoning the era, year, month and date.

To follow the changes introduced by Tīpū Sultān,¹ it is necessary to have an idea of the principal features of the Islāmīc Calendar system in force at the time.

(i) The era commonly known as the Hijra (A.H.) was intended to commemorate the migration (*Hijrat*) of the Prophet Muḥammad from Mecca to Madīna and was calculated by historians to commence on the 16th of July 622 A.D. The Prophet was then 52 years old.

(ii) The Muslim year consisted of 12 lunar months which were not uniform in length; some were assigned 30 days and some only 29 days. The total number of days in the year amounted to 354. The shortage of 11 days as compared with the solar year was not regularised by some such means as an extra or intercalary month at fixed periods. As the Muslim year was advancing over the solar year by 11 days, the beginning of the year as well as all the religious festivals were movable and falling in all the seasons. This also led to the anomaly of reckoning unequal age, as 32 solar years were equivalent to about 33 Muslim years, a fact very

1. See also Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, vol. I, pp. 811-12.

important to remember in converting Muslim dates into corresponding English dates. The years were merely reckoned numerically without any distinctive nomenclature attached to them individually to fit in with any fixed cycle.

(iii) The months were twelve in number and were mainly lunar, i.e., the beginning of a month depended on the first appearance of the crescent moon following the dark new moon. The first month was called *Muḥarram* and the 12th or last month of the year *Dhu'l Hijja*.

The changes introduced by Tipū Sultān affected mainly (a) the Muslim Era and its commencement, (b) the years and (c) the months.

(a) *The Era*.—For some reason not very explicit, the Sultān did not like the idea of commencing the era from the date of the Prophet Muḥammad's migration (*Hijrat*), 622 A.D. He apparently thought that it would be more appropriate to date it from some other event of nobler significance. In this connection the translator refers to a letter dated the 29th of *Yazīdī* of year *Dallū* (or *Dalv*) (1787 A.D.) in which "the Sultan directs an enquiry to be instituted among the learned men in different parts of his dominions, for the purpose of ascertaining with exactness the respective dates of the birth, mission and flight of the Prophet. An explanation of the cause of the *Hijra* or flight is also required by this letter. This investigation seems to have been preparatory to the establishment of the epoch under consideration." After collecting all necessary information, the Sultān decided to discard the *Hijra* and to date the era from the time when the Prophet first announced himself as the Messenger of God. The era was accordingly antedated to begin from the spiritual regeneration or spiritual birth, i.e., the prophetic mission of the Prophet, and was designated the *Mawlūdī* Era. This era begins some 14 years prior to the *Hijra*. The exact difference in years is however not correctly ascertainable, but it will not be far wrong if the commencement is fixed somewhere about the year 608-609 A.D.

(b) *The Years*.—The reckoning of the years of the era was not merely confined to their numerical order, but Tipū Sultān decided to give them names as well. In this he was evidently following the Hindū system known as the Jupiterian cycle of 60 years in which each year is distinguished by a separate name. The years of the *Mawlūdī* Era were accordingly divided into cycles of 60 years and the Sultān assigned names to these years.¹ The first year was named *Aḥad* (one) and the second *Alīmad* in honour of God and the Prophet, implying that the Almighty was the first and the Prophet the second in order of veneration. The names of the remaining years connoted their numerical order in the cycle, by a system of numbering in which each letter had a value and the total value of all the letters in a year's name gave the number of that year in the cycle. Thus *Azal* was equivalent to $1+7+30=38$ and denoted the 38th year of the cycle.

(c) *The Months*.—The same method as was followed in the case of

1. See for their name Appendix B.

the years was adopted with little change by the Sultān in dealing with the twelve months of the year. The existing names of the months were entirely discarded, and in their place twelve new names were coined, in keeping with the principle of numerical valuation of initial letters, so that their total value should indicate the number of the month concerned. The 1st, 4th, 5th, 7th, 9th and 11th months were assigned 29 days each, and the remaining six months, 30 days each.

The names adopted for the months according to *Abjad*¹ or *Abtath* were :—

Days	According to Abtath	According to Abjad	Months
29	(احمدى) Ahmadi	(احمدى) Ahmadi	1st
30	(بهارى) Bahari	(بهارى) Bahari	2nd
30	(تقى) Taqi	(جعفرى) Ja'fari	3rd
29	(ثمرى) Thamari	(دارائى) Dara'i	4th
29	(جعفرى) Ja'fari	(هاشمى) Hashimi	5th
30	(حيدرى) Haidari	(واسعى) Wāsi'i	6th
29	(خسروى) Khusravi	(زبرجدى) Zabarjadi	7th
30	(دينى) Dini	(حيدرى) Haidari	8th
29	(ذاكرى) Dhakri	(طلوعى) Tulu'i	9th
30	(رهمانى) Rahmani	(يوسفى) Yusufi	10th
29	(راضى) Radi	(يازدى) Yazidi	11th
30	(ربانى) Rabbani	(بببببب) Bayasi	12th

1. *Abjad* : The name of an arithmetical arrangement of the alphabet, the letters of which have different powers from one to one thousand. It is in the order of the alphabet as used by the Jews as far as 400, the six remaining letters were added by the Arabs.

The numerical value of each letter according to *Abjad* is as follows :—

ن	م	ل	ك	ى	ط	ح	ز	و	د	د	ج	ب	ا
50	40	30	20	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
غ	ظ	ض	ذ	خ	ث	ت	ش	ر	ق	ص	ف	ع	س
1,000	900	800	700	600	500	400	300	200	100	90	80	70	60

The numerical system according to *Abjad* is in vogue throughout the Islāmic world. The Sultān introduced a new numerical value of letters according to Arabic alphabet in use, and sometime discarded the *Abjad* system as it was based on the alphabet used by the Jews. He gave his numerical system the name of *Abtath* ابثث. The value of each letter is as below :—

ص	ش	س	ز	ر	ذ	د	خ	ح	ج	ث	ت	ب	ا
50	40	30	20	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
ى	ه	و	ن	م	ل	ك	ق	ف	غ	ع	ظ	ط	ض
1,000	900	800	700	600	500	400	300	200	100	90	80	70	60

An important feature was the adoption of the principle of intercalary month with a view to make the calendar year agree with the solar year. The shortage of eleven days in a year, if carried forward for 3 years will amount to minus 33 days and this was sought to be wiped off once in 2 or 3 years as found necessary, by the introduction of an extra month. This method was obviously borrowed from the Hindū calendar. Tīpū Sultān, however, adopted it with a small difference, namely, that whereas the Hindū extra month followed the normal month, it preceded it in the Sultān's arrangement.

This new calendar with innovations indicated above was, according to the translator, brought to force in the second year of the reign of Tīpū Sultān, i.e., in the year 1784 A.D. It is remarkable that except in the case of foreign correspondence with diplomatic agents and rulers of Arabia, Persia, France, etc., in all his other correspondence within his own dominions and in his memoirs the Sultān scrupulously adhered to the dates of his own calendar. The year was almost always indicated by its name and seldom by its number. Unfortunately, the dreams of the Sultān were shattered on the fall of his kingdom and with it his calendar also ceased to exist. A knowledge of his calendar reform is useful to the student of history only for fixing the correct dates of the incidents relating to the rise and fall of the kingdom of Mysore. Otherwise, at the present date, it is of only academic interest.

APPENDIX B

The Sultān gave a special name for each year of the Jupiterian¹ cycle of 60 years as follows :

*Names of years*According to *Abtath*

(احد)	Aḥad.
(احمد)	Aḥmad.
(اب)	Ab.
(ابا)	Aba.
(باب)	Bāb.
(تاب)	Tāb
(تابا)	Tābā.
(باج)	Bāj.
(تاج)	Tāj.
(ثابت)	<u>Thābit</u> .
(ابد)	Abad.
(آباد)	Ābād.
(بار)	Bār.
(حاجب)	Ḥājib.
(جر)	Jar.
(رجا)	Rijā.
(حر)	Ḥurr.
(در)	Durr.
(دار)	Dār.
(راحت)	Rāḥat.
(بارد)	Bārid.
(چرخ)	<u>Charkh</u> .
(خراج)	<u>Khirāj</u> .

According to *Abjad*

(احد)	Aḥad.	(1)
(احمد)	Aḥmad.	(2)
(اب)	Ab.	(3)
(ابا)	Abā.	(4)
(باب)	Bāb.	(5)
(باج)	Bāj.	(6)
(ابد)	Abad.	(7)
(آباد)	Ābād.	(8)
(جاء)	Jāh.	(9)
(اوج)	Awj.	(10)
(حج)	Ḥaj.	(11)
(جهد)	Juhd.	(12)
(جهاد)	Jihād.	(13)
(واجد)	Wājid.	(14)
(ياد)	Yād.	(15)
(زهد)	Zuhd.	(16)
(جوزا)	Jawzā.	(17)
(حي)	Ḥai.	(18)
(واحد)	Wāḥid.	(19)
(بدوح)	Budūḥ.	(20)
(طيب)	Ṭayyib.	(21)
(طائب)	Tāyib.	(22)
(يوز)	Yūz.	(23)

1. It is also called *Bṛihaspati Chakra* : See Lewis Rice, p. 812.

*Names of years**According to Abtath*

(تاز)	Tāz.
(خرد)	<u>Kh</u> irad.
(بدرتاب)	Badr tāb.
(درتاج)	Durr Tāj.
(دادار)	Dādār.
(زاد)	Zād.
(زر)	Zar.
(زار)	Zār.
(بزد)	Bazr.
(زراب)	Zarāb.
(ستا)	Satā.
(زرتب)	Zar tab.
(ربتاز)	Rab tāz.
(ساخ)	Sā <u>kh</u> .
(ساخا)	Sā <u>kh</u> ā.
(دراز)	Darāz.
(داسا)	Dāsā.
(شا)	<u>Sh</u> ā.
(سارا)	Sārā.
(سراب)	Sarāb.
(شتا)	<u>Sh</u> atā.
(زبرجد)	Zabarjad.
(سحر)	Sihr.
(ساحر)	Sāḥir.
(راسخ)	Rās <u>ikh</u> .
(شاد)	<u>Sh</u> ād.
(حراست)	Ḥirāsāt.

According to Abjad

(كد)	Kad.	(24)
(حاوی)	Ḥāvī.	(25)
(كبد)	Kabad.	(26)
(آگاه)	Āgāh.	(27)
(وحید)	Waḥīd.	(28)
(یاحی)	Yāḥī.	(29)
(کائی)	Kāyī.	(30)
(کیا)	Kayā.	(31)
(کبود)	Kabūd.	(32)
(ابل)	Ibl.	(33)
(دل)	Dil.	(34)
(دال)	Dāl.	(35)
(جبال)	Jibāl.	(36)
(زکی)	Zakī.	(37)
(ازل)	Aḏal.	(38)
(جلو)	Jalū.	(39)
(دلو)	Dalu.	(40)
(ماء)	Mā.	(41)
(کبک)	Kabk.	(42)
(جم)	Jam.	(43)
(جام)	Jām.	(44)
(آدم)	Ādam.	(45)
(ولی)	Walī.	(46)
(والی)	Wālī.	(47)
(کوکب)	Kawkab.	(48)
(کواکب)	Kawākib.	(49)
(یم)	Yam.	(50)

*Names of years*According to *Abtath*

(ساز)	Sāz.
(شاداب)	<u>Sh</u> ādāb.
(بارش)	Bār <u>ish</u> .
(رستار)	Rastār.
(بشتر)	Bashtar.
(بشارت)	Bishārat.
(شرح)	<u>Sh</u> arah.
(رشد)	Rush <u>d</u> .
(صبح)	Ṣabāh.
(ارشاد)	Ir <u>sh</u> ād.

According to *Abjad*

(دوام)	Dawām.	(51)
(حمد)	Ḥamd.	(52)
(حامد)	Ḥāmid.	(53)
(جان)	Jān.	(54)
(ادن)	Adan.	(55)
(همای)	Humā.	(56)
(مجید)	Majīd.	(57)
(کحل)	Kuḥal.	(58)
(جهان)	Jahān.	(59)
(مجیز)	Mujīz.	(60)

I have copied the names of 60 years from Maḥmūd Khān Bangūlrī's work, *Tārīkh Salṭanāt Khudādād*, (printed, Bangalore 1934) pp. 344-345, and from Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, vol. I, p. 813.

H. H.

A TWILIGHT TALE FROM INDIA

(A Study in Indian Folklore)

I

INTRODUCTION

IT is a curious paradox of the present age that while fiction has never been more in demand in the publishing world than in our own time, the story-teller has become an anachronism in Great Britain. Except in the narrowing world of the children's nursery, and in a few remote corners of the British Isles, where could one still expect to find that genial beguiler of tedium, in these sophisticated days,—when the Cinema, and cheap publications, have long rendered his unpretentious services superfluous? In fact the claim for the continued existence of the story-teller in many Western lands, is little more than a pretence on the part of the Novelists. They are reluctant to abandon the old idea that the story-teller is yet to be heard amongst us, enlivening the long Winter evenings with "winged words." They will not yet give him up, for he is a very useful agent for bestowing just the right touch of realism upon the fictions which the authors put into his mythical mouth. So the story-teller is still conveniently supposed to entertain Winter audiences, assembled round the fireside; and, almost wholly imaginary though he be, he is still the most popular medium for sponsoring legends of the supernatural.

As the Christmas season of entertainment draws near, this fictitious survival of the genuine and authentic past,—himself the merest shadow of a shade—regularly reappears. He is the seasonable, if superannuated visitor to the old village inns, and "the stately homes of England." The wind moans in the chimney; the wood-fire crackles; the snow is driven in mighty gusts against the rattling window panes; and the restless voices of the Winter's night seem to the wrought-up nerves of the listeners to the narrator of some fascinating tale of terror, like the rattling of the dry bones, chains, or dungeon bolts, in his story: until, when at the crucial point, a door yields to the blast, and bursts suddenly open (either by accident or design,) the terrified auditors almost expect to see the fleshless skeleton of the wicked Earl, or the lovely weeping phantom of his much-wronged lady, enter the apartment!¹

1. Modern instances of the use by Western novelists of the imaginary story-teller are innumerable. Sir Walter Scott, Charles Dickens, Robert Louis Stevenson, Le Fanu, Charles Read, Emily Bronte, leap to one's mind. And for our own day see Mr. Henry James's much praised *The Turn of the Screw*; besides Conan-Doyle, Walter de la Mare, Algernon Blackwood, and many others.



A TWILIGHT TALE FROM INDIA

Telling the Story of
"FARHAD and SHIRI"

In default of a real live narrator, our authors have to construct his counterfeit now-a-days. And yet, most of us who have passed our half-century, still remember the story-tellers of our youth ; and what memories those are ! Books are merely the dry bones of Romance ! What are books compared to the persuasive, convincing accents of the human voice ?¹

This superiority of the spoken to the written word, is still understood in Eastern countries. Moreover, "It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good," and the lack of "literacy" which is still so prevalent in India, carries with it certain great compensations ; among which the existence of the peasant story-teller is one of the best. Sometimes this functionary is a man, sometimes a woman ; he may be, and often is, a child. As an institution he appears to be ubiquitous, and is to be found as the popular entertainer in all parts of India, and in every village. Humble in the social scale though he be, he is the direct descendant, in the lineal line of art, of the great story-tellers of the East. Some of these village narrators have a marvellous repertoire.

The story retold by me in this article, is only one example of the household tales which are current among the inhabitants of the villages of Western India. Similar tales were, not so long ago, related by the Ayahs to their young European charges, who did not appreciate them the less because they were told in Hindustani ; as Rudyard Kipling still bears witness in his poem, "Native Born":—

" To our dear dark foster-mothers,
To the Heathen songs they sung,
To the Heathen speech we babbled,
' Ere we came to the White Man's tongue."

I have had a few—only a few opportunities of hearing some of the village story-tellers of India, at first hand ; and I have also obtained several stories through the kindness of friends conversant with the country-folk, who wrote down the tales as they heard them delivered. The village *raconteur* is generally a person of the very simplest "education." The teller of the story I am giving here, for instance, had not proceeded further in her schooling than the "Fourth Book,"² and could not speak English ! As the recitals often take place after the day's work, when the women, having completed their household tasks, meet together, the title of this article, "A Twilight Tale," seems not inappropriate. But the Indian domestic stories are not confined to one sex only ; the Milkman, the *Mali*, or the

1. I still recollect an instance of this. As a boy of about eleven years of age, I had accompanied a brother and sister, under the guidance of our Scottish governess, on an excursion in the Highlands of Scotland. We found ourselves at a small picturesque station, with two hours to wait for the train which was to take us home. Our Governess, who had a brilliant *flair* for telling a story conducted us to an old bridge across a turbulent trout stream, where we all sat upon the parapet, while the good lady held us enthralled, throughout the long period of waiting, by recounting the whole of Rider Haggard's famous novel, "Jess." Many years afterwards, when at last I read the book, I could not help thinking how much better the story had sounded in my youthful ears, than when it appeared to me in cold print !

2. The vernacular Fourth Standard. She told the story of Farhad and Shirin, in "Mussalmani."

Tailor may prove much more efficient in his powers of narration than in the discharge of his diurnal duties !

The narrator of the tale of " Farhad and Shirin," which I have selected from among several collected in my notes, was a young Muslim woman, a domestic in the service of the European ladies to whom I was indebted for the opportunity of hearing it. She was visibly affected while she told of the pathetic misfortunes of the ill-starred lovers ; her tale is a very original reminder of the episode from Nizāmi's romance of King Khusrau and Shirin. Yet the woman whom I heard tell this story, seated on the carpet at the feet of her mistress, had certainly never read and probably never heard of Nizāmi's classic. I had the good fortune to hear several stories from the same artless speaker, and remarked some distinctive characteristics which reappeared in her tales. In most of them the heroines behaved with a good deal more intelligence than the men ; and, still more remarkable, they often displayed great courage. Shirin's moonlight ride into the gloomy forest, to seek her lover, is by no means the highest flight either of courage or resource shown by the young women in these " Feminist " tales of a long Eastern tradition ! These heroines, I observed, were all resourceful, brave, steadfast, and frank ; and in addition, they displayed on occasion a sense of humour. In these humble stories there is an equality of status between the girls and their brothers which is refreshingly unlike the subordinate position usually supposed to be attributed to the fair sex in Asia !

I cannot say to what extent that much-abused critical shibboleth, " Western Influence " could fairly be applied to the narrators of India's " Twilight Tales " ; they have all acquired their repertoire orally, usually from other women. The story-tellers can hardly have been influenced directly by Europe, being generally ignorant of the Western languages. It is true that from the time of the brothers Grimm onwards, very remarkable similarities have been traced between the fairy tales of remote and unconnected regions. There is, of course, a wide contrast between the unadorned cottage tales of India and the boundless imagination of Indian Mythology, or the Persian Classics.

Both Muslim and Hindu protagonists mingle freely in these household tales ; and it would often be very difficult to guess from the story itself, which community the narrator must have belonged to ; they are all worthy descendants of the renowned Scherezade ! Stories like " Farhad and Shirin " are not only entertaining in themselves, but possess special charm and significance from the artist's point of view, on account of their striking pictorial qualities.

It will be recalled that the remote source of the legend here metamorphosed into a simple domestic romance, tells (as a tragic episode in the history of King Khusrau) how Farhad, " a Sculptor,"¹ perished for the sake of his love for the King's beautiful consort. " To encourage the work

1. Or Engineer. (?)

of the artist's chisel, Khusrau promised him the favours of the fair Shirin. Unceasingly the sculptor toiled, and wrought miracles in the living rock, which are still to be seen. But when the achievement was almost accomplished the monarch sought for some means to postpone the fulfilment of his promise."

The shortest summary of what subsequently happened is that given by Edward Fitz-Gerald, who says :—

Khusrau had promised that if Farhad cut through a mountain, and brought a stream through it, Shirin would be his. Farhad was at the point of achieving his work when Khusrau sent an old woman (here perhaps purposely confounded with Fate) to tell him Shirin was dead ; whereupon Farhad threw himself headlong from the Rock. The Sculpture at Beysitun (or Besitun) where Rawlinson deciphered Darius and Xerxes, was traditionally called Farhad's.

" Farhad who the shapeless mountain
Into human likeness moulded,
Under Shirin's eye as slavish
Potters' earth himself became.
Then the secret fire of jealous
Frenzy, catching and devouring
Kai Kusrau, broke into flame."¹

The following tale differs in a great many ways from the story of King Khusrau and his inamorata, the beautiful Shirin, as told in the Persian Romances of Nizāmī, Hātifi, Firdausi, and others. The episode of Farhad and Shirin is only an interlude in these classic poems, and is not mentioned at all, by Firdausi.

II

THE STORY OF FARHAD AND SHIRIN

Once upon a time there lived a Nobleman, who had a son so handsome that his father said to himself : " I will seek a wife for my son who is equally well-favoured ; for that would be suitable."

In order to accomplish his design, the Nobleman had a picture made of his son ; and when this was done, he entrusted it to a reliable servant, saying, " Go, and find a bride for my son. Show this portrait wherever you go, and I am sure there will be no lack of requests from persons of wealth and distinction, on behalf of their marriageable daughters. But only one of equal beauty is to be accepted by you."

The agent accordingly went off on his mission. Now it so happened that there lived in a village several miles away a Sowcar (money-lender)

1. *Rubāiyāt of Omar Khayyām and the Salaman and Absal of Jami* ; rendered into English verse by Edward Fitz-Gerald. (1879).

of great wealth, whose daughter was the most beautiful maiden in the whole of that country. Strange to say, *her* father had formed a similar design for finding a suitable bridegroom for this girl. He had caused a portrait of her to be drawn, and had sent this picture by the hand of a faithful emissary to the neighbouring country, with instructions that he was only to accept as a suitor, a youth of high rank, whose beauty of person was equal to that of his daughter.

Now it so happened that the Sowcar's agent, who became tired by his long journey, had sought the shade of a large banyan tree, and had sat down to rest, when the messenger of the Nobleman approached from the opposite direction. When he got near, this man also sat himself beneath the tree, and asked the other whether his village was very far distant. He replied that he had walked fully eight miles, and complained about his hard lot.

"Providence only knows how much further I shall still have to go," he said. He then enquired, "May I ask what the business can be which necessitates such a long journey as you also seem to be engaged in?"

The other messenger now unpacked the picture of the Nobleman's son, which he showed to the casual acquaintance, saying, "I am under the necessity of wandering until I can find a suitable partner for this youth."

"Strange!" exclaimed the other; "For I am bound on a similar quest." And in his turn he produced the picture of the Sowcar's beautiful daughter, whose name was Shirin.

They were delighted at the lucky chance which had brought them together, for each agreed that the two young people were just the right partners for one another. The agent, who was in search of a bride, suggested that his friend should accompany him back to the city and show his patron the portrait of the girl. To this the other agreed; and the Nobleman, his wife, and the youth himself, were all greatly struck with the beauty of the picture; indeed the young man went so far as to declare that he would marry no one except the Sowcar's daughter.

Full of joy at this successful termination to his quest, the lady's ambassador returned to her father's house carrying the portrait of the Nobleman's son with him. Shirin's family were much impressed with the picture, and decided that the marriage should be hastened.

So, very soon the ceremony took place, with much splendour, in the bridegroom's village. He possessed a handsome house, but this did not satisfy his bride, who requested that a new dwelling should be built. She expressed a wish that particular attention should be paid to beautifying this house; and in particular stipulated that the bathroom should be constructed of shining stone,¹ so highly polished that it would reflect her own lovely person; even the rose of the *kurinja*, or showerbath, was to be sculptured out of this brilliant material.

1. Apparently the narrator intended to denote marble.



FARHAD and SHIRIN

Her young husband now ordered his steward to produce the man who could accomplish all this to his bride's satisfaction. Accordingly he introduced to his master a skilled architect, whose name was Farhad.¹ To this artist the Nobleman's son explained that he would pay him handsomely on the condition that the house was to be finished in all respects within six months. While they were discussing the matter, Shirin herself appeared upon the scene. She assured the architect that if his work really gave her pleasure she would give him whatever he asked, as his reward.

Farhad boldly replied ; " Not in six, but in three months I shall have accomplished your wishes ! " He was impelled to utter this promise because from the moment when he had set eyes on Shirin, his heart had been captivated by her beauty.

At frequent intervals the Nobleman's son and his wife visited the work in progress, and were delighted to see that the new house rose almost as if by magic, owing to the architect's devoted labours. At last it was finished, together with the beautiful bathroom, which surpassed the lady's expectations. Indeed, Shirin was so pleased at the successful result, that in her husband's presence she herself presented the architect with a *thali* (tray) loaded with money and jewels.

But this reward sadly disappointed Farhad, who had supposed that he would have been allowed to name what he desired for his recompense, as Shirin had promised. In his disappointment he struck the *thali* out of her hands so that its contents were scattered upon the floor. This action astonished both the lady and her husband. She demanded a reason for so strange a response to her generosity.

" Did you not promise," said Farhad, " that I should have for my reward whatsoever I asked for ? Well, I do not desire money ; I desire yourself ! "

At this unexpected declaration the young husband was violently enraged ; he ordered his servants to take the rascal outside immediately and to hang him from a tree.

But now his advisers intervened.

" This man " they said, " has done good work in your lordship's service. Why should it be said that you rewarded him by taking his life ? This then is what we advise you to do. Send the fellow into the jungle where the wild beasts will soon make an end of him. Then you will not have it on your conscience that it was you who killed him."

The Nobleman's son considered this advice good ; Farhad was led into a dense forest, and there abandoned by his guards. When the night came on he heard the roaring of the wild animals which abounded in that savage place ; but when they approached he told them his story— how he had done no wrong, but had been deserted in the forest because of his love for Shirin. " I have not come here to harm you ; " he added, " so why should you harm me ? " The animals felt sympathy for the poor outcast, and instead of injuring, they became friendly towards him.

2. He was a sculptor, according to the translators of the classic story.

Now, after a time it began to be told by travellers¹ who passed through the forest by day or by night that they had heard a melancholy voice, which called repeatedly on the name of Shirin. This talk came at last to the ears of the lady's husband ; and one of Shirin's handmaids told her mistress that it was reported that here was a man in the forest who continually uttered her name aloud.

She made up her mind to go and see for herself what this strange tale could mean. So she put on a man's clothes ; and late at night she secretly left her fine house, and bravely made her way on horseback, into the gloomy forest. There she discovered for herself the truth of the story ; for she heard a man's voice calling aloud her name, " Shirin ! Shirin ! Shirin !"¹

At last she accosted this man and asked him : " Who are you who cry out incessantly the name of a woman whom you do not know ?"

Farhad's reply was : " I not only know, but I love her whose name is for ever on my lips."

" But how can you live without food in this lonely place ?" she asked, much astonished at the evidence of Farhad's devotion.

" My lady's name is both food and drink to me ;" he answered.

" Are you not afraid of the tigers and other wild beasts ?" she asked again.

" No. They are my friends ; they know that I love Shirin, and they wish to see us united."

This remarkable proof of constancy was too much for Shirin, who felt her own heart affected with love for Farhad. But as she had disguised her voice as well as her person, she did not reveal her secret to her lover, but returned home without being recognised.

Her husband, however, had shown much annoyance at the news that the man he had driven into the jungle was alive, and raving, and that some people were beginning to pity Farhad. So he said to his servants : " Go out and kill the rascal."

But his friends said : " Forbear to take precipitate action. Rather, set him an impossible task to perform, and a time-limit ; then if he has not completed his task you will kill him justly."

Again the Nobleman's son agreed to take their advice.

" What task shall I set him to do ?" he enquired.

1. This—indeed all the episode of the wilderness—is reminiscent of Nizāmi's other famous romance *Leila and Majnun*, a favourite subject with Persian and Mogul artists, wherein the distracted lover

" Sought her in bower and silent glade,
Where the tall palm-trees flung refreshing shade.
He called upon her name again ;
Again he called, alas ! in vain ;
His voice unheard, though raised on every side ;
Echo alone to his lament replied ;
And Laili ! Laili ! rang around."

"Order him to remove the mountain¹ that stands yonder," they proposed : "and insist that this impossible feat shall be performed within six months."

The young man assented with exultation to this plan, which he was sure would be the undoing of his enemy.

"Go and inform him of my orders," he commanded ; "and give the scoundrel the necessary implements to work with."

When Farhad received the order to remove the mountain, he was overjoyed, and said that his love for Shirin would enable him to accomplish even this mighty task ; and he started on his work at once and wielded his pick continuously, day and night.

Frequently the master sent his servants to see how Farhad was getting on, and each time they came back and reported that the mountain was quickly getting smaller under the architect's strenuous blows ; and that, with each stroke of his pick, he uttered aloud the name of "Shirin !"

His beloved soon heard this news, as she had done before. Now she determined once more to see and hear for herself. So again she put on man's attire and rode into the forest, where she heard her name being cried aloud.

Then she in her turn cried, "Farhad ! What are you doing, and why do you constantly call on the name of Shirin ?"

He answered : "Oh, wayfarer ! Why do you hinder me in my work ? Do you not know that I work for the love of Shirin, and that my time is limited ?"

The lady could no longer doubt his deep love for her, and made up her mind then and there to show him who she really was. It was midnight in the forest ; the moon was full, and numberless stars helped to make the jungle as light as day. In a moment Shirin had torn off her turban, let down her long black locks, and divested herself of her disguise. But the shock of joy of this discovery was more than poor Farhad could endure ; he fell at her feet in a swoon.

When he came to himself he found that his eyes had not deceived him, but that it was she herself who was supporting his head ! They mingled their sighs and tears. Farhad was comforted with the thought that it would take him but a little while longer to demolish the remaining portion of the mountain ; nor would his labours now be unbearable ; for his task would soon be done in the knowledge that it would compass the desire of his heart. The lovers conversed together regardless of the passing of time, until the moon and stars were going to rest and the dawn was making its appearance. Then Shirin bade farewell to her lover, and rode homewards ; while Farhad took up his pick with more energy and courage than ever.

The servants sent by the lady's husband came, as usual, to see how the work was progressing, and returned to tell their employer that they

1. This "slave of love" left imperishable monuments of his devotion in the *carved caverns*, which to this day excite the amazement and admiration of the traveller," *Miss Costello*.

were sure that the mountain would be levelled to the ground before the six months had passed. Now the master of the house had never supposed that Farhad would be able to cope with this task, which he had considered utterly impossible for any human being to accomplish ; not realising that love can perform miracles. He now feared he would have to keep his word, and give his wife to Farhad after all. Therefore he looked about anxiously for other means for destroying his rival.

Soon he found an agent for his cruel purpose. It happened that there lived in his city an old woman who was a witch ; he recollected this person, in his extremity, and thought she would be able to give him counsel and effective help. At once he set out for the witch's little hut on the outskirts of the city and told her the whole story ;—how another man loved his wife ; and how he desired that she would find some way of killing this Farhad, promising that he would pay her liberally for getting rid of the villain. The avaricious old woman consented to compass the death of his humble rival. Delighted at this assurance her master recovered his spirits, for he had confidence in the old woman's cunning, and had good hopes of being avenged upon his enemy, at last.

He led the witch into the jungle until they came in sight of the remains of the mountain, where Farhad was toiling indefatigably at his task ; and as they journeyed they were guided by his cries of " Shirin !" which echoed through the forest. Then the old witch told her patron that he could now return to his house with an easy mind, as she would soon make an end of the object of his jealousy.

As soon as she found herself alone, the old woman proceeded towards the place where her victim was striking ceaseless blows with his pick ; and as she approached, she set up a noise of wailing and lamentation, and dishevelled her grey hair, as though she had been overcome with sorrow. At this intrusion Farhad paused in his work, and demanded : " What are you doing here ; and why do you hinder my work with such an outcry ?"

" Oh, my son !" exclaimed the old woman ; " of what use is your work, now that my daughter—my beautiful Shirin, is dead ! How can I do otherwise than lament over this terrible bereavement ?"

Farhad was struck motionless at this dreadful news, which his heart refused to credit. At last he stammered : " How and when did she die ?"

" She died last night," said the imposter ; " and where should a daughter die, except in the arms of her sorrowing mother. Shirin died calling on the name of Farhad."

At this evidence of the woman's story, the unhappy man was convinced of the irreparable loss of his beloved. " Why should I live," he said to himself, " now that I have lost everything that I have toiled so long to gain ?" Wild with grief he struck himself on the breast with his pick, and fell backwards from the rocky shelf on which he had been standing.

The old hag, not feeling quite sure that her victim was really dead, continued for some time to keep up her false lamentations ; gradually she

approached until she saw that Farhad's life had certainly departed. Then, delighted with the success of her wicked plot, she hurried back with the news to her employer, feeling sure of the handsome reward.

Her patron was overjoyed at the witch's triumph, and made preparations to set out with some of his servants to find Farhad's body and to bury him on the spot where he had fallen.

When the news reached Shirin of the tragic trick which her husband had played upon her faithful lover, she arose, dressed herself in white garments, and for the last time rode into the forest.

By the time that she reached the fatal spot, her lover's corpse had been placed in its grave ; and the earth had been shovelled over it. Regardless of her husband's presence, or the people that surrounded him, Shirin fell upon her knees by the grave and prayed to God that if Farhad's love for her had been deep and genuine, then the grave might open and receive her as well.

At this piteous appeal, and to the amazement of every one present, the grave really did open ! With a cry of joy the girl sprang into the chasm, when the earth immediately closed again over the lovers. In a burst of fury the baffled husband began to strike the grave with his foot and to stamp upon it, while some of the people who were with him, followed his example.

He even commanded that the grave should be torn open so that the bodies might be cut to pieces and flung into the lake. But a Mullah who was among those present intervened to prevent the sacrilegious deed.

"Let no man dare to touch the grave," he said sternly : "for this unfortunate pair have paid for their devotion with their lives, and it shall never be desecrated by the rude hands of unfeeling men."

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

نعت عظمی

NI'MAT-I-'UZMA OF NI'MAT-KHĀN-I-'ĀLĪ.

Detailed description of a rare Persian Commentary

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT :—

(a) *Ownership.*—This rare and hitherto unknown Manuscript of Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī's *magnum opus* belongs to Mr. Hosain 'Alī Khān, the Head of the Department of English and Provost, Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan, and has been for long a prized possession of his family. It was presented to the present owner's grandfather by Mīr 'Alī Awsaṭ, Rashk, at whose instance this transcript was prepared and who himself took a large part in the actual transcription of the Manuscript.

(b) *Size.*—The Manuscript is in two large folio volumes :—

Volume I contains ix + 374 folios,

Volume II contains 412 folios of 15.5" × 10.5"; 21 lines per page on thick Indian paper, bound in beautiful red morocco leather-binding with gilded margins.

(c) *Calligraphic Features.*—Each volume is written by a different scribe. Volume I is in semi-broken and Volume II is in bold regular Nastaliq hand with rubrications, the original Qur'ānic verses being in red. There are profuse marginal glosses, annotations, comments and extraneous text on the margins of both the Volumes.

(d) *History of the Transcript.*—a short account of Mīr 'Alī Awsaṭ, Rashk, the original owner and transcriber of this MS. and of Sayyid Wazīr 'Alī (Ṣabā), his collaborator.

It is interesting to note that this MS. was prepared by two famous literary figures of the day. One of them is the famous poet¹ Wālā Jāh Mīr 'Alī Awsaṭ, Rashk, the son of Sayyid Salmān, the theologian. Rashk came of a literary family which originally belonged to Fayzābād. He was born in² Fayzābād about 1214/1799 and like some of the members of his

1. Nashṭar-i-Kākūrī's preface to the *Nafsu'l-Lughat*, (Nayyir Press, Lucknow), Pt. I., p. 1.

2. Rashk says :—

فیض ناسخ رشک میں کیونکر ہو کا نبد ہے خاں فیض آباد کا
ہزاروں ہم وطن اے رشک آتے ہیں زیارت کو برسویں دن حسین آباد فیض آباد ہوتا ہے

family he settled in Lucknow. His father died in¹ 1219/1804 when Rashk was probably five years old.

In the early part of the nineteenth century when² Lucknow was becoming the centre of Urdū poetry, and Haydar 'Alī Ātish (d. 1846) and Imām Bakhsh Nāsikh (d. 1838) were dominating literary circles,³ Rashk appears on the scene as a famous pupil of Nāsikh. To Nāsikh should be given the credit of giving Urdū its permanent name as "Urdū" in preference to *Rikhta*, of laying down rules for the use of the language, of enriching the language by using a larger vocabulary in poetry and of compiling a dictionary. Moreover, he left behind him a group of pupils who distinguished themselves later in the field of Urdū poetry.

Rashk's close association with his master bore fruit in a lexicon on the correct interpretation of Urdū and Hindī words and idioms, the material for which he had obtained from Nāsikh. This work bears the chronogrammatic title of *Nafsul-Lughā* (نفس اللغة ۱۲۵۶) 1256/1840, and is perhaps the first dictionary of the Urdū language in Persian. A fine MS. of this work is preserved in the Aṣafiyyah Library. *Lughāt, Fārsī* Nos. 284-5.

Rashk,⁴ like his master, was a great critic of lexicography and devoted himself entirely to improving the language and laying down rules for it. He was very fond of the colloquial, which he used frequently in his poems. He became a great authority on all points connected with idioms and the use of words. He wrote verses to illustrate his knowledge of lexicography.

As a poet he was much inferior to his master, Nāsikh. He has left two Dīwāns of voluminous size in Urdū poetry with the chronogrammatic titles [نظم کرامی ۱۲۶۱ هجری and نظم مبارک ۱۲۵۳ هجری] — "*Naẓm-i-Mubārak*" (1253/1837), a fine MS. of this work also exists in the Aṣafiyyah Library, and "*Naẓm-i-Girāmī*" (1261/1845). A third one, said to be the best of all, has been lost.

From a study of his Dīwāns it appears that Rashk was very fond of writing chronograms which partially throw light on his social and literary connections. The chronograms on the death of his master Nāsikh (دلا شعر گوئی اٹھی لکھنؤ سے ۱۲۵۴ هجری) (1254/1838) and on the death of Ātish (خواجہ حیدر علی اے وا مردند ۱۲۶۳ هجری) (1263/1846) are worthy of notice.

It is obvious from the endorsement about the transcription of the Second Volume of the Commentary, *Nīmat-i-'Uẓma*, that Rashk revived his early family tradition, devoted himself to religious studies and studied the *Qur'ān* at a later age. At the close of his life, Rashk went on pilgrimage to holy places and settled down in Karbalā. There is an anonymous

1. Rashk's Chronogram on his father's death (۱۲۱۹ هجری) سید سلیمان واسی و فاضل هجری

2. T. G. Bailey, *Hist. Urdū Lit.* pp. 63-65.

3. M. 'Askari's Trans. R. B. Saksena's *Hist. Urdū Lit.* pp. 264-279.

4. Lālā Śrī Rām, *Khumkhāna-i-Jāwīd*, vol. III, 410.

endorsement¹ about the collation of this MS. in Karbalā in 1271/1854. It is difficult to ascertain whether Rashk himself compared this MS. with the other one in Karbalā.

According to Munir,² his famous pupil and admirer, who wrote many touching chronograms on the death of his master, Rashk breathed his last in 1284/1867 in Karbalā where he is buried in the precincts of the mausoleum of Imām Ḥusayn.

A summary of the documentary evidence regarding the transcription of this MS. is as follows :—

The first volume containing the 14 *Ajzā* of the *Qur'ān* was transcribed³ by Sayyid Wazir 'Alī (Ṣabā), an "esteemed friend" of Mir 'Alī Awsat Rashk, at his request and completed on the 26th Jumādāl-Ulā 1267/1851. From the manner in which Sayyid Wazir 'Alī is referred to as a "venerable colleague" "رفیق محترم" it is most probable that Wazir 'Alī Ṣabā (1795/1854), a famous pupil of Ātish, is meant.

The second volume containing the other 16 *Ajzā* beginning with the 17th Sūrah of Banī Israel was transcribed in the same year 1267/1851 by Mir 'Alī Awsat Rashk⁴ himself as he affirms.

1. "۱۶ ماه رمضان سنه ۱۲۷۱ در کربلا، معلی عقابله در آمد"

2. (a) صد حیف جناب رشک اوستاد منیر
آن سید فاضل و محقق همه دان
در زهد و ورع و حید مردان خدا
گفتم بسنین عیسوی سال وفات
"شاهنشاه ملک نظم بود ده حقا" ۱۸۶۷ ع
(b) "عابد کامل و خدائی عالم افسوس" ۱۲۸۳
"که اے وای مرده ملاذ ایچم این فن" ۱۲۸۳

3. Ni'mat-i-'Uzma Volume I, on folio 374a appears this dated colophon :—

"تاریخ بست و ششم شهر جمادی الاول سنه ۱۲۷۱ هجری در بیت السلطنت لکهنو بخط بی ربط آثم
سید وزیر علی عفی الله عنه باختمام رسید فقط بموجب ارشاد جناب میر علی اوسط صاحب نوشته شد"

4. Mir 'Alī Awsat's chronogrammatic colophon, vol. II, f. 412a gives the details of the transcription of this whole MS. very clearly :—

شد کتاب نعمت عظمی تمام	این ز نعمت خان عالی فیض عام
شازده می پاره خود کردم رقم	چارده زان از رفیق محترم
یک صد و یک جزو آمد در حساب	ختم شد در دو مجلد این کتاب
خواستم اے رشک تاریخ نوشت	از خیال و فکر تیکو سرشت
تا بماند یادگارم در زمان	از سنین و روز ختم و وقت آن
بود آن ماه جمادی نخست	نام مشهورش نمی آید درست
مصرع تاریخ شد بے اشتباه	پاس یوم پنجشنبه سلخ ماه

۱۲۶۷ هجری

(e) *Description of another MS. of the Ni'mat-i-'Uẓma in the Curzon Collection.*

Another MS.¹ of the *Ni'mat-i-'Uẓma*, perhaps the second known existing copy of the work, is in the Curzon Collection, No. 337, of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. It has been ascertained from reliable sources that this MS. was purchased at the instance of Sir Edward Denison Ross through *Shamsu'l-'Ulamā* Dr. *Hidāyat Ḥusayn*, from *Abdu'l-Ḥusayn*, a book-seller of *Sardar Bāgh*, Lucknow. The text of the first volume is in good condition but the second volume is damaged by worms. Neither the date of the transcript nor the name of the transcriber is mentioned. If, as Mr. Ivanow asserts, the MS. belongs to the middle of the 12th century A.H., i.e., nearly forty years after the date of composition 1115/1703, then the Curzon MS. is a century older than the MS. under review.

After a partial collation of this MS. dated 1267/1850 which is in a perfectly preserved condition with the Curzon MS., very few material variations of readings have been noticed. Further, from the identical contents of the unpaginated folio or fly-leaves of this MS. :—(Lists of *Sūrahs*, lists of *Tafsīrs*, Note on the *Nuṣayrī* sect and the verses of the Torah and the Old Testament relating to the Holy Prophet), it can be assumed that both these MSS. belong to the same stem.

We can only trace the existence of one or two other MSS. of this work mentioned by different people, but they seem to have been lost for ever. If the endorsement about the collation of this MS. is correct, it is reasonable to assume that a copy of this work must have existed in *Karbalā* also till 1271. *I'jāz Ḥusayn*, the author of the *Kashfu'l-Ḥujūb* must, have also seen a copy of it, as he has given a note about this work ; but his version is carelessly transcribed and gives vague readings and appears to belong to a different stem. It would indeed be a great discovery if a holograph or a contemporary MS. came to light in future. At present an authentic text of the Commentary can be established on the basis of these two known MSS.

II. CONTENTS OF THE TEXT.

(a) *The first two unpaginated folios of the MS. :*

(i) *First Folio.*—On the first unpaginated folio is given a list of the selected chapters of the *Ḥayātu'l-Qulūb* of the celebrated *Shī'a* divine, *Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir*, *Majlisī II*, died in 1111 A.H./1700 A.D. that are transcribed on the Margins of the MS. under review.

The *Ḥayātu'l-Qulūb* is an epitome of the same author's famous work, the *Bihār-ul-Anwār*, an Arabic encyclopædia of *Shiite* doctrines.

It is significant to note that the MS. under review contains two works of contemporaries, *Ni'mat Khān 'Ālī's*, *Ni'mat-i-'Uẓma* and *Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī's Ḥayātul-Qulūb*. Both belong to the *Akhbārī*

1. See for a description of this work and its author *Lit. His. Persia*, Browne vol. IV, p. 409 *et seq.* It is published in 3 Vols. in Teheran in 1240-60 A.H. and in Lucknow in 1878-79 A.D.

school and both were considered as famous writers of their own time, one at the court of Awrangzib in India and the other at the court of Shāh Husayn, the last of the Šafawīd rulers of Persia.

Such chapters of the *Ḥayātu'l-Qulūb* are selected as serve the purpose of illustration and explanation of the problems and passages commented upon by Ni'mat Khān-i-Ālī in his own work. These extracts from the *Ḥayātul-Qulūb* run somewhat parallel to the commentary and are continued on the margins of the second volume also intermittently. A list of such chapters is given on the first page of each volume of the MS.

(ii) *Second Folio.*—On the second unpaginated folio appear stray accounts of:— (1) an extract taken from the *Tadhkiratu'l-A'imma* of Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, relating to the tenets and methods of prayer followed by the Prophet, his own conception of faith, (2) the number of times Jibrā'il appeared to him, (3) the order of the revelation of only 96 Sūrahs according to the *riwāya* of Ibn-i-'Abbās, (4) a list of famous commentaries of the Qur'ān (21 in number) from the *Tafsīr-i-Kabīr* of Imām Fakhrū'd-Dīn Rāzī to the *Tuhfatul-Gharā'ib* of Abu'l-'Abbās, (5) a note on the extraordinary devotion of the Nusayrī sect to the person of the Caliph 'Alī.

(b) *The Author's Preface to the Work.*

(i) *Doxology.*—The text of the Preface¹ to the *Ni'mat-i-Uẓma* by Ni'mat-Khān-i-Ālī begins on folio 1b. after the usual *Bismillāh* and the preliminary formula with these words :

صبح صادق سخن از پر تو ربوبیت ده فلکش علوم منزله از جهات است. و افقش از لیت بالذات. بفروغ
الله نور السموات و الأرض مثل نوره. دمیده. نعلت کفر از عالم دل زائل ساخت.

This doxology is based chiefly on the verses of the Qur'ān and runs on 13 pages in which the author, in very elegant, high-flown and ornate Persian, emphasises the importance of the Qur'ān as a Revealed Book, and the excellence of the Prophet.

(ii) *Reasons for compiling this Commentary.*

Ni'mat Khān-i-Ālī states that finding in himself a call for higher pursuits, he turned his attention to the study of the Qur'ān as a noble aim and undertook the compilation of this grand Work as a sacred duty, since his past literary activities were of a temporal nature. He had applied his talents in various fields of knowledge, but now he thinks that his literary skill could not be better utilised than in the compilation of such a noble work. (p. 4.)

1. Ethe, unacquainted with the existence of this commentary, the "*Ni'mat-i-Uẓma*" by Ni'ma Khān-i-Ālī, has not been able to identify this tract as the original Preface of the work, and has mentioned it as a separate prose-treatise along with Ni'mat Khān-i-Ālī's other prose works : See Catalogue of the Persian MSS., India Office Col. 904, No. 1660.

(iii) *Sources utilised by the Author.*

Further he mentions a few notable commentators whose works he consulted for the preparation of this work (p. 5): زمخشری، بیضاوی، طبرسی. These authors have been constantly referred to in the text of the commentary by the author.

(iv) *Method of Exposition.*

Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī belonged to the Akhbārī school of Shī'a theology. The dogmas of this school are based on the belief of the Zāhirite school, who held strongly to the literal meaning of the *Qur'ān* and the Traditions, discountenanced all allegorical interpretations and refuted the esoterics or Bātinis.

'Ālī in his own remarks emphasises these points and explains his method of exposition and principle of commentary as follows :—(p. 5.)

(1) In places where the verses are clear and explicit, he has followed the old traditional method but made verbal changes in explanation.

(2) Where the verses are liable to interpretation, he has first mentioned the most obvious interpretation and then added explanations and elucidations of such verses on his own authority. Herein he believes in *Rāy* and *Ijtihād*.

(3) He has precluded the Sufiistic or Esoteric interpretation of the *Qur'ān* and followed the Akhbārī school of Shī'a theology which lays stress on the apparent meaning of the words of the *Qur'ān* :

چه تاویلات صوفیه سخن را از اصل شریعت بیرون می برد، و مطالب را با سلوب دیگر در نظر خود رایان بهانه طلب جلوه می دهد، فی الحقیقه مجاز و تشبیه و تاویل و توجیه تصوف را با حکام دینی و معالم یقینی نباید آمیخت.

(4) He has also excluded poetical citations, illustrative stories and anecdotes in the course of his commentary as has been the practice of some previous authors :

و نیز شعار اشعار نوشتن در تفسیر آیات بطریقه ملا حسین کاشفی¹ و ملا فتح الله کاشفی اختیار ننموده، چرا که برای کلام خالق سند از کلام مخلوق آوردن مخالف ادبست و عکس صواب. نه مانند شعر فارسی مثنوی ملای روم یا شاهنامه فردوسی که این ضرورتها در ایراد آن منظور نیست² و ایضاً افزودن حجم کتاب را بنقل قصص و حکایات ملحوظ نداشت، بلکه تتبع این زوائد را بکتاب سیر و تواریخ وا گذاشت، مطلب اصلی و غرض کلی از تحریر این تفسیر نشست سخن است که بی اعوجاج و خالی از بلجاج و مستغنی از ادخال کلمه یا اخراج بوقوع آید

1. کاشفی در اصل

2. In one place, while commenting upon the Verse relating to the Aṣḥābu'l-Ukhdūd, Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī has quoted a very long piece of 111 couplets from his own, sufiistic Mathnawī *Sukḥun-i-'Ālī*: See *Ni'ma t-i-'UẒma*, vol. II, foll. 387b-388b.

(5) On problems where there is a controversy among the various schools of theology, the compiler has explained the views of the different schools from authentic sources without passing any judgment by quoting the famous Saying of the Prophet :

” اصحابی کالنجوم بایهم اقتدیم اهتدیم ”

(v) *Dedication to the Emperor Awrangzīb.*

On p. 6 the author gives a note about the dedication of this work to the Emperor Awrangzīb, in which he acknowledges the accomplishments of his Imperial Patron in a glorious ode of 31 lines written in the classical style beginning with :

شاها نظر بروی تو کردن عبادتست مژگان بهم زدن چو نماز جماعتست

and ending with :

تو حافظ کلام و خدا حافظ تو باد ذات تو نیز داخل آیات رحمتست
عالی سفید بخت شد از لطف پادشاه پرورده نیک ز همین خوان نعمتست

In continuation he writes about his own titles :

در آن زمان فرخنده آوان که این بنده آستان خلافت بنیان میرزا محمد نه اولاً مخاطب به
نعمت خان و ثانیاً بمقرب خان و ثالثاً بمخاطب با صواب دانشمند خان امتیاز یافت

and says that when he was ordered to inspect the State jewellery in *Shah-jahānābād* (Delhi), he found the leisure to occupy himself in religious pursuits and compiled this commentary and named it *Ni'mat-i-'Uẓma*, a *Great Gift*.

(vi) *The Plan of the Work and its Contents :*

A preface, a colophon and five adornments called ترصیع

At the end of the last ترصیع the total number of the verses of the *Qur'ān* is mentioned as 6666 according to the accepted version.

*Contents : Beginning :—*The text of the commentary begins on folio 1b with the usual *Sūrah Fātiḥa* in the following manner :—

یعنی ابتداء می کنم بنام الله که معبود بحق است، از برای تیمن و تبرک، باینکه استعانت می نمایم
بالله، درین صورت لفظ اسم زائد باشد، چنانکه در کلام عرب بجهت صله آمده است، و اینجا برای
تفریق است از قسم.

Vol. I ends with the commentary of the *Sūrah النحل* on f. 358a.

Vol. II begins with the commentary of the *Sūrah بنی اسرائیل* on f. 1b and ends with the *Surah of الناس* on f. 411b.

(1) *A list of the Sūrahs commented upon in Vol. I.*

(1)	The commentary of	سورة الفاتحه	begins on folio	1b
(2)	„	البقره	„	2b
(3)	„	آل عمران	„	50b
(4)	„	النساء	„	83a
(5)	„	المائدة	„	123b
(6)	„	الانعام	„	155a
(7)	„	الاعراف	„	183b
(8)	„	الانفال	„	220b
(9)	„	التوبة	„	235b
(10)	„	يونس	„	266a
(11)	„	هود	„	290b
(12)	„	يوسف	„	313a
(13)	„	الرعد	„	334a
(14)	„	ابراهيم	„	342a
(15)	„	الحجر	„	350a
(16)	„	النحل	„	358a

(2) *A list of the Sūrahs commented upon in Vol. II.*

(17)	The commentary of	بنی اسرائیل	begins on folio	1b
(18)	„	الكهف	„	16a
(19)	„	مريم	„	31a
(20)	„	طه	„	41b
(21)	„	الانبياء	„	55a
(22)	„	الحج	„	67a
(23)	„	المؤمنون	„	77b
(24)	„	النور	„	86a
(25)	„	الفرقان	„	99b
(26)	„	الشعراء	„	109a
(27)	„	النمل	„	122a
(28)	„	القصص	„	134b

(29)	The commentary of	العنكبوت	begins on folio	148b
(30)	"	الروم	"	158b
(31)	"	لقمان	"	167b
(32)	"	السجدة	"	172b
(33)	"	الاحزاب	"	176a
(34)	"	سباء	"	191b
(35)	"	(فاطر) يا الملائكة	"	199a
(36)	"	يسين	"	204a
(37)	"	الصافات	"	210b
(38)	"	ص	"	221b
(39)	"	الزمر	"	224a
(40)	"	المومن (غافر)	"	233b
(41)	"	السجده (نصلى)	"	243a
(42)	"	الشورى	"	245a
(43)	"	الزخرف	"	257b
(44)	"	الدخان	"	266a
(45)	"	الجاثية	"	270a
(46)	"	الاحقاف	"	273a
(47)	"	محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم	"	278b
(48)	"	الفتح	"	283a
(49)	"	الحجرات	"	289a
(50)	"	ق	"	291b
(51)	"	الذاريات	"	295a
(52)	"	الطور	"	298b
(53)	"	النجم	"	301b
(54)	"	القمر	"	305a
(55)	"	الرحمن	"	307b
(56)	"	الواقعه	"	311a

(57)	The commentary of	الحديد	begins on folio	314b
(58)	"	المجادله	"	320a
(59)	"	الحشر	"	324a
(60)	"	المتحنه	"	328a
(61)	"	سورة الصف	"	331a
(62)	"	الجمعه	"	332b
(63)	"	المنافقون	"	334a
(64)	"	التغابن	"	335b
(65)	"	الطلاق	"	337b
(66)	"	التحریم	"	339b
(67)	"	الملك	"	343a
(68)	"	ن و القلم	"	345a
(69)	"	الحاقه	"	348b
(70)	"	المعارج	"	351a
(71)	"	نوح	"	353a
(72)	"	الجن	"	354b
(73)	"	المزمل	"	357b
(74)	"	المدثر	"	359b
(75)	"	القيامه	"	364b
(76)	"	الدهر (الاسان)	"	368a
(77)	"	المرسلات	"	372a
(78)	"	النباء	"	374b
(79)	"	النازعات	"	377a
(80)	"	عبس	"	379b
(81)	"	التكوير	"	381b
(82)	"	الانفطار	"	382b
(83)	"	المطففين	"	384a
(84)	"	الانشقاق	"	386a
(85)	"	البر و ح	"	387a

(86)	The commentary of	سورة الطارق	begins on folio	389b
(87)	„	الاعلى	„	391a
(88)	„	الغاشيه	„	392b
(89)	„	الفجر	„	393b
(90)	„	البلد	„	396a
(91)	„	الشمس	„	397b
(92)	„	الليل	„	398b
(93)	„	الضحى	„	399a
(94)	„	الشرح	„	400a
(95)	„	التين	„	401a
(96)	„	العلق	„	401b
(97)	„	القدر	„	403a
(98)	„	البينه	„	403a
(99)	„	الزلزله	„	404b
(100)	„	العاديات	„	404b
(101)	„	القارعه	„	405b
(102)	„	النكاثر	„	406a
(103)	„	العصر	„	406b
(104)	„	المهمره	„	406b
(105)	„	الفيل	„	407a
(106)	„	القريش	„	407b
(107)	„	الماعون	„	408a
(108)	„	الكوثر	„	408b
(109)	„	الكافرون	„	408b
(110)	„	النصر	„	409a
(111)	„	المسد (تبت)	„	409a
(112)	„	الاخلاص	„	409b
(113)	„	الفلق	„	410b
(114)	„	الناس	„	411a

The Colophon begins on f. 411b with the lines of the author :-

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم دست برآورده بجود کریم
ناز و نعيم دوجہان درکفش خلق ازل تا بابد مصرقش

Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī in his closing remarks expresses his relief at the completion of this enormous work and gives a chronogram on the beginning and end of this work.

The MS. ends with the chronogrammatic verses of 'Alī Awsaṭ Rashk about transcription of this MS. (see above p. 3, n. 4).

(vii) *The date of Composition :*

In the closing remarks of this long preface, the date of the compilation is given in the following words :—(p. 12.)

تسخیر اقلیم قلم به نیروی توفیق (p. 13) و جلوس سلطان خرد در دارالعلم تحقیق و قتی بوقوع آمد که از رقم
سین بمرت چهار الف دعایم بیت معمور جهان و قوایم سریر زمان سنه ۱۱۱۱ هجری
فحمدأله ثم حمدأله کما نأن فی نفسه اهلہ

In Vol. II folio 412 lines 6-7 Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī gives two chronograms in one verse :

سال شروع تفسیر شد "فیض عام عالی" (1700 A.D.)=1112 A.H.

تاریخ اختتامش "الهامهای غیبی" (1703 A.D.)=1115 A.H.

It appears from the preface and the colophon that the work was already begun in 1111 A.H. and was completed in 1115 A.H., six years before the author's death.

III. A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND WORKS OF NĪ'MAT KHĀN-I-'ĀLĪ

Mirzā¹ Muḥammad who is commonly known by his first title Ni'mat Khān, and by his poetical name 'Ālī, enjoyed two other titles² Muqarrab

1. In the Preface to the *Dīwān-i-Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī*, (Aṣafiyyah Lib. MSS. *Dīwān-i-Fārsī*, No. 1191, and *Muḥaḍḍharāt-i-Fārsī* No. 108 f. 8b Col. 2) the author clearly states :

از اتفاقات حسنہ نام اصلی کہ بوالدین الہام شد "محمد" است و تخلصی کہ بخاطر استاد القاء یافت "عالی" است
و خطابی کہ از بادشاہ جہان مطا آمد "نعمت خان" است و از لطایف غیبی تاریخ یافتن خطاب چنین یافتہ
"شکر نعمت واجب واجب" سنہ ۱۱۰۳ ہجری

2. The date of conferment and the circumstances under which this title was conferred are not known, but Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī in all his three major works, the *Dīwān*, the *Ni'mat-i-'Uẓma* and the *Pādshāhnama* of Bahādur Shāh reiterates this *Khiṭāb*. Probably it was conferred on him in the last days of Awrangzib when the Emperor took him into close confidence.

Khān and ¹**Dānīshmand Khān**. He came from a famous family of physicians in **Shīrāz** and was the son of ²**Hakīm Fathu'd-Dīn Shīrāzī**. He first styled himself '*Hakīm*,' but later adopted the poetical name of ³'**Ālī**. He distinguished himself in various fields of activity and rose to fame under the distinguished patronage of the Emperors **Awrangzīb** and **Shāh 'Ālam**.

The place and ⁴date of his birth are not known. It is alleged that he was born in India⁵ and went to **Shīrāz**, his ancestral home, at an early age and was educated there. Like most Irānian emigrants, 'Ālī boasts of his ⁶Irānian descent and considers himself as a stranger in India, although he avowedly calls himself a *Khānazād* and ⁷*Parwarda-i-Namak* (born and bred in the household) and a hereditary servant of the Mughal Court from the time of ⁸**Shāh Jahān**.

1. This third title, although mentioned in the *Ni'mat-i-'Uzma* compiled in 1115 A.H., was really conferred by Bahādūr Shāh in 1119 A.H. who reinstated him in his office of the Comptroller of the State Jewellery, increased his manṣab and raised his official status. (See *Pādshāhnāma* Folio 57 b.)

2. No independent notice of **Hakīm Fathu'd-Dīn** is found in the original sources of **Shāh Jahān's** time. It is, therefore, difficult to trace the actual position of *Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī's* father at the Court of **Shāh Jahān** or during the days of the Emperor **Awrangzīb**.

3. In conformity with the ancestral profession of physicians, he had adopted *Hakīm* as his poetical name, but owing to lack of appreciation and practice changed his pen-name at his master **Shafī'ā-i-Yazdī's** suggestion from *Hakīm* to 'Ālī: *Ibid.* f. 8.

و از اراده تبدیل تخلص آگهی یافته فرمود که چون رتبه سخن بلند است "عالی" تخلص باید کرد

4. From this verse of his in the *Diwān* compiled in 1105 A. H., p. 228, it may be deduced that he was fifty years old at that time, so then he may have been born about 1055 A.H.

چنین بجز به پنجاه سال عمر گذشت که در ریاض محبت ترست غیر از خار

5. **Āzād Bilgrāmī** who has criticised severely *Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī's Qasīda* on the Wedding of **Kāmgar Khān**, in his biographical notice of 'Ālī-i-Shīrāzī in the *Sarw-i-Āzād* p. 136, writes thus:

گر بند میرزا محمد در هند متولد شد و در صغر سن همراه پدر بشیر از رفت و کسب کمال نموده برگشت و در خدمت ملاشفیعی یزدی مخاطب به دانشمند خان نیز تلمذ نمود.

6. The following lines from his *Diwān* indicate the illusive nature of his remarks about his ancestral home:

(a) *Diwān* Litho. Nawilkishore, Cawnpore, 1894, p. 122.

ای خدا عالی بی چاره به هند آمده است نازنین شوخ ظریف سکهری می خواهد

(b) *Ibid.* p. 164.

سبک روحم به هر جای که باشم عزتی دارم چه شد گر همچو بوی گل بغربت از وطن رفتم

(c) *Ibid.* p. 169.

هند را عالی ازین ره بحقارت نگرم سرمه داری بکف از خاک صفاهان دارم

(d) *Ibid.* p. 96.

گر خدا فرصت تو فیت به عالی بخشد ساکن گوشه نزهت کدّه شیراز بود

7. See above p. 7, Sec. v.

عالی سفید بخت شد از لطف پادشاه پرورده نمک زمین خوان نعمتست

8. The following citation from the *Pādshāhnāma* (*Asafiyah* MS. *Tārīkh*, Fārsī No. 525 f. 514) proves literally his Indian descent and hereditary service in the Mughal Court.

ندوی بادشاه بنده پرور خانزاد آبا عن بد میرزا محمد که از عهد حضرت فردوس آشیان شاهجهان حلقه بندگی این عتبه علیه سلطنت بنیان در گوش دارد

It is not known in what capacity his ancestors served in the Mughal Court. A relative of his, ¹Hakīm Muḥsin Khān, was in charge of the royal jewellery and was given the office of Dārūgha of the Jawāhirkhāna in 1096/1685. A year later in 1097 we find ²Mirzā Muḥammad, who was known as a satirist (*Hājī*) submitting a chronogram to the Emperor Awrangzib commemorating his victory at Hyderabad. From the ³chronograms written about the events of the years 1090 to 1110, his connection with the court and the political events of the Deccan and the growing importance of his status in the eyes of the Emperor, are fully established. In the year 1104/1692 the title of Ni'mat Khān was conferred upon him and since then till the death of the Emperor he enjoyed great favours and high confidence. In 1105/1693 he compiled his *Diwān* and dedicated it to the Emperor which established his position as a poet also.

Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī's duties in the royal ⁴household necessitated his presence in the court of the Emperor in the Deccan; but he is seen in

1. *Maā'thir-i-'Ālamgiri* p. 253, 267.

2. *Ibid.* p. 267.

میرزا محمد حاجی پسر حکیم فتح الدین عم حکیم محسن خان تاریخ فتح از نظر مکرمت اثر گذرانید :
 قلمه تاریخ از نصرت یاد شاه غازی گردید دل جهانیان شاد
 آمد بقلم حساب تاریخ شد فتح بجنگ حیدر آباد
 (1097 A.H.) عوہبت خلعت معزز گردید

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| 3. (a) 1090 A. H. | "برد زنگ دلم آئینه خانه" | On Zibu'n-nisā's Mirror House. |
| (b) 1096 A. H. | "ملك میدان را گرفت" | On the Victory of Bijāpur. |
| (c) 1097 A. H. | "شد فتح بجنگ حیدر آباد" | On the Victory of Hyderabad-Dn. |
| (d) 1098 A. H. | "سالمیر فتح شد" | "کل جهان از شاه عالمگیر شد" |
| (e) 1100 A. H. | "طلوع پیر دولت بطلع اقبال" | On the birth of a son to Bidār-bakht. |
| (f) 1101 A. H. | "محمی دین شاه عالمگیر کرداجای دین" | "سر برداز کافرو زندیق و شد تاریخ فتح" |
| (g) 1104 A. H. | "شکر نعمت واجب واجب" | On his own first title. |
| (h) 1105 A. H. | "اوراق گل شیرازہ کرد" | On the compilation of his own <i>Diwān</i> . |
| (i) 1106 A. H. | "فتح خوبی" | On the conquest of Jinji. |
| (j) 1108 A. H. | "شہ سرکافر بریدہ از جہاد" | On the execution of Santha. |
| (k) 1109 A. H. | "نگہبان بادشہ خدای جهان" | On the birth of a son to Mirzā Jahān. |
| (l) 1110 A. H. | "نوگل بوستان دولت آمد" | On the birth of a son to Makrumat Khān. |

4. In the *Sarw-i-Āzād* (p. 137) Āzād-i-Bilgrāmī, mentioning the conferment of the title of Ni'mat Khān states that he was given the office of the Chief Controller of the Royal kitchen, and similarly in the *Tazkira-i-Husaini*, (p. 215) it is stated that he held the post of Royal Chef. A manual on cookery (خوان) is also ascribed to him, but in none of the contemporary or autobiographic references is his profession as a Chef revealed.

Delhi¹ constructing his own house in 1103, and in 1111 he was ordered to inspect the state jewellery at *Shāhjahānābād*, when he began compiling his great work, the *Ni'mat-i-'Uẓma*,² and completed it in 1115. By this time he had been given the title of *Muqarrab Khān* and was most likely attached to the retinue of Prince A'zam *Shāh*.

On the eve of the death of the Emperor *Awrangzib*, *Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī* was in charge of the state jewellery in the fort of *Gawalior*. His *Jangnāma*³ depicts graphically the internecine quarrel of *Bahādur Shāh* and A'zam *Shāh* and the defeat of the latter at the battle of *Jājāu* near *Agra* in 1119/1707. At this juncture he changed his master and handed over the treasury⁴ to *Bahādur Shāh* who reinstated him in his old office of the Comptroller of the state jewellery, rewarded him with the title of *Dānishmand Khān* and ordered him to write a chronicle of his reign in 1119/1707.

*Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī*⁵ accompanied *Shāh 'Ālam* to the *Deccan* when he had come to subdue his younger brother *Kām Bakhsh*. By an irony of fate he died in *Hyderabad* in 1121, and is buried in the very city which he had defamed so much in his *Waqā'i* of *Hyderabad*. He lies buried in the southern quarter of the *Dāira* (Mausoleum) of *Mīr Mū'min* with a small mosque⁶ attached to his family graveyard outside the existing compound wall of the *Dāira*, and not at the foot-steps of the grave of *Mīr Mū'min* as wrongly pointed out.

1. *Diwān*, p. 235.

ز ملک دکن آدمم سوی دهل
چو از سلامت آید کدی جاب ضو
بنا کردم این جا و تاریخ گفتم
انی مبارک کنی خانه بو
(۱۱۰۱) (۱۱۰۳)

2. See above p. 8, section vii, the date of the compilation of the commentary.

”الها مه ای غیبی“ (۱۱۱۵) ”فیض عام عالی“ (۱۱۱۲)

3. *Irvine* and *Sir Jadunath Sarkar* have utilised the *Jangnāma* and the *Pādshāhnāma* very extensively.

4. The *Pādshāhnāma*, *Aṣafiyah* MS. f. 5a.

مخاطب دانشمند خان سرفراز است و درندگان آستان خلافت بمراحم بیکران ممتاز ' بسبب داروغگی
جواهر خانه که در عهد عالمگیری داشت ' و در هنگام هرج و مرج انتقال سلطنت آن کارخانه عمده رانگی
توانست با عتاد غیر گذاشت و در بنگاه گو ایر مصئون و محفوظ داشته بمحافظت مانده بود .

5. *Shām-i-Gharībān* of *Lachmi Nārāyan Shafiq*, (MS. incidentally examined by me).

و چون شاه عالم بعد بخار به برادر خود اعظم شاه و کشته شدن او بقصد و مقابله برادر دیگر سلطان کام بخش
که از عهد پدر ناظم حیدر آباد بود از هند رایت نهضت بجانب حیدر آباد فراخت، نعمت خان در رکاب خلافت
بحیدر آباد رسید اتفاقاً نعمت خان بعد وصول حیدر آباد در رکاب شاه عالم همانجا در سنه احدی
و عشرين و مایه و ائف رحلت کرد ' و در دایره میر محمد مو من مدفون گردید و بر سر قبرش مسجد ساخته اند
که بالفعل موجود است -

6. This statement is also corroborated by an eye-witness, the author of the *Gulzār-i-Aṣafiyah*, p. 612, who says :

نعمت خان عالی نیز در همین دایره مدفون است، اما قطعه عجلده مع مسجد دارد .

Nī'mat Khān-i-'Ālī's versatile genius is reflected in all his works which can be conveniently grouped as follows :—

(1) Historical, (2) Literary, (3) Religious, (4) Technical.

In the Historical group, the Diary¹ of the Siege of Golconda by Awrangzīb in 1097/1685 is an extremely satirical work, in mixed prose and verse, of a highly florid style which was considered typical of the period. Another is the *Jangnāma*,² an account of the internecine quarrels that ensued after the death of Awrangzīb between Bahādur Shāh and A'zam Shāh in 1118/1707. This work contrasts the merits of the victorious Bahādur Shāh with the demerits of the vanquished A'zam Shāh, in the same exaggerated style. The third is the *Pādshāhnāma*³ of Bahādur Shāh—Shāh 'Ālam, which gives the account of the life of Shāh 'Ālam from his birth 30th Rajab 1053 A.H. to Zulqadah 1120/1709, the 3rd year of his reign and ends abruptly owing to the close of the author's life.

His literary works comprise satirical sketches⁴ of some of his contemporaries, his *Dīwān*,⁵ a prose allegory *Husn-o-'Ishq*⁶ and some occasional facetious pieces. His mastery of prose and use of technical terms establish his position as a great writer of Persian prose. Nevertheless his poetic style is commendable and gives him an everlasting place among the post-Jāmī minor poets.

One side of Nī'mat Khān-i-'Ālī's activity, which is very little known, is his devotion to the study of Islām. The "*Nī'mat-i-'Uzma*," his superb commentary, and the "*Sukhūn-i-'Ālī*,"⁷ his extensive sufiistic *Mathnawī* of about 2400 couplets, are conclusive proofs of his genius and reveal a different facet of Nī'mat Khān-i-'Ālī's inner self.

In the technical group we might mention a Handbook of Cookery⁸ ascribed to him, a copy of which exists in the Berlin State Library. His knowledge of the science of medicine was immense, and he has shown it in his satirical pieces relating to the physicians.⁹ Of precious stones he knew a good deal; he has used cognate figures of speech in his *Qasīdas* and writings profusely. In short his mastery of the language is evident from his works, but he was a notorious satirist¹⁰ all along whose tongue was feared even by the Emperor Awrangzīb (*Aḥkām-i-'Ālamgīrī* p. 71).

1. See for a description of its full contents Rieu, Br. Ms. Cat. of Pers. MSS. Vol. I, p. 268.

2. and 3. Ibid., vol. I, p. 272.

4. رنعات و مضحکات نعمت خان عالی lithographed in Lucknow.

5. A complete MS. of his *Kulliyāt* exists in the Aṣafiyyah Lib. *Dīwān-i-Fārsī* No. 1191.

A unique and contemporary MS. of the *Dīwān* dated 1119 A.H. is preserved in Sālār Jang Collection No. 6133.

6. See for an account of this work Gr. Irānischen Philologie II, p. 334.

7. See for a complete text of this *Mathnawī*, Aṣafiyyah, *Dīwān, Fārsī* No. 1191.

8. See *خوآن نعمت* described by Petrsch in his Catalogue of Pers. MSS., Berlin No. 321, p. 343.

9. The first *Ruqq'a* in the رنعات contains allusions to all technical terms of the Science of Medicine which he had inherited, but unfortunately disowned.

10. He wrote, apart from *Waqf-i'*, a satirical *Mathnawī* of about 70 lines on Hyderabad, which shows the coarseness of his language at its height, and similarly his *Qasīda* on the Wedding of Kamgār Khān. His attacks on courtiers and his remarks on his contemporaries are almost inhuman and intolerable.

IV. THE IMPORTANCE OF NI'MAT-I-'UZMA AS A PERSIAN COMMENTARY OF THE *Qur'ān*.

At the close of his eventful career he produced a work which redeemed his past literary activities. It is the commentary on the *Qur'ān* entitled *Ni'mat-i-'Uzma*, the MS. which we have described at length. This is a facet of *Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī*'s genius which has hitherto remained in the dark and should receive due attention at the hands of scholars. His knowledge of Quranic literature and his mastery of expression and his devotion to his theme unfold the depths of his mind. Although there are several commentaries of the *Qur'ān* in Persian written by great authors, his predecessors, a systematic study of this commentary and its publication will undoubtedly add to our knowledge of Islamic studies.

Some of the distinguishing features which deserve notice may be summed up as follows : *Ni'mat Khān* has used a very fluent, easy and copious style in this work contrary to his other writings. He has given an exhaustive and convincing explanation of the verses of the *Qur'ān*. He has not departed from the conventional method of citing the views and explanations of other commentators. He has followed the synthetic process of the exposition of the truths of the *Qur'ān* and has tried to convey his own point of view rather mildly in contravention of the older school of commentators.

It is curious to note that such an important work, or rather the life-work, of *Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī*, should have remained in obscurity for such a long time. None of his biographers or critics have ever referred to the existence of this work. Undoubtedly it shows the definite tendencies of the *Akhbārī* school, which believed in the apparent meaning of the words of the *Qur'ān*. But there appears no reason for the obscurity of this work while his minor works, such as the *Waqā'i'*, have enjoyed such extravagant popularity in India. Among later writers, *I'jāz Husain* has mentioned this work in his *Kashfu'l-Mahjūb* but very superficially. Then Mr. Ivanow has described it rather elaborately in his Catalogue of the Curzon Collection. It is Prof. Storey who has given this book a proper place in his Biobibliographical Survey of Persian literature relating to Commentaries. The present full and thorough description of the work and its author can claim to be the first detailed and systematic study of the life-work of *Ni'mat Khān-i-'Ālī*.

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IS THERE EUROPEAN ELEMENT IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA?

IT is not exactly known to us, when and how the claim was made that the Taj was designed by foreign architects—Geronimo Veroneo or Austin de Bordeaux and that the Pietra Dura decoration of the Taj was imported from overseas. I deal with these points separately :—

GERONIMO VERONEO

The claim of a Venetian, Geronimo Veroneo to be considered as the architect of the Taj has often been urged. Though the claim has already been unanimously repudiated by the experts, it is worthwhile to examine the question in the light of original documents. The only contemporary source which mentions Veroneo by name is the Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique, a Spanish monk of the Augustinian Order, who visited Agra in 1641 A.D. He says :—

“ These two mausoleums the tomb of Akbar, as the first and oldest The other, the mausoleum, the work, as I remarked, of the Emperor Corrombo,¹ dedicated to the unhappy memory of his chief and most beloved wife and Begoma, stands at the opposite end of the town. At this time it was still incomplete, the greater part of it remaining to be done, according to the plan drawn up and discussed, and I will, therefore, only deal with so much of it as was then finished. This consisted of a handsome, lofty, quadrangular wall of hewn stone, of a reddish hue, the wall well proportioned as to the height. The summit of the wall is crowned with strong spikes made of the same stone, instead of the usual battlements. At the four corners of the great wall stood four palaces, built of great and handsome blocks of white marble, which had been brought there from over forty leagues away, for the erection of these edifices. Some of these blocks, which I met on the way, when visiting Biana City, were of such unusual size and length that they drew the sweat of many a

1. The Emperor Shahjahan was known as Prince Khurram before he became Emperor, and Manrique has used the title Khurram, then current as Corrombo, for Shahjahan.

powerful team of oxen and fierce-looking horned buffaloes, which were dragging enormous, strongly made wagons, in teams of twenty or thirty animals.

" This great wall embraces a huge square-shaped enclosure, in the centre of which rose a vast, lofty, circular structure, from the middle of which this famous Geometer, by drawing equal lines, constructed a perfect circle, with less trouble than Archimedes of Syracuse. This circular building is, moreover, made of glittering white marble.

" On this building, as well as other works, a thousand men were usually engaged, overseers, officials, and workmen ; of this number some were occupied in laying out ingenious gardens, others planting shady groves and ornamental avenues ; while the rest were making roads and receptacles for the crystal waters, without which their labour could not be carried out.

" The architect of these works was a Venetian by name Geronimo Veroneo, who had come to this part in a Portuguese ship and died in the city of Laor just before I reached it.

" The Emperor Corrombo paid him a very high salary, but he is said to have been so careless in money matters that when he died Father Joseph de Castro, a Lombardy man of the Society of Jesus, found that the money he left was far less than was expected. Fame, the swift conveyer of good and evil news, had spread the story that the Emperor summoned him and informed him that he desired to erect a great sumptuous tomb of his dead wife, and he was required to draw up some design for this, for the Emperor's inspection.

" The architect Veroneo carried out this order, and within a few days proved the great skill he had in his art by producing several models of the most beautiful architecture.

" He pleased the ruler in respect of the designs, but, in his barbaric pride and arrogance, His Majesty was displeased with him owing to his low estimates, and it is said, that, becoming angry, he told Veroneo to spend three crore of rupees, that is three hundred lakhs, and to inform him when it was expended. This is so large a sum as to overawe one. If, however, as they used to say, the tomb had to be covered with gold plates as had been done with the funeral urn which already held the remains of this Agarene Empress, such heavy expenditure was not surprising¹"

From the above quotation, besides the mention of the name of Geronimo Veroneo as the architect of the Taj, we find that Father Manrique was an eye-witness of the Taj in the course of construction, on which thousands of people were employed as workmen, who were experts in their respective occupations, and that slabs of stones were acquired from Biana for the building. It is an admitted fact that Father Manrique has recorded the story, as told by Father Joseph de Castro at Lahore, who was the executor of this unknown Italian, but that the account has never

been supported or corroborated by any other evidence. If we rely upon it we can easily decide in favour of the Venetian architect, but the idealism embodied in the Taj, which is quite Saracenic makes one reluctant to accept this conclusion.

Since the Mughal Empire was established in India under the great Akbar, many European travellers visited this country on different missions, either as representatives of their respective governments or of their own accord, simply on pleasure trips. Such visits were very common in the days of Jahangir especially, after Sir T. Roe came to his court as an envoy of James I, after which English factories were established at different Indian seaports in 1613. But the Portuguese whose chief station was Goa were forerunners as far as these seafaring adventures were concerned.

All this shows that India at that time had a sufficient number of Europeans, of different nationalities busily engaged in different occupations. The Portuguese had set up a great centre in Bengal. One can still find their Bandel Church¹ at Hugli founded in 1599 in the days of Akbar. Moreover, history records that Portuguese missions, hostile in character towards Indians at that time, were responsible for a great upheaval in 1632, during the early part of the reign of Shahjahan.

It therefore seems pertinent to look into the political affairs of the Mughal Court, especially in relation to the foreign Europeans. Now it is curious that all the persons mentioned above in the account of Fray Sebastian, viz Veroneo, De Castro and Sebastian himself, were prominently involved in the great Portuguese upheaval in those days, which is most aptly discussed by Sir Edward Maclagan in his great work *The Jesuits and the Great Mughal*.

The trouble at Hugli was not due primarily to a religious quarrel. The local Governors had put no obstacles in the way of the Portuguese and had paid due respect to the Catholic priesthood. The *Frangis* made slaves of large numbers of Mughal subjects and these slaves were converted to Christianity. Bernier says that they made more Christians in twelve months than all the missionaries in India could do in ten years. The Portuguese in Hugli not only dealt in these slaves but also maintained a fanatic attitude towards non-Christians in their own settlement. The Augustinians and to a lesser degree the Jesuits, exercised powerful influence there. No mendicant was allowed in the settlement; no call to prayers was permitted; and the minor heirs of deceased men of property were enslaved and baptised. The religious aspects of the case were, however, of minor importance, and there was a good deal more to justify the punishment of the Portuguese of Hugli.

"The settlement at Hugli was practically independent, not only of the Moghul Court, but also of the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa. It had been

1. I have visited this place and the Church of Bandel, whose entrance bears the date, 1599, of its foundation.

founded by Tavares¹ in the latter part of the 16th century and had flourished exceedingly as an entrepôt for trade at the expense of the older Moghul port at Satgaon. The local shipping was harassed, the *Frangis* and their slave-trade were encouraged, and the king of Arakan was supported against the Moghuls. An incident occurred when Moghul women of note (including, according to Manucci; two slave girls of Queen Mumtaz Mahal herself)² were kidnapped and the opposition of the local Moghul Governor to the settlement was fostered by fugitive Portuguese malcontents. The little oligarchy in Hugli had exaggerated ideas of its own importance and neglected to conciliate the Moghul power. . . . A peremptory *firman* was issued to Qasim Khan, the Subedar at Dacca, requiring him to take immediate steps to exterminate it. Father Cabral writes that he and Father Simon Figueredo saw the *firman* at Dacca and that due warning was given from other quarters to the Portuguese authorities at Hugli, but in vain. A formidable armament both by land and water was organised by the Subedar; its destination was concealed and suddenly on June 26th, 1632, the Moghul army appeared within a league of Hugli, supported by a Moghul fleet further down the river. According to Shah-jahan himself the army, including followers, numbered 70,000 and the fleet was composed of 500 vessels.

"Kasim Khan and Bahadur Khan brought with them Christian prisoners, male and female, young and old, with idols of their worship to the presence of the faith-defending Emperor. He ordered that the principles of Islam should be explained to them and that they should be called upon to adopt it. A few appreciated the honour offered to them and received allowance, but the majority rejected the proposal. Those were distributed among the Amirs for imprisonment.

"Negotiations for the release of prisoners were opened with Goa. Father Francisco was sent to discuss terms with the Portuguese Viceroy. Meanwhile after the first outburst of persecution, permission was given to the Father to move about freely in Agra. Interest was exercised at court by one Shah Allaud Din, who gave security for Christians in the beginning of 1635, and an Armenian (doubtless Mirza Zul Qarnain), and money was provided by the Venetian Jeronimo Veroneo by means of which many of the prisoners were released and settled in Agra. The same privilege was subsequently granted to the remaining prisoners on the condition that Father Antonio returned to prison as security until negotiations with Goa were complete. At that the Father forthwith connived at the escape of the prisoners in question from Agra; he was detained in prison, and in spite of two attempts to escape he remained there for nine years until released by the efforts of Fray Manrique. Energetic efforts were made by the Mughal officials to locate the treasure of their friend, Mirza Zul

1. Same Tavares who went to Akbar's Court in 1577; vide *Jesuits and Great Mughal* p. 117.

2. *Storia do Mogar*, Vol. I. p. 176 Catron. His. Gen. de l'Empire du Mughal 1795 p. 156 goes so far to say that two of the queen's daughters had been converted to Christianity.

Qarnain. Father de Castro who had just returned with the Mirza from the Eastern Provinces was so severely beaten as to become one sore from waist to head. In the meantime, however, the interior of the church was rudely dismantled and the Jesuits were prohibited from proselytising among the Muslims. They were turned out of their college and took refuge in a serai. Orders were even issued from the court requiring their expulsion to Goa, and it was only by the intervention of Asaf Khan that these orders were rescinded. Father de Castro followed the king's camp for five months with a petition for reinstatement, and a written *firman* was ultimately received on December 9 in 1635. The leading Italian was Angelo Gradenigo and his companions were Bernardino, a physician, and Jeronimo Veroneo the jeweller. The Italian Veroneo, who died in Lahore in 1640 and Father de Castro who died in 1646 were both transferred to Agra.¹

According to this account Veroneo was not an architect but a jeweller by profession. He was also at Hugli in 1632 even before the upheaval. He reached Agra along with other prisoners whom Qasim Khan had brought with him from Hugli. Veroneo spent a large sum of money as ransom² to release certain members of the Portuguese Mission who were imprisoned after the siege of Hugli, and shortly after he left for Lahore, where he died in 1640 and his body was removed to Agra for burial. In Padre Santos Chapel close to Hassing's tomb, there is the tomb of Geronimo Veroneo. It is, indeed, perfectly reasonable to suppose that he who designed the Taj should find a resting place within the precincts of that city, if not within the Taj's enclosure. But if the Mughal court, or his co-religionists could do him the honour of burial at Agra, the city of the Taj, 'it might be expected that they would inscribe a line to the effect that here lies Jeronimo Veroneo, the master architect of the Taj.' But the present inscription :—

" AQVI. IAZ. JERONIMO VERONEO FALECEO EM LAHOR 2. D. AGASTO DE 1640 " ³ on the tomb does not mention his connection with the Taj. When the epitaph on Colonel Hassing's tomb, which is very close to Veroneo's, mentions the important events of his life, what objection could there have been to record in stone that he really had been the architect of the Taj. I accept for the sake of argument the allegation that the Indian historians of the Mughal period did not like to associate the name of Veroneo with the design of the Taj in contemporary records ; but what could have been the reason that prevented Father de Castro

1. *The Jesuits and The Great Mughal* by Sir Edward Maclagan 1932, pp. 100-104 ; Elliot-Dawson Vol. VII ; and *Badshahnama* Vol. I. p. 534.

2. One here objects that the man who had ransomed Portuguese prisoners was one Hieronimo Veroneo, a compatriot of M. Manucci, hence he cannot be the same person who had designed the Taj, *The Architecture of the Taj and its Architect* by S. C. Mukerjee, Indian Historical Quarterly Dec. 1933, and *Storia do Mogor* Vol. I. p. 183.

3. List of Christian Tombs and Monuments in U. P. by E. A. Blunt, pp. 41, 58-59.

or members of different Christian Missions at Agra from inscribing a line that Veroneo designed the Taj ?

Moreover, one may ask how is it possible that Shah Jahan asked one of the rebellious enemies of the Mughals to design the building of the tomb of his dearest wife, whose two slave girls had been kidnapped by them? In the light of all these circumstances, it is very easy to come to the conclusion that it is quite a baseless story and it is impossible to believe that a foreigner of such category could have been employed by the Emperor himself in designing the Taj, which was to become one of the wonders of the world.

Peter Mundy received a visit from Heronimo Veroneo at the English house, Agra, between Jan. 3rd and 6th of 1630/31. He mentions him again as a Venetian and a goldsmith in Shahjahan's pay, together with others in 1632-33.¹ He says :—

“On the 25th of February 1632 we set out from Agra in the morning, accompanied with Mr. John Robinson, Italian Signor Jeronimo (Veroneo), an Italian Signor Tristan and Martin, a Dutchman and having sat awhile by a tank a mile without the city the accustomed place of parting, we took our leave of each other, they returning to Agra, I on my journey. That evening we came to Fattapor (Fatehpur Sikri).”

Sir R. C. Temple in the introduction to Peter Mundy's journey makes the following comment² :—

“Relation XV deal principally with Agra and its neighbourhood. The city in Mundy's time was very populous by reason of the great Mughal keeping his court here, and contained a considerable number of Europeans. Among these was Jeronimo Veroneo, a Venetian and a goldsmith, for whom Manrique claims the honour of designing the great Mausoleum known as the Taj Mahal. It is noteworthy, however, that though this building was in course of construction while Mundy was in residence at Agra, and though Veroneo was personally known to him, yet he says nothing of the Italian's connection with the work. Had Veroneo really been the architect, it is unlikely that so accurate a chronicler as Mundy would have failed to mention it. He saw the work going on with excessive labour and cost and prosecuted with extraordinary diligence. The solid gold rail around the tomb (afterwards replaced by the network of marble) was already complete by 1632 and Shahjahan had founded a suburb to provide a revenue for the upkeep of the Mausoleum, and had caused hills to be made level so that they might not hinder the prospect of it. These details are of special interest, as we have no other account of the Taj by an English traveller of this date.”

This, I think, is quite sufficient for the refutation of Manrique's statement regarding Veroneo being the architect of the Taj.

Apart from all this, there were fortunately a good number of European

1. *Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II. p. 65.

2. Introduction to the *Travels of Peter Mundy* Vol. II. p. VI.

travellers who visited Agra during the days of Shahjahan and observed the Taj with care. They have left records of their minute observations but give not the slightest indication that its construction was ever shared by a European architect or designer. Tavernier says :—" Of all the tombs at Agra, that of the wife of Shahjahan is the most splendid. He purposely made it near the Tasim can (The Taj Ganj known as Tasimakan) where all foreigners came, so that the whole world should see and admire its magnificence. The Tasimakan is a large bazar, consisting of six large courts all surrounded with porticoes, under which are chambers for the use of merchants, and an enormous quantity of cotton is sold there. The tomb of this Begam, or Queen, is at the end of the town by the side of the river in a large square surrounded by walls. There is a dome above, which is scarcely less magnificent than that of Val de Grace at Paris. It is covered within and without with white marble, the centre being of brick. Under this dome there is an empty dome, for the Begam is interred under a vault beneath the first platform. The same changes which are made below in this subterranean place are made above and around the tomb, for from time to time they change the carpet, chandeliers, and other ornaments of that kind, and there are always some Mullas to pray. *I witnessed the commencement and accomplishment of this great work, on which twenty-two years have been spent, during which twenty thousand men worked incessantly ; this is sufficient to enable one to realise that the cost of it has been enormous. It is said that the scaffoldings alone cost more than the entire work, because from want of wood, they as well as the supports of arches had all to be made of brick, this has entailed much labour and heavy expenditure. Shahjahan began to build his own tomb on the other side of the river, but the war with his sons interrupted his plan, and Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, is not disposed to complete it. A eunuch is in command of 2,000 men who guard both the tomb of the Begam and that of Tasimakan.*"

Thévenot¹ says :—" This monument is sufficient to show that the Indians are not ignorant of architecture, and though the style appears curious to Europeans it is in good taste, and though it is different from Greek or other ancient art, one can say that it is very fine."

Dom Mathews reached Agra on Feb. 1st 1651 and was received by Father Botelho, who was then in charge of the Mission. We gather from Botelho incidentally that Dom Mathews, in an outburst of artistic discernment, declared that though he had travelled in France, Spain and Rome, he had never seen anything so beautiful as the Taj Mahal then recently completed at Agra.²

From these opinions of various contemporary European writers we arrive at a definite decision that there is not the least cause to think that the Taj could ever have been designed by Veroneo.

1. *The Travels of Thévenot* p. 22.

2. *Akbar and the Jesuits* (1926) pp. 160, 172.

Apart from all this I jot down two opinions of modern experts on the subject, explicitly contradicting the attribution of the design of the Taj to Veroneo. Sir John Marshall says :—" This apocryphal story about the building of the Taj, which is unhesitatingly accepted year after year by the troops of visitors to India, seems to have originated with Father Manrique. He tells us that Father de Castro of Lahore had recounted to him how a certain Geronimo Veroneo, a Venetian, had been commissioned by Shahjahan to design a tomb for the Empress, that Veroneo obeyed and in a few days produced various models of very fine architecture, showing all the skill of his art, also that, having contented his Majesty in this, he displeased him according to his barbarous and arrogant pride by the modesty of his estimates ; further that growing angry he ordered him to spend three kiores and to let him know where they were spent. The wild improbabilities involved in this account, which, be it noted, is uncorroborated by any other evidence and directly contradicted by the testimony of native writings, have been sufficiently exposed by Mr. E. B. Havell in an admirable article in the *19th Century and After*, and there is no need for me to analyse it again. Let me add, however, a point which has escaped Mr. Havell's notice, that Geronimo Veroneo's grave exists to this day in the Roman Catholic cemetery at Agra and that the date of his death given thereon does not agree with the date given by Father Manrique's account—another proof of the unreliability of the latter."¹

In replying to Father Hosten's arguments in favour of Veroneo, Lt. Colonel. E. E. Luard says² :—

" He was not an architect to start with and great skill was required to erect an edifice such as the Taj. On the other hand, he was a jeweller and designer with a knowledge of decoration "

AUSTIN DE BORDEAUX.

Another name, that of a Frenchman Austin de Bordeaux, is also suggested as the designer of the Taj. Lt.-Colonel Sleeman is the first person who is responsible for mentioning his name in his *Rambles and Recollections*.³ He says :—" This magnificent building and the palaces at Agra and Delhi were, I believe, designed by Austin de Bordeaux, a Frenchman of great talent and merit, on whose ability and integrity the

1. *Archaeological Survey of India Report 1904-5*, pp. 1-2 ; and *19th Century and After*, June 1903, *The Taj and Its Designers* by E. B. Havell.

2. Notes on the *Travels* of Father Manrique. Last Note to page 173, both Father Hosten and Luard jointly translated Manrique's *Travels* into English with necessary notes. Father Hosten wrote an article *Who built the Taj ?* in the *Journal of Proceedings of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, 1910 pp. 281-288 in which he specially based his findings on Manrique's words as quoted above from his *Travels*.

3. *Rambles and Recollections* ed. 1844 Vol. II. pp. 34-35-275-6, Sleeman says about the Orpheus of the *Diwān-i-'Ām*, Delhi :—

" This I have no doubt was intended by Austin de Bordeaux for himself."

Emperor placed much reliance. He was called by the natives Oostan Eeseau, *Nadir-ol-Asar* 'the wonder of the age' and for his office of *Naksha Naweas*, or plan drawer, he received a regular salary of one thousand rupees a month, with occasional presents that made his income very large. He had finished the palaces of Delhi and the Mausoleum and palaces of Agra ; and was engaged in designing a silver ceiling for one of the galleries in the latter, when he was sent by the Emperor to settle some affairs of great importance at Goa. He died at Cochin on his way back ; and is supposed to have been poisoned by the Portuguese, who were extremely jealous of his influence at Court. He left a son by a native wife called Mohammed Shureef, who was employed as an architect on a salary of five hundred rupees a month, and who became, as I conclude from his name, a Mussulman. The death of Austin de Bordeaux, and wars between his sons, prevented the completion of these magnificent works."

But we are very fortunate to possess four letters written by Austin de Bordeaux himself from India to his friends overseas, and now preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris. Three of them were written from Lahore on various dates, viz., 20th January 1620 ; 26th and 27th April 1626 ; and the fourth from Chaul near Bombay on 9th March 1632. From the relevant extracts of these letters given below, it is perfectly clear that he had not the least connection with the construction of the Taj, but made a throne for the Emperor Jahangir. He used to sign his name as "Austin Honarmand"—a Persian title which Jahangir had given him and which means 'the skilful.'

Extract from his first letter :—

"I have been in this country (India) eight years. I took service, with this king Jehangir (the Great Mughal) I made him a royal throne in which there are several millions pieces of gold and of silver and several other inventions such as cutting diamonds of 100 carats, in ten days. It is impossible to realise the magnificent characteristics of this king and I shall mention only three of them, his large diamonds, his large balas¹ of rubies, of which he alone has more of these than all the men in the world ; . . . I am married and I have a child of two years . . . "

Extract from his 2nd letter :—

"Among other things I was expert at counterfeiting precious stones, but as my age increased my ambition increased also, and in order to obtain public esteem it was necessary for me to render some remarkable service to my king and lord . . . I have prepared a design for the construction of a royal throne for the king on which he sits once a year for nine days (Nouroz)² when the sun enters the sign of Ram, when their year commences. This throne is supported by four lions weighing 150 quintals of silver covered with beaten gold leaf and the canopy is supported by twelve

1. Balas, a kind of ruby or rather a rose red spinel, vide Hobson-Jobson (1903) p. 52.

2. Here Austin is mistaken in understanding Nouroz as nine days instead of the New Year's day which was specially celebrated.

columns in which there are ten thousand ounces of enamelled gold. The canopy, which is in the form of a dome, has been covered by me with four thousand of my artificial stones.¹"

Extract from the third letter :—

"The king my last master (Jahangir), knowing that I had some knowledge of all arts wished to employ me in making Engines of wars to the prejudice of the Deccanis"

Extract from the fourth letter :—

"I have employed these two years at Agra in making plans for a new throne which the king (Shahjahan) had ordered before he left for the Deccan. The king had required that two hundred times a hundred thousand livres should be spent on this throne in gold, diamond, rubies, pearls and emeralds. But I do not think he will ever have the benefit of it. . . . I have left Burhanpur where the king's court now is and am going to Goa on business and should return in two months' time to fetch my wife and one child, who is left to me from the affliction about which I have written to you."

Jahangir has recounted in his Memoirs almost the same incident showing that Austin was really honoured by him on the construction of a throne and the Emperor conferred upon him the title of Hunarmand as he signs his name—Austin Hunarmand—which is apparent from his letters.

The *Tozak* runs thus :—"Among the offerings of that Madār-us-Saltana there was a throne of gold and silver, much ornamented and decorated, the supporters of which were in the form of tigers. This throne has been made by a skilful European of the name Hunarmand who had no rival in the arts of a goldsmith and a jeweller and in all sorts of craftsmanship (Hunarmandi). He made it well and I gave him this name. The Hunarmand, the European, who had made the jewelled throne was presented with three hundred darb, a house and an elephant."

Further we find from Austin's words that he was preparing another throne for Shahjahan of which there is no mention in the Persian histories of Shahjahan's period, but the well-known traveller, Tavernier, has thrown some light on it in this respect too. He says :—"Shahjahan had intended to cover the arch of the great pavilion gallery which is on the right with silver, and a Frenchman named Augustin of Bordeaux was to have done the work. But the Great Mughal seeing there was no one in his kingdom who was capable to be sent to Goa to negotiate an affair with the Portuguese, the work was not done, for, as the ability of Augustin was feared, he was poisoned on his return from Cochin."²

1. The date of this letter is 1626. Hence it is clear that it should not be taken as the Peacock throne. As to the construction of the Peacock throne, we find mention of it in 1041 (A.D. 1634) in the contemporary histories of Shahjahan for instance, see : '*Amal-i-Šāleḥ* : pp. 85-92 Vol. III.

2. *Tavernier's Travels*, Ball's Edition Vol. II. p. 108.

Austin has also been mentioned by many other European who had either met him or had seen him at Agra, such as Von Paster and others. In short, it is quite manifest from all accounts, that he was not an architect and never practised this branch of art. Lt.-Col. Sleeman has not only attributed to him the designership of the Taj but has also entangled his son in it, whom he had named Muhammad Sharif, without any authority. From Austin's own account noted above we gather that his son, whose actual name is not known, was hardly twelve years old when the Taj was about to be founded at Agra.

I should add here that the MSS. which are not authentic contain mention of a good many names of craftsmen who were supposed to have worked on the building of the Taj. Therein we find two names *Isa-Nadir-ul-Asar* and his son Muhammad Sharif whom Lt.-Col. Sleeman has evidently confounded with "Oostan Easeau" (Austin de Bordeaux) and his son Muhammad Sharif. Practically Austin had nothing to do with any building during the reign of the Mughal kings. Sleeman has also mentioned that buildings at Delhi were also erected by Austin. It must be remembered that Shahjahan founded New Delhi-*Shahjahanabad* in 1048 H. (A.D. 1638) that is, seven years after the death of Austin. And it is quite clear that Jahangir had not built any such building at Delhi as could be attributed to Austin de Bordeaux.

M. ABDULLA CHUGHTAI.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN- ENGLISH VOCABULARY

ج

جان

جانبازی “Working at anything as if life depended on it.” (Forbe’s Hindustani Dictionary).

جان بر سر کسی نهادن “To sacrifice one’s life for a person.” (Sh. N., I., 481).

جهان آفرین را ستایش گرفت مرآن شاه نو را نیایش گرفت
چه دانست کجای جان نهد بر سرش و زان کشت نیکو بد آید برش
بپاشید تخم نکوئی بخاک زمین شور بد جایگاهش مغاک

He entered upon praise of the world-creator, and uttered blessings on the newly-born Prince.

How could he know that he should sacrifice his life for him, that evil fruit would come from that good planting ?

He scattered seed of goodness in the earth ; the soil was brackish and its places pits.

A “ subject, topic.” (Sh. N., II., 535).

زهر جانی پرسید و هر چیز گفت خرد با هنر کردم اندر نهفت
ز سر گر پرسید گفتم زیای ز خورد اد پرسید گفتم ز جای

He made enquiry upon every subject and spoke at large ; I kept my intelligence and acquirements veiled from him.

If he asked about head, I spoke of foot ; if he enquired about food, I spoke of place.

“ To be understood,” (as a letter or message). (Sh. N., IV., 1724).

رسید آن فرساده رای زن ابا چتر و پیلان و آن انجمن
همان باژ و شطرنج و پیغام رای شنیدیم و پیغامش آمد بجای

That envoy of good judgment has arrived, with canopy and elephants, and all his company ;

With tribute also, and the game of chess. The message of the Rājā too, when heard, has been understood.

[Nūshīrvān is writing to the Rājā of India].

——“ To be discovered or found out,” (as a game). (Sh. N., IV., 1724).

ور ایدون کجا رائی با رهنمای بکوشند و بازی نباید بجای
شتروار باید که هم این شار به پیاں کند رائی قنوج بار

And if it be that the Rājā and his advisers exert themselves, and the game is not found out,

The Rājā of Kinnauj must engage to (send) camel-loads amounting to the same (as sent by me).

بجای آوردن “ To discover or find out.” (Sh. N., IV., 1724).

برهن فراوان بود پاکرای که این بازی آرد بدانش بجای

This Brahmin must be very keen-minded who by his wisdom can discover this game.

——“ To invent.”

بسی رای زن موبد پاکرای پڑ و هید و آورد بازی بجای

An excellent counsellor, a keen-minded Mūbid, has studied, and invented a game.

——“ To ‘ place,’ to recognize.” (Ilāhī Nāma, D. IV., p. 809).

بشهری شد بگرد انید جامه نه خاصه باز دانستش نه عامه
بجای آورد او را آشنائی بدو گفتا چرائی چون گدائی

(The King) went to (another) city and changed his dress ; neither noble nor plebeian could ‘ place ’ him.

An acquaintance, however, recognized him, and said : “ Why are you (dressed) like a beggar ?”

بجائی ماندن “ To subsist.” (Sh. N. IV., 1732).

خرد مند گوید که در یک سرای چو فرمان دو گردد نماید بجای

The wise man says that a house in which the command is divided cannot subsist.

——“ To remain in good order.” (Sh. N., III., 1409).

میانه گزینی بمائی بجای خرد مند خواندت پاکیزه رای

If you choose moderation you will remain in good order ; the wise man will call you a man of good judgment.

جائیکه “ A fitting place, a suitable occasion.” (Sh. N., III., 1504).

سخن بهتر از گوهر آبدار چو بر جائیکه بر برندش بکار

Speech is better than lustrous pearls when they use it in a fitting place.

جز (juz) : “ other than.” (Sh. N., I., 363).

بسهراب گفت ای یل شیرگیر کمند افکن و گرز و شمشیرگیر
دگر گو نه زیی باشد آئین ما جز این باشد آرایش دین ما

He said to Suhrāb : “ Lion-taking hero, thrower of lasso, holder of mace and sword,

Our usages are different from this, other than this the laws of our religion.”

جزائر (jazāyir).

A “ match-lock.” (Cf. جزائرچی).

A “ match-lock man.” (The Zend Dynasty, by ‘Alī Rīzā, ed. Beer, p. 57). (Cf. جزائری).

و امور بروج و حصار و جزائر چیان مستحفظ قلعه را بعهده برخورددار خان زند محول داشته

And he charged Barkhvardār Khān Zend with the affairs of the towers and the fortress and the match-lock men, the garrison of the fortress.

جستن (jastan).

To evade all responsibility, to get out of everything (with a false excuse).” (S. N., p. 17). Cf. طغره زدن

گفت آن گنج‌نامه را بدو باز بر و اورا بگوی که از بس حیلتی که در تو است میخواهی که از سر همه بیرون جهی ترا و برادر ترا گنج از کجا آمد

He said, “ Take that treasure-list back to him and say, ‘ In the wittiness which is proper to you, you wish to evade all responsibility. Whence has the treasure come to you and your brother?’ ”

جستن (justan).

To search,” (e.g., a person). (Sh. N., IV., 2017).

بجوئید گفت این بلا جوئی را بد اندیش و بد کام و بد روئی را

بجستند و آن نامه از دست اوئی کشاد آنکه دانا بد و راه جوئی

"Search," said he, "this seeker of trouble, this malevolent man of evil designs and aspects."

They sought, and one who was (most) intelligent and keen in search took that letter out of his possession.

—— "To examine, to study." (H. P., p. 76).

آن صدا را بآرزو می جست تند چون چاره کرده بود درست
چون صدا رخنه را کلید آمد از سر رخنه در پدید آمد

He studied eagerly the sound (it made), having (in this) prepared a keen device ;

(For) since to crevices the sound was clue, the door by means of crevices was found.

باز جست "To examine, to study." (Sh. N., I., 458).

چو افراسیاب این سخن باز جست همه گفت در سیوز آمد درست
پشیمان شد از دانی و کردار خویش همه تیره دانست بازار خویش

When Afrāsiyāb studied this speech, all the words of Garsivaz were, (he concluded), justified.

He regretted his (previous) judgment and action, and his procedure assumed a dark complexion in his eyes.

[Garsivaz is persuading his brother Afrāsiyāb to act against the latter's son-in-law Siyāvash].

در جست "To examine, to study." (H. P., p. 78).

او چو در جست مثل آن دو گهر سیمین در جهان ندید دگر

Examining, he saw not in this world a third one that resembled those two pearls.

جعد موی presumably means "curly hair," (not "curly-headed"), in Sh. N., IV., 1805.

بیلا دراز و باندام خشک بگرد سرش جعد موی چومشک

Tall in stature, lean in body, with curly musk-like hair around his head.

[Part of a description of Bahrām-e Chūbīn. "Musk-like" means "dark"].

جَلَبَ (jalab) : " Importations, goods imported." (M., III., 82—3).

آن شنو که چند یزداد زجر کرد نفث اصحاب نبی را گرم و سرد
زانکه بر بانگ دهل در سال تنک جمعه را کردند باطل بی درنگ
تا نیاید دیگران ارزاا خرنند زان جَلَب صرفه زما ایشان برند

Hear how God reproved the Companions of the Prophet, and spoke to them words of severity tempered with kindness ;

Because in a year of scarcity at the beat of a drum, they in a moment nullified the Friday prayers,

Lest others should come and buy cheaply, and (thus) deprive them of advantage in the importations.

[The drum announces the arrival of importations in a town at a time of scarcity, and the Companions are said to have left the mosque hurriedly to forestall others who might buy extensively and so cause the prices to rise].

جلوه (jalva), جلوة (jalvat).

جلوه دادن (with در or به) : " To give lustre " (to). ('A. M., p. 68).

و صور کلمات الهی را از مقر جمع اعنی ذات مقدس بمحل تفرقه که عالم خلقت از عین
اجال در اعیان تفصیل جلوه می دهد

And (the Universal Spirit) conveys the forms of the Divine Words from the position of Collectedness, that is, the Holy Essence, to the position of dispersedness, which is the world of creation, and from a unified Source gives lustre to particularised (derivative) sources. [i.e., all entities in the phenomenal world are from the fixed essences or phases of the Universal Spirit].

جمع (jam').

جمع " All together, assembled." (M., II., 73).

وامداران کرد او بنشست جمع شیخ برخود خوش کدازان همچو شمع

His creditors sat all together around him—whilst the Shaikh was softly melting away like a candle.

جمع آوری نمودن " To collect." (Ch. M., p. 149).

ونخستین کسی که دیوان مسعود سعد سلمان را جمع آوری نمود سنائی غزنوی بود

The first person that collected the " Dīvān " of Mas'ūd-e Sa'd-e Salmān was Sanā'i of Ghaznī.

بستن (with بر): "To form the plural" (in). (Transitive). (Ch. M., p. 170).

و آن را (یعنی برات را) بر بروات جمع بندند

And they form the plural of "barāt" in "baravāt."

جمع آمدن (with prep. بر): "To be conjoined" (with). "To hit" (upon). (Ch. M., p. 16).

هر صنعت که تعلق بتفکر دارد صاحب صنعت باید که فارغ دل و مرفه باشد که اگر بخلاف این بود سهام فکر او متلاشی شود و بر هدف صواب بجمع نیاید

The master of any profession which is dependent upon thought should be easy in mind and free from care, for if the contrary of this obtain, the arrows of his thought will be worthless and will fail to hit upon the target of success.

(. جنات (pl. jannat) جنت

"The Universal Spirit." "روح اعظم" "جنات ادواح" (A. M., p. 68).

آدم کبیر See under

(jamb) جنب

در جنب (with 'izāfat): "compared" (with). (Zend Dynasty ed. Beer, p. 57).

لطف علی خان آن حضرت را (یعنی آقا محمدخان را) دور و مامورین چمن گندمان را درجنب جلادت خود مقهور تصور نمود

Luṭf 'Alī Khān imagined Ākā Muḥammad Khān was at a distance, and that the spirit of those under command in Chaman-e Gandumān was poor compared with his own hardihood.

(جنبت) جنبه

(jamba) جنبه: "Tendency, proclivity, 'forte.'" (Ch. M., p. 127).

وجنبه حکمت او (یعنی ابوالحسن شهید البلخی) بر شعر غلبه داشته است

And the tendency of Abu 'l-Hasan Shahīd of Balkh to philosophy predominated over that of his to the art of poetry.

جنگ

"To engage in a fight or war." (M., II., 562). جنگی درستن

دوست دشمن گردد ایرا هم دو است هیچ یک با خویش جنگی در نیست

(If) a friend become an enemy, then there is still duality, for no one will engage in a fight with himself.

جوز (jauz).

“ To play the game called ‘ Tron-madame’. ” (Sāmī Bey’s French-Turkish Dictionary : چقوره جوز آتق اویونی p. 2175). (D.Sh., p. 18)
روز عید آن کودك با كودكان دیگر جوز می انداخت جوز بینداخت و هفت جوز
بگوفتاد و یکی بیرون جست

On a holiday the boy was playing with some others at *tron-madame*. He threw, and seven nuts fell into the hole, but one escaped.

[It will be seen from the above that Redhouse has mistaken the sense of the expression. The game seems to have been similar to the game of marbles in which an even number falling into the hole is in favour of the thrower and an odd number against him].

جوش (jūsh, arch., jōsh).

جوش “ Excitement. ” (M., II., 91).

چون گذاشت آن نوش و جوش و آن سماع روز گشت و جمله گفتند الوداع

When the pleasure and excitement, and the singing and dancing had ceased, day appeared and all bade one another adieu.

جوشان “ Gushing up,” (as a spring). (M., II., 389).

کی زسنگی چشمها جوشان شدی در بیابان مان امان جاں شدی

How from a rock would springs have gushed up ? (How) in the desert would there have been security for our lives ?

جوهر (jauhar).

جوهر in some cases may have the sense of “ essence,” but as opposed to عرض (‘ araz), “ accident,” it is better rendered “ substance,” since عرض itself as well as جوهر has an essence, its ذات or حقیقت or ماهیت (M., II., 156—7).

نقل نتوان کرد مر اعراض را لیک از جوهر برند امراض را
تا مبدل گشت جوهر زین عرض چون ز پرهیزی که زایل شد مرض
گشت پرهیز عرض جوهر بجهد شد دهان تلخ از پرهیز شهد

One cannot transport accidents ; but they may take away infirmities from the substance ;

So that the substance becomes changed through these accidents, as through regimen a bodily ailment is removed.

The regimen, the accident, becomes substance by effort : a fetid mouth becomes honey through regimen.

جوهریت "The quality of substance, or of being substance." (B. 'U.'s Commentary on the Maṣnavī, II., p. 78).

گفت شاهایی قنوط عقل نیست در تو فرمائی عرض را نقل نیست
پادشاهها جز که یاس بنده نیست هر عرض کان رفت باز آئنده نیست
گر نبودى مر نرض را عقل و حشر فعل بودى باطل و اقوال قشر

(The slave) said, "O King, it makes intellect despair if you say that accident is not carried on.

(Your) slave, O King, must despair if every accident which has gone, is not to return.

If accidents were not carried on, and did not rise again, deeds would be vain, and words would be (but empty) shells. Commentary :

غلام حقیقت امریایان می‌کند نه اعراض را نقل هست و تحقیق این مقام آنست نه جوهریت و
عرضیت از ذاتیات حقائق نیست و نه از لوازم ماهیات است

The slave sets forth the truth of the matter as follows: accidents are carried on, and the verification of this position is that the quality of being substance and of being accident is not of the essential natures of essences nor of the requisites of their conditions.

[i.e., more plainly, the fact of substantivity or of adjectivity does not enter into the definition or commutation.

See C. E. Wilson's Commentary on the Maṣnavī, Book II., Note 579].

جهاندار "The Possessor of the world, God." (Sh. N., I., 418).

ورایدو نکه جنگ آورم بی‌لنا چنین خیره با شاه توران سپاه
جهاندار نپسندد این بد زمن کشایند بر من زبان انجمن

And if I engage so wantonly in war with the King of the Turanian army who is innocent,

God will not approve of this wickedness in me, and all the people will speak in blame of me.

[Siyāvash is considering Kai Kā'ūs's letter inciting him against Afrāsiyāb, therefore neither of those two Kings can be meant by جهاندار

Besides this, جهاندار evidently signifies God in other passages].

ج

چاره جوئ “ Using one’s best efforts, making desperate efforts.” (Sh. N., I., 328).

سر نیزه را سوی سهراب کرد عنان و سنان را پر از تاب کرد
برآشفت سهراب و شد چون پلنگ چو بد خواه او چاره جوشد بچنگ

He pointed his spear-head at Suhrāb ; he gave their fullest force to steed and spear.

Suhrāb grew excited and as a leopard when his enemy made desperate efforts in the fight.

چاره ها باز راندن “ To suggest remedies.” (Sh. N., IV., 1852).

شما چاره ها هر چه دانید زود ز هر نیک و بد باز رانید زود

Quickly suggest any remedies you know for all the incidents of whatever nature.

چرا (charā).

در چرا راندن “ To drive to pasture.” (M., II., 495).

گوسفندان حواست را بران در چرا از اخراج المرعی چران

Drive the sheep, your senses, to pasture, and make them graze on “ *The pasturage He has brought forth.*”

[“ Your senses ;” i.e., your spiritual senses. Let your spiritual senses feed on spiritual truths, or, more particularly, on the divine attributes. The quotation is from the *Kur’ān*, LXXXVII., 4].

چربیدن (with prep. از of person) : “ To prevail ” (over). (M., III., 155).

سجده کردند و بگفتند ای خدیو گر یکی کُرت ز ما چربید دیو
سالها دفع بلاها کرده ایم وهم حیران ز آنچه ماها کرده ایم

They prostrated themselves and said : “ O King, if the demon has prevailed over us once,

For years have we repelled calamities—imagination (itself) is dazed at what we have done.”

[The astronomers are speaking to Pharaoh after the appearance of the star of Moses in the sky].

چرخ

چرخ زدن "To dance." (M., I., 286).

شیر را چون دید در چه گشته زار چرخ میزد شاد مان تا مرغزار

When (the hare) saw the lion lying miserably in the pit, it went dancing with joy to the meadow. [Cf. چرخگی زدن and چرخن].

چست

چست پرسیدن "To question narrowly and to the purpose." (Sh. N., I., 417).

فرستاده خواند و پرسید چست ازو کرد یکسر سخنها درست

He sent for the envoy and questioned him narrowly ; he ascertained about the matter in its entire form from him.

چشم

چشم (as حلقه) : a " ring, in tent-pegging." (Sh. N., III., 1465).

نوڪ سنان بچشم اندر آوردن "To bear away the ring." (Sh. N., III., 1465).

وزان پس بمنذر چنین گفت شاه که اسپان این نیزه داران بخواه
بگو تا به پیچند پیشم عنان بچشم اندر آرند نوڪ سنان

Then the Prince (Bahrām Gūr) said to Munzīr : " Send for the horses of these lance-bearers ;

Tell the riders to ride before me and to bear away the ring at the point of the lance.

چشم خواباندن (with prep. از) : " To shut one's eyes " (to). (M., II., 438).

صد هزاران موئی مکر و دمدمه چشم خوابانید آن دم زان همه

(Seeing) a hundred thousand hairs of scheming and deceit, he (Muḥammad) shut his eyes at that time to them all.

[A " hair " means here a defect, as a hair is when occurring in milk].

چشم خواباندن occurs in the sense of چشم خواباندن in Sh. N., III., 1413.

بدان کوش تا دور باشی زخشم بمردی بخواب از گنهگار چشم

Strive to avoid giving way to anger ; manfully shut your eyes to the offender's (fault).

چشم زدیدن (with prep. از) “ To veil the eyes ” (from). (M. II., 333)

You have veiled your eyes from the Light of the Majestic ! here is abundant ignorance for you and the essence of aberration !

پچشم کردن “ To find acceptable.” (Ḥadīka, ed. Stephenson, p. 33. Note 2 of Translation ; p. 21 of Text).

چون ترا ازدرون دل بنگاشت آئینه نور پیش تو برداشت
تا ترا کبر تیز خشم نکرد تا ترا چشم تو پچشم نکرد

When on the inner side He had fashioned your heart, He held up before you a mirror of light,

In order that pride should not make you swift to anger, and that your eyes should not find you acceptable.

[The “ mirror of light ” is the light of the heart, نور دل i.e., reason, which enables you to distinguish between good and evil, and avoid the latter so long as you obey its dictates. I think this latter proviso is implied in the second distich, though strictly it means simply that the end is achieved, where as, of course, as a matter of fact, this is not always the case. Stephenson's rendering of the Persian Commentary is bad. It would be better to translate, “ So long as pride has not made you swift to anger,” etc. ; but this leaves a great deal to be understood in the first distich.

In any case the sense of the idiom پچشم کردن is quite clear from the context, and Stephenson's own translation is decidedly incorrect.

[For نور دل see under نور].

چشم دوز “ Veiling the eyes,” (as night). (M., II., 58).

عکس راز مرد حق دانید روز عکس ستاریش شام چشم دوز

Consider day as the reflection of the secrets (of the mind) of the man of God ; and night, the veiler of eyes, as the reflection of the veiling of him.

[See the Maṣnavī, Book II., Translation and Commentary, by C. E. Wilson].

چکیدن

خانه تست دل و دیده ز باران سرشک اگر این خانه چکد آب بدهاں خانه درآی
 “To drip with water.” (Daulatshāh, quoting Kamāl Khujandi, p. 146).

My heart and eyes are your abode; if through the raining of my tears this abode drip with water, come to that.

کار چکیده “Experienced.” (Hājji Bābā, Translation into Persian). For this sense cf. context and شراب چکیده (as شراب پخته): “distilled or matured wine.” (Steingass).

چیدن “To drink wine.” (Probably an example of this sense is in Sh. N., IV., 2014).

یکے اندر آید دگر بگذرد زمانے بمنزل چمد یا چرد

One comes in, another passes on; for a brief space each drinks wine or eats at the inn.

چنانچه “As soon as.” (Zend Dynasty, ed. Beer, pp. 8-9).

چگونگی را بصادق خان حالی و صریحا مذکور ساخت که چنانچه داخل شهر شوی آنچه بنظر علی خان و ولدان شیخ علی خان و محمد خان نموده باضعاف مضاعف با تو خواهد کرد

(Ja'far Khān) explained the state of affairs to Sādiq Khān, and told him clearly that as soon as he entered the city (Zakī Khān) would treat him a hundred times worse than he had treated 'Alī Khān, the sons of Shaikh 'Alī Khān, and Muhammad Khān.

چند

“Sometimes—sometimes, often—often.” (M., II., 275-6).

این نشان آن بود که ملک و جاه که همی جوئی بیای از اله
 آنکه می گری بشبهائی دراز و آنکه می سوزی سحرگه در نیاز
 : : : : : : : :
 : : : : : : : :
 چند در آتش نشستی همچو عود چند پیش تیغ رفتی همچو خود

The following are signs of this, that the power and place you seek you will gain from God :

(Namely), that you continue weeping during long nights, and that you burn at the dawn in humble supplication.

(That) sometimes you have sat in the fire like aloes-wood ; sometimes have met the sword like a helmet.

[“ The power and place ;” i.e., in divine knowledge].

چندی “ A number, a few.” (Sh. N., IV., 1731).

زلشکر بخوانیم چندی مه‌ا خردمند و برگشته گرد جهان
زفرزنانگان چون سخن بشنوم برائی و بفرمان شاه بگرویم

Let us send for a number of the army-chiefs, wise men who have been around the world.

When we have heard the wise men’s words, let us incline to their judgment and command.

چون “ Why ?” (M., II., 485).

گفت چون تو بار کردی این رومال گفت تا تنها نماند آن جوال

He asked him, “ Why did you load (the camel with) this sand ?” He answered. “ In order that the other sack should not be alone.”

چهر

چهر (as روی) : “ Appearance, resemblance,” (Sh. N., IV., 1819).

ترا برتن خویش بر مهر نیست و گر هست مهر ترا چهر نیست

You have no kindness for your own body, and if you have, there is no appearance of your kindness.

چهر کشادن (with prep. بر) : “ To look ” (at), “ to gaze ” (on). (Sh. N., IV., 1778).

بر شاه شد شاد بوزرجمهر بران خواسته شاه بکشاد چهر

Buzurjmihir came joyfully to the King ; the King gazed on that wealth.

چهر نمودن (as التفات کردن) : “ To show regard.” (Sh. N., IV., 1737).

زبند آزمودیم و چندی زمهر بگفتم و طلحد نمود چهر

I have tried counsel, and spoken something of kindness, but Ṭalḥand has shown no regard.

چیر “ Portion,” is “ cher,” not “ chīr,” para Steingass. (See Sanā’i’s Ḥadīqa, ed. Stephenson, p. 28, where the rhyme is “ sēr,” “ full”).

بنده باش بی نصیبه و چیر که فرشته نه گرسنه است و نه سیر

Be a slave without lot or portion, for the angel is neither hungry nor full.

چیک چیک “ Warbling, twittering,” (M., I., 264).

جمله مرغان ترك کرده چیک چیک با سلیمان گشته افصح من اخیک

All the birds giving up their (senseless) twittering, with Solomon became *more eloquent than your brother*.

چین

چین در برو افگندن “ To have frowning brows to frown.” (Sh. N., IV., 1745).

نگه کرد شاه اندراں چارسو سپه دید افگنده چین در برو

The King looks out on all four sides, he sees (his) army frowning and perplexed.

چین “ China ;” but also “ the people of China”, in Sh. N., II., 523 ; if the reading چین و ترکان be correct ; but an Indian lithographed edition, reads ترکان چین. We have, however, the analogy of عجم and عرب

که چندان بزرگان و ترکان و چینی تبه کشته بردست من روز کین

When so many chiefs, Turks, and Chinese were destroyed at my hands on the day of hostility.

ح

حجر (hajar).

حجرالمطر “ The rain-stone.” (See سنگ یده). (H. Ik., 532).

حدیث

A “ cavilling dealer in words of wisdom.” (M., II., 485).

یک عراقی بار کرده اشتری دو جوال زفت از دانه پری

او نشسته بر سر هردو جوال یک حدیث انداز کرد او را سوال

A Bedouin had loaded a camel with two sacks,—one full of grain.

He (himself) was seated on the top of both the sacks, when a cavilling dealer in words of wisdom began to ask him questions.

حسب

حسب حال "Something said to fit the particular case." (Ch. M., p. 36).

و شعراء هرچه یافته‌اند از صلات معظم به بدیهه و حسب حال یافته‌اند

And whatever poets have gained in the way of magnificent presents has been gained by improptus and words fitting some particular case.

حسرت

حسرت بردن "To envy." (with prep. به or بر). ('Andalib).

حضرت may be used in the absolute sense of the "Presence of God" in the Ḥadīka, p. 32.

جان بحضرت رسد بیاساید و آنچه کز است راست بنماید

When the soul reaches His Presence, it is at rest, and that which is crooked appears straight.

[i.e., the crooked of the phenomenal world is explained].

مقام وحدت i. e., حضور حضرت may, however, have the mystical sense of "The Station of the Unity." (See Vullers).

In this case the crooked would appear straight, or rather all things would merge in the Unity.

حفظ (ḥifẓ).

حفظ صورت خود "Keeping up appearances." (Zend Dynasty. ed. Beer, pp. 64, 65).

آن فرقه حق ناشناس بیک دفعه متخلخل و زیاده بردوروز حفظ صورت خود نکرده روز سیم که چهارم ماه مزبور بود سلب ماسکه قرار و لطف علی خاں را برجا گذاشته جلگی بجانب شهر فراد (کرده)

That ungrateful body of troops, being all at once shaken, did not keep up appearances for more than two days; then on the third, which was the fourth day of the month above-mentioned, losing their hold on constancy and steadiness, they left 'Alī Khān in the lurch and fled all in a body towards the city.

حق

حق (ḥaḳḳ-e) is used in the sense of بحق "By the truth of!" (M., II., 154).

حق آن آنے کہ این و آن ازوست مغزها نسبت بدو باشند پوست
کہ صفات خواجہ تاش و یار من هست صد چندانکہ این گفتار من

By the truth of that 'That,' from which are this and that, and in comparison with which kernels are (but as) shells,

(I swear) that the qualities of my fellow-servant and companion are a hundred times as many as my speech (has set forth).

[See Maṣnavī, Book II., Translation and Commentary by C. E. Wilson).

حق سپاسی سپردن (Ḥaḳḳ-e sipāsī sapurdan): "To acquit oneself of an obligation." (Sh. N., I., 435).

سپاسی نہادی از این برسم کہ تا زندہ ام حق آن نسپرم

You have put me under an obligation of which I shall not be able to acquit myself as long as I live.

بحکم امتحان "As a trial." (L. A., I., p. 240).

این قصیدہ در حق نحرالملة والدين محمد الرازی گوید و این قافیت غریب بحکم امتحان اختیار کرده است

He composed the following *Ḳasīda* in honour of *Fakhru'l-Millat-wa'd-Dīn Muḥammad ar-Rāzī*, and as a trial chose this strange rhyme.

حکمت (ḥikmat).

حکمت جزویہ Some particular policy (required by the exigency of circumstances).

See for following from M., B. 'U.'s Commentary. M., II., 192 :

نامناسب می نمود افعال او پیش موسی چون نبودش حال او

The acts (of *Khizr*) appeared unfit to Moses, because (Moses) was not in his condition.

[i.e., *Khizr* had a special revelation which was unknown to Moses though the latter was higher as a prophet than the former].

B. 'U.'s Comment :

که حکمی که بنظر حکمت جزویه است مقصور بآن شخص و بآن وقت است و این علم موسی را حاصل نبود اگرچه مقام او اعلی بود

Since an Ordinance given in view of some particular policy is restricted to the person (to whom it is given) and to the time (at which it is enjoined) and Moses did not know (of this Ordinance), although his position was higher (than that of *Khizr*).

حنین (ḥanīn) : " Moaning " (M., II., 74).

کودک از غم زد طبق را بر زمین ناله و گریه برآورد و حنین

The boy through grief cast the tray upon the ground ; he raised lamentations and wept and moaned.

[Cf., however, Arabic Dictionary, which gives " sobbing " as one sense of حنین].

(. حاسه pl. of حواس

" The internal senses." اندرونی or حواس باطنه

1. حس مشترك " Perception " (the commonsense).
2. خیال " Imagination."
3. متفکره } " Constructive Imagination." (of man).
- متخیله } " " " (of animals).
4. متوهمه } " Conception."
- وهم }
5. حافظه } " Memory."
- ذاکره }

حیث

" In respect of." ('A. M., p. 17).

واجتماع متصوفه برآنست که هر صفتی از صفات الهی حقیقتی است ثابت و معنی محقق متمیز از صفتی دیگر من حیث هی الصفة و عین او من حیث الذات

And all *Sūfīs* agree that every attribute of God is a fixed and constant entity and a sure and certain reality, distinct from any other attribute, in respect of its being attribute, but the same, as regards the Essence (of God).

من حيث "As regards" ('A. M., p. 17).

See the preceding article.

من حيث "According as." ('A. M., p. 67).

من كان يحب ان يعلم منزلته عند الله فليتضر كيف منزلته الله عنه فان الله تعالى ينزل العبد من حيث انزله من نفسه

He who wishes to know what his standing is with God should consider what God's standing is with him, since God, Most High, ranks His slave according as He has ranked him in respect of his soul.

[The sentence is Arabic, but the equivalent given is easily deducible from other equivalents in Persian dictionaries.

The sense is that the slave may know what God's regard is for him by the regard in his soul for God, since God first gives him that regard].

خ

خار A "spike." (Sh. N., IV., 2036).

سپاه سلیح است دیوار اوی برچش همه تیرها خار اوی

Its walls (must) be armed troops, and the spikes, nothing but the arrows (used) on its towers.

خاطر

(with اضافت and نه): "To call the attention" (to), "to impress" (upon) (Ch. M., p. 227).

در ضمن خاطر نشان ایشان می فرماید که مقبره هریک از شعراء مملکت مرا خواسته باشید مرمت و سفید کاری کنید حاضر و باختيار شاست

Adds that he would impress upon them that they were at liberty to repair and whitewash the tomb of any poet in his (the Shāh's) dominions they wished.

[Part of a supposed letter from the Shāh].

خاک

خاک "The earth of the grave." (Hāfiz "Fragments," c.d. Brockhaus pp. 203, 204).

چون ابر بهادران بروم زار بکریم بر خاک تو چندان تنه تو از خاک برآی

I will go and like a cloud of spring weep so bitterly over the earth of your grave that you will arise from the earth.

خاك ميدان گرفتن "To gallop across the ground," (in polo). (*Sh. N.*, I., 453).

چو کرسیوز آمد بینداخت اوی سپید سونی نوی بشهاد روی
جو او نوی درخم چوآن گرفت هم آورد او خاك ميدان گرفت

When Garsivaz came to the polo-ground, he threw the ball, and the Prince turned towards it.

When he got it into the crook of the polo-stick, his opponent galloped across the ground.

بخاك کشیدن "To treat with ignominy." (*Sh. N.*, I., 475).
(Possibly, however, to be taken literally).

بزد دست و ریش شهنشه گرفت بخواری کشیدش بخاك ای شگفت

He raised his hand and seized the Prince's beard ;
he treated him—wondrous to relate—with ignominy.

A "stanza," (as in a "tarjī" band "). (*L. A.*, I., pp. 152-3).
—A "room." (Commonly used in this sense).

خبر (Khubr). "Actual experience" (of a thing). (*Ch. M.*, p. 136).

واستکبر الاخبار قبل لقائه فلما التقينا صغر الخبر الجبر

Before meeting him, I considered the reports about him too great ;
but when we met, actual experience made them seem too little.

[That خبر though occurring in an Arabic verse (by Mutanabbī), may be used in Persian in the sense suggested may be seen in the Dictionary equivalents "knowing" "trying"].

دار خداوند see

خراب "Disabled." (*M.*, II., 352).

شد شریف از زخم آن ظالم خراب با فقیه او گفت ما جستم از آب
پای دار اکنون که ماندی فرد وکم چون دهل شو زخم می خور برشکم

The Sharif was disabled by that oppressor's blows. He said to the Jurist, "I have sprung over the water ;

(But) you bear patiently now that you are left alone and destitute (of friends). Be like a drum and suffer blows on your stomach."

خر (Khar).

خرها "Worth no more than an ass." (M., II., 307).

وزضعیفی عقل توای خرها این خر پزمرده گشتست ازدها

But through the weakness of your intellect, O you an ass in value ! this sorry ass has become a dragon.

[i.e., your carnal soul, "nafs," has become "nafs-e am-māra," i.e., thoroughly dominant].

خرج رفت (with را meaning "by," and بر "on"). "To be expended" (by ; on). (Ch. M., p. 162).

بفرموده علمائی عصر تفسیری بسیار بزرگ برقرآن نوشتند و ویرا بست هزار دینار بر آن خرج رفت

At his command the learned of the time composed a very large commentary on the *Qur'ān*, on which twenty thousand "dīnārs" were expended by him.

خرجین A "bag," is used by Rūmī in M., III., 55 in the sense of وجود i.e., "entity, existence, essence." (Cf. T. Com., and also for کیسه in the same passage).

یار تو خرجین تست و کیسهات کز تو را مینی مجو جز ویسهات

Your essence and heart are your friend : if you are a Rāmīn seek none but your Vīsa.

خریدن (with prep. بر) : "To attribute" (to). (M., II., 463).

ای خنک جانے که عیب خویش دید هر که عیبے لفت آن بر خود خرید

How happy the soul which sees its own faults ! and whenever anyone mentions a fault, attributes that (fault) to itself.

—(with prep. به) : "To regard" (as). (Hāfiz, ed. Brockhaus, p. 40).

یار مردان خدا باش که در کشتی نوح هست خاکے که بآبے نخرد طوفان را

Be the companion of men of God, for in Noah's Ark there is a piece of earth which does not regard the flood as even a drop of water.

["A piece of earth" means Noah].

خستن "To make smart," (as smoke does the throat). (M., II., 443, 4).

دود در حلقش شد و حلقش بخست از نهیب دود تلخ از خواب جست

The smoke got into his throat and made it smart ; through terror at the acrid smoke he sprang up from sleep.

خشک (khushk).

خشک “Lean, spare.” (Sh. N., IV., 1805).

بیلا دراز و باندام خشک بگرد سرش جعد موئی چو مشک

Tall in stature, lean in body, with curly musk-like hair around his head.

[See جعد موی].

—“Tightly, hermetically.” (Sh. N., IV., 1755).

یکی درج زرین سرش بسته خشک نهاده برو قفل و مهری زمشک
فرستاد قیصر سوئی ما ز روم یکے موبدے نام بردار بوم

A golden casket, the lid of which is hermetically closed, with a lock on it and a seal of black sealing-wax

Has been sent to me by the Kaiṣar, together with a famous Mūbid of the country.

خشک گشتن “To become immovable, to remain helpless and perplexed.” (M., II., 524).

موش آنجا ایستاد و خشک گشت گفت اشترای رفیق کوه و دشت
این توقف چیست حیرانی چرا پابنه مردانه اندر جو درآ

The mouse stopped there and remained helpless and perplexed. The camel said, “O my companion of the hills and plains,

What is this stopping? Why this perturbation? Step on valiantly and enter the water.

خشم

خشم “Indignation, resentment.” (Sh. N., I., 461).

سیاوش ورا دید پر آب چشم بسان کسی کو به پیچد زخشم
بدو گفت نرم اے برادر چه بود غمے هست کانرا نشاید شنود

Siyāvash saw that his eyes were full of tears, as one who is moved by indignation.

He said to him gently, “What has happened, my brother? Is it a trouble that must not be heard?”

خشم گرفتن (with prep. از): “To be angry” (with). (M., II., 131).

گزرے گر خشم گیرد ز آفتاب ماهئے گر خشم می گیرد ز آب
تو یکے بنگر کرا دارد زیاں عاقبت که بود سیاه اختر ازان

If a bleacher be angry with the sun; if a fish be angry with the water;—
Just see whom (that anger) injures, who at last is ill-starred through it.

—(with prep. بر). (Sh. N., IV., 1837, rubric).

رسیدن نامه هرمز بهرام در بازه زمینهای پرموده و خشم ترفتن بهرام بر پرموده

A letter reaches Bahrām from Hurmuzd to grant protection to Parmūda, and Bahrām is angry with Parmūda.

خطاب

خطاب کردن (with prep. به): "To address" (as). (Khvārazm Shāh, by Mīrkhvānd, p. 90 of Paris edition, 1842).

و از مقام خود پای فرا تر نهاده با سلطان در یک نهالچه نشست و در محاورت او را بغرزد
خطاب کرد

And going beyond his own position he sat with the Sultan on one small carpet, and in conversation addressed him as son.

خفیه (Khufya), for خفیه "In secret." (Sh. N., I., 452).

همان مادر کودک از چند
زردن دست آن خورد در زعفران
جریه سر بانوان بلند
بفرمود خفیه بفرمان بران

The mother also of the noble child, Jarīra, chief of exalted princesses,

In secret ordered her attendants to put the hands of the little one into saffron.

خلط (khalt): "mixing."

خلط نمودن (مایین آدسی و نسی): "To confuse one person with another." (Ch. M., p. 109).

مصنف در این حکایت مایین دو برادر خلط نموده است

In this story the author has confused the two brothers.

خلوص "Purity, candour, not being swayed by prejudice, not being biassed." (M. II., 106, Turkish Commentary on the line).

نفت ایشان متهم با شد چون
می لرزید از تومی لرزیدند خوب

He rejoined, "They would be open to suspicion, since they flee from you, and weep blood (on account of your conduct)." T. Commentary:—

پس شهادتتری مقبول او لرزیدند که غرضی وار شهادتده خلوص شرط در

Therefore their testimony would be invalid, since they have self-interest, and for testimony unbiassedness is required.

آدم کبیر "The Universal Spirit." ('A. M., pp. 67, 68). See خلیفه اول "Faintness," (possibly, in the quotation, "faintness of voice;" but cf. Turkish Commentary, and Arabic Dictionary). (M., II., 539).

توبه رکعت نماز آئی ملول من بیانصد در نیایم در خول

You may be wearied by ten acts of prayer ; and I may not get faint with five hundred.

[Instead of خول T. Trans., B. 'U., and H. Com. have "emaciation."]

خنک (khumbak).

according to the Turkish commentary means "To whistle" (in derision). (M., II., 39, 40).

مستورب می رفت در ایجاد خلق جان نال در بحر قدرت تا بخلق
چون ملا نک مانع آن میشدند بر ملا نک خفیه خنک میزدند

Counsel was being taken as to the creation of man, (when) the souls (were still immersed) up to the neck in the sea of God's potency.

When the angels objected to that proposal, (the Pirs) secretly whistled (in derision) at them.

خواب

"To lull into false security." (M., II., 48).

رفت وز آخر نکرد او هیچ یاد خواب خرنوشی بدان صوفی بداد

(The servant) went off, and took no (further) thought of the stable ; he (thus) lulled the Šūfī into false security.

خوار

"Disregarded." (Sh. N., IV., 1769).

سپاس از جهاندار پروردگار شز و هست نیک و بد روزدار
که روز جوانی هنر داشتم بد و نیک را خوار نکذاشتم

Thanks be to the Holder of the world, the Fosterer, from Whom is all the good and evil of fortune,

That in the days of youth I had my (soldierly) merits, and left not the good and evil disregarded.

خوار کردن To "disregard." (Sh. N., IV., 1800).

چو بشنید پرویز پوزش گران برانگیخت از هرسوئی مهتران
که باشند خواهش کنان پیش شاه نبرده دم و گوش اسپ سیاه
بر آشت ازان اسپ او شهریار جهاندیدگان راهمه کرد خوار

When (Khusrau) Parvīz heard (of this), he stirred up a number of grandees from all parts (as) intercessors,

Who should petition the King not to have the tail and ears of his black horse cut off.

(But) the King was angry with that horse of his, (and) disregarded all those tried and experienced men.

خوار کار "Negligent" (Sh. N., IV., 1815).

چنین گفت پس با پسر ساوه شاه که این بدگمان مرد چون یافت راه
شب تیره و لشکر بے شمار طلایه چرا شد چنین خوار بار

King Sāva then spoke thus to his son : " How did that disaffected man manage to get away ?

The night was dark, the army innumerable ; why were the scouts so negligent ?"

خوار مایه "Insignificant." (Sh. N., IV., 1845).

ازان پس که با خوار مایه سپاه بتیزی برقم زدرگاه شاه
همه دیده اند آنچه من کرده ام غم و رنج و سختی که من خورده ام

After I had, with an insignificant army, hurriedly left the King's Court,

All people saw what I achieved, with all the trouble, pain and hardships I endured.

خواری آوردن (with را of the person) : " To attach ignominy " (to). (Sh. N., IV., 1773).

ندارد کسی را بزرگی بچیز نه خواری بنا چیز آرد بنیز

One should not consider a person has greatness because of his wealth ; neither should one attach ignominy to him on account of his poverty.

خواستار is used in the sense of خواستاری " Search, enquiry," in Sh. N., I., 365. خواستار کردن " To search for, to enquire after." For quotation see خواستن " To be intent on."

خواستن “To be intent on.” (Sh. N., I., 365).

از ان نامداران گردن کشان کسی هم برد سوئی رستم نشان
که سهراب کشته است و افکنده خوار همی خواست کردن ترا خواستار

Of those proud famous men some one will inform Rustam that Suhrāb has been killed, cast abjectly to the ground, when he was intent upon searching for him.

— “To be on the point of.” (Sh. N., I., 414).

چو باد افره ایزدی خواست بود مکافات بدها بدی خواست بود
شما را براى مردردى خواسته بدان گونه بر دل شد آراسته

— When the divine requital was on the point of being carried out, and evil was to have been the punishment of evil deeds,

Your hearts were in such manner set upon that worthless wealth.

خواندن

“To allot to some one,” (as poems). (L. A., I., p. 214).

اگر بچکم جفا روز من بگردانی زحسن عهد و رضائی تو دل نگردانم
وگر زمانه قصائد بنام من خواند بجز دفاتر مدح و ثنات کی خوانم

If in oppression you turn my fortunes back, I will not turn my heart from good faith and what contents you.

And if Fortune allot *Ḳaṣīdas* to me, how should I compose aught but volumes of the praise and eulogy of you ?

[In a *Ḳaṣīda* by *Daḳā'ikī* of Merv].

“Asking in marriage.” (Sh. N., IV., 1804).

بدانگه کجا مادرت راز چیں فرستاده خاقان بایران زمین
نخواهندگی من بدم پیشرو صدوشست مرد از دلیران گو

At the time when the *Khākān* was to send your mother from China to Persia,

I was the leader (of an expedition) to ask her in marriage, (having with me) a hundred and sixty brave heroes.

[*Mihrān Satād*, now a very old man, is speaking to King *Hurmuzd*].

خوردن

“To accord (with). (Sh. N., IV., 1914).

گر این در خورد باخرد یاددار سخن هلم ایرانیان باد وار

If this accord with wisdom, bear it in mind and reckon the words of the Persians as wind.

خوش باش "Be of good cheer, make yourself easy, good luck to you!" (M., II., 524).

اشتراز چستی که شد با آوردان موش غره شد که هستم پهلوان
بر شتر زد پر تو اندیشه اش گفت بنایم ترا تو باش خوش

From the readiness with which the camel set off with it, the mouse was deluded into thinking itself a mighty creature.

The mouse's thought was reflected upon the camel ; it said (to itself), "I will show you (something soon) ; good luck to you !"

خون

دل خون شدن For "the heart to die within one" (from fear). (M. II., 86).

دست می مالید بر اعضائی شیر پشت و پهلو که بالا گاه زیر
گفت شیر از روشنی افزون شدی زهره اش بدرید و دل خون شدی

He stroked the lion's limbs, its back and side—sometimes above, sometimes below.

The lion said, " If the light were increased, he would be terrified, and his heart would die within him."

خونگار (for خوندگار which is for خداوندگار) : "A mighty Lord ;" a title of the Sultan of Turkey, first given to Murād I. (H. T., p. 544).

خوی (khuy).

کردن خوی (with prep. به or در) : " To accustom " (to). (M., II., 322).

چشم را در روشنائی خوی کن گر نه خفاشی نظرآں سوی کن

Accustom your eyes to the light ! if you are not a bat, look in that direction.

" Self-restraint." (M., II., 472).

پس طیبش گفت ای عمر توشت این غضب و این خشم هم از پیری است
چون همه اوصاف و اجزا شد نحیف خویشتن داری و صبرت شد ضعیف

Then the physician said to him, " O you whose age is sixty, this wrath and anger are also from old age.

Since all the properties and parts have grown weak, your self-restraint and patience have become enfeebled."

خیال

خیال "Suspicion." (M., II., 329).

در خیال افتاد مرد از جد او خشمگین شد زود گردانید رو
کی مگر قصد من آمد خونبست یا طمع دارد گدا و تو نیست

The man conceived suspicion at his strenuous efforts ; he grew angry, and quickly turned away his face,

(Thinking), "This person has come per chance to attack me,—he is an assassin ; or he wants something of me,—he is a beggar or a rascally vagabond."

—"An illusory object, a thing causing illusion." (M., II., 30 rubric).

هلال پنداشتن آن شخص در عهد عمر رضی الله عنه خیال را

A certain person in the time of 'Umar—may God be pleased with him !—thinks an illusory object is the new moon.

[The illusory object in this case is a hair deflected from the eyebrow of the person in question].

خیری (Khīrī) : "The yellow wallflower." *Cheiranthus cheiri*. (Red-house). (H. P., p. 102).

داده خیری بشرط هم عهدی یاسمن را خط ولیعهدی

The yellow wallflower, still to live awhile, had made the jessamine its heir-apparent.

(To be continued)

C. E. WILSON.

ARENT JAN WENSINCK

OBITUARY

ON the 9th of September 1939 there died at his home in Leiden Professor Wensinck after a long illness contracted early in the year after his return from a journey to Algeria and Egypt, and in him European Islamic scholarship has lost another great representative. Born as the son of a Dutch clergyman on the 7th of August 1882, he first studied for the church, which attracted him to the Semitic languages, Hebrew and Syriac, in which a great part of Christian literature is composed. The next step was to be drawn to Arabic and the early stages of Islam. After having studied at Utrecht, Berlin and Leiden, he took his degree with honours at the latter University, his thesis—in Dutch—being: *Mohammad and the Jews at Medina*. At the age of 27, in 1909, he began his career as teacher at the University of Utrecht, being entrusted with courses of lectures on Hebrew and Aramaic. Three years later he was appointed professor of Hebrew at Leiden in succession to Professor Wildeboer. About the same time he was appointed Secretary for the publication of the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, published in English, French and German, a work which is generally appreciated as a valuable book of reference for all students of Islam and Islamic history. Upon the retirement of Prof. Snouk-Hurgronje in 1927 he was appointed to the chair of Arabic held by so many eminent Dutch scholars in the past, a post which he held till the end of his life.

Among his many works the most useful is perhaps his *Handbook of Early Muhammedan Tradition*, which in alphabetical order deals with all theological, ritual and legal questions touched upon in the most authoritative works on the subject. This work has been translated into Arabic with many corrections and additions, and is published under the title *مفتاح كنوز السنة*. This work represents a summary of a work of much greater scope, *The Concordance and Index of Muslim Tradition*, upon which, with a large number of other Arabic scholars, he worked for many years. This stupendous work aims at being a complete index, as far as possible, of the whole matter of *Ḥadīth* embodied in the canonical books, the *Musnad* of Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal, the *Muwattʿa* and the *Sīrah* of Ibn Hishām. So far the first volume only has appeared. It was Wensinck's work to arrange and classify the enormous amount of references brought

together by his collaborators. A serious drawback, in my opinion, is that it was impossible to select for the canonical books in each case *one* of the many editions as the *Textus receptus* and the collaborators and users of the work were, and are, compelled to number the chapters and traditions in whatever edition may be at their disposal. For the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal fortunately only one edition exists so far. Except for this defect and perhaps a too scanty treatment of the particles, enquirers into *Ḥadīth* have a commodious medium for quickly tracing any desired tradition to its source. Among other works may be mentioned a translation from the Syriac of the *Mystic Treatises of Isaac of Niniveh*, of which an ancient Arabic translation exists in a very old manuscript in the John Rylands Library in Manchester. Another standard work in English is his *Muslim Creed*, published in 1932. The number of articles by him in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* is very considerable, as he often undertook work for which he could not find a suitable author. In 1938 he was awarded the Sir William Jones medal for Asiatic Research, while this year he received the honorary degree of Dr. Phil. from the University of Algiers. The Dutch Government conferred upon him the title of *Knight of the Netherlands Lion*.

As a scholar he always aimed at a high scientific standard and undauntedly stood up for what he considered to be the truth. A man of great learning, his unassuming manner made you feel at home with him and he was deservedly loved by his many students. I recall the many times I have enjoyed the hospitality of his home in Leiden and whenever I have visited that ancient seat of learning I have stayed in the circle of his family.

F. K.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

EUROPE

Ancient Arabic Poetry.

THE question of the genuineness of the poetry of the Arabs before the proclamation of Islam has been discussed frequently and some scholars, laying far too much stress upon the evidence that there were persons who forged poems like Ḥammād ar-Rāwiyah, wished to declare the whole of what is known as pre-Islamic poetry as a forgery. It became clear to me many years ago, by a close study of what has been preserved, that such a sweeping statement is without foundation whatever, and we really do possess in spite of the greater part being irretrievably lost a very considerable amount which is indisputably genuine. The poems preserved refer to events and personalities which could not possibly have been invented by scholars, however learned in the lore of the past. I have even gone so far as to assert that most of this ancient poetry was committed to writing long before the dates of those scholars who are, in the *Fihrist* and elsewhere, credited with having collected these remnants of ancient poetry: because in most cases they were only remnants, as we can hardly believe that the poets of whom we have collections gained their reputations by what has been preserved. Of the best known I only wish to draw attention to the collections of the poems of Zuhair, Ṭarafah and Imru'ul-Qais made by the Andalusian al-Aṣma'i, representing the gist of the collection edited by al-Aṣma'i and the much ampler collections by Sukkarī and Tha'lab which exist in manuscript or are edited unfortunately most unsatisfactorily.

A great drawback is always that the editors of the collections of poems, particularly al-Aṣma'i, were not well-versed in the tribal history, and considered almost exclusively the lexicographical aspect of the poems. A further hindrance is that the poets in their compositions dealing with the achievements of their particular tribe very often speak of events of the distant past as if they had actually been eye-witnesses, so for example Dhur-Rummah. This is however in all likelihood also the case with earlier poets when the history of the tribe was handed down orally, and upon closer examination we often find that the poets of the dim past lived after all much nearer to the rise of Islam than could be suspected upon first acquaintance. With a very few exceptions we do not seem to get any further back into the past than about fifty years before the Hijrah. As an

example that the dates may be altogether wrong I may cite the case of the poet 'Abīd ibn al-Abrāṣ whose collection of poems, edited by Sir Charles Lyall, has come down to us in a Kūfī recension. From his poems and the legendary tale of his death he must have lived round 530 A.C., the exact date when he was killed by al-Mundhir is not known. Against this I have come across mention of one of his descendants a certain Dithār b. 'Abīd b. al-Abrāṣ who is claimed to have recorded statements by the Caliph 'Alī and that the traditionist Simāk ibn Ḥarb (died 123 A.H.) was one of his pupils (Ibn Abī Hātim, *Kitāb al-Jarḥ* fol. 174). Now it is impossible even if we allow that Dithār is the grandson of 'Abīd, he or his father should have reached a fabulous age of over a hundred years. As Lyall pointed out in his introduction to the *Dīwān* of 'Abīd there seems no doubt that 'Abīd and Imru'ul-Qais appear to be contemporaries to judge from utterances in their poems one may nevertheless surmise that 'Abīd after all lived later.

So there is indicated another way in which one may draw conclusions upon the date of the pre-Islamic poets by the technique of their poems. This is the way proposed by Dr. Grünebaum in the last issue of "*Orientalia*" (vol. 8. pp. 328-345). On the basis of the preserved poems he defines the comparisons and modes of expressions used by the poets of old in establishing what we may call schools of poetry which gradually introduced new ideas into the Arabic Qaṣīdah, for there can be no doubt that previous generations were largely dependent upon by those who followed. This examination reveals further that not only ideas but even words were taken over by the pupils of certain poets of note. At the end of his article the author gives some dates which I fear cannot receive general acceptance. We know that Labīd lived till after the death of the Prophet and that 'Āmir b. at-Ṭufail visited him after the proclamation of Islām; hence the date 565 is too early. Much too early is also the date of 520 for Ṭufail al-Ghanawī who was, as evidenced by his poems, a contemporary of Zaid-al-Khail, also one who visited the Prophet in the year 9 of the Hijrah. Ḥātim for whom the same date is given must have lived much later as his son 'Adī was one of the followers of the Caliph 'Alī at Ṣiffīn in 662 A.C. Nevertheless his article is a step forward in getting at an approximate chronology of the poets of the time of paganism. I should like to add one more word on the subject. A close study of this ancient poetry reveals a higher standard of civilisation than is generally admitted by theologians who wish to see Islam emerge from anarchy and complete savagery. Such a thing from the experience of human history in general is out of the question and it was just this higher civilisation among the more educated classes in ancient Arabia which made Islam possible and such higher civilisation only can account for the fact that the conquering Muslims were capable to produce men of such eminent political qualities as most of the Omayyade caliphs. None of the 'Abbāsī caliphs, who embodied the Persian rather than the Arabic conception of government, not even al-Manṣūr, could be compared with the qualities

found in Mu'āwiyah or 'Abd al-Malik. It was they who still under the influence of the ancient Arabic civilisation laid the foundations of the Islamic Empire.

Bishr ibn Abī Khāzim al-Asadī.—In the October issue of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Dr. Grünebaum produces the text of all the fragments of poems by this pre-Islamic poet whose collected poems still existed two hundred years ago when 'Abd al-Qādir al-Baghḍādī wrote the *Khizānat al-Adab* (vol. I, p. 9. 23). Though the *Dīwān* is, at least for the present, lost, we possess a fair number of this poet's composition scattered in three anthologies which have been published, the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, the *Ikhṭiyārāin* edited by Dr. Mu'azzam Ḥusain and the *Mukhtārāt* of Ibn ash-Shajārī. The poet was a younger contemporary of the poet 'Abid b. al-Abras mentioned above and so far as we can gather from those pieces preserved his poems are chiefly concerned with the quarrels between his tribe and the tribe of Tā'ī which led to him being killed in a raid shortly before Islām by 'Amr b. Hudhār (Marzubānī, *Mu'jam* 222). For a better understanding it would be useful that the editor should publish a translation of *all* preserved poems and the particulars of his life and times which can be elucidated from them.

*Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales ; Université d'Alger ;
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This is the fourth year that the professors of the University of Algiers have issued their annual series of articles in spite of the war. It contains a number of articles dealing with the history and art of North Africa. The first article by William Marçais deals with the question how North Africa became Arabicised, when for example the much nearer lying land of Persia maintained its ethnological independence. The chief reason was that the native Berber population which had in succession been under the rule of Carthaginians, Romans and Vandals never rose above the tribal state ; but while previous ruling nations had failed to leave a permanent imprint upon the country it was the founding of centres of cultural activity by the Arabs like the towns of Qairawān and Fez (فاس) which by an unceasing intellectual influence gradually in the course of centuries pushed the Berber elements into the background so that we can speak today of the whole of North Africa from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean as an Arabic country though islands of Berber-speaking communities remain.

The Next article by Levi-Provençal deals with the date of the foundation of the city of Fez, the spiritual centre of Islamic civilisation in the West. As it is well-known Fez consists, today as it has done through the centuries of its existence, of two cities. The first apparently was a modest Berber settlement which was later occupied by Idrīs I, but the

danger of clashes between the Arab and Berber elements made it advisable for Idrīs II to occupy the upper town. This has caused in the historians of the Maghrib the confusion which assigned the foundations of Fez to the year 191 A.H. Yet there exist coins struck in Fez as early as 189 and the easiest and most feasible conclusion is that some early chronicles misread the Arabic تسعين for سبعين so that the actual date for the foundation of the city was in 171 A.H. That this is the correct date is further corroborated by other evidence adduced by the author. We see again how in many other cases the careless writing of these numerals have created unnecessary difficulties.

The third article by Georges Marçais entitled "*Rémarques sur l'esthétique musulmane*" deals with the æsthetic beauty of Muslim architecture as displayed in the principal mosques in North Africa and Spain. They will always remain examples of perfect and harmonious beauty.

Elie Lambert gives some further details about the work done to the great mosque at Cordova in the reign of al-Ḥakam II which he has gleaned from the recently published *Rauḍ al-Mi'tār* by Ibn 'Abd al-Mu'min al-Ḥimyarī. This article supplements those about the same mosque which have appeared in the second volume of this same series.

J. Sauvaget deals with the peculiarities of a number of mosques built or enlarged during the reign of the Saljūq Sultāns in Ispahān, Nīriz, Barsiyān, Urmiya, Ardistān and other towns of the Saljūq empire. He comes to the conclusion that the Kiosk-like construction functioned as the place where the Sultān, or ruler of the district, worshipped apart from the mass of the congregation. The article is illustrated by plans of the mosques in question.

R. Blachère deals with the commentary on the *Dīwān* of Mutanabbī generally attributed to Abul Baqā' al-'Ukbarī who was born in Baghdād in 539 and died there in 616. From passages in the text it is evident that the author of this commentary cannot be al-'Ukbarī but was most likely a Syrian scholar and that he was a pupil of Abul Yumn al-Kindī, and he suggests that the real author may be al-Ḥusain b. Ibrāhīm Hadhabānī al-Kūrānī who died in Damascus in 656.

R. Picard deals with the Portuguese traders in the Maghrib and how closely they were always supported by Spaniards of the South of Spain in cases of difficulties.

J. Cantineau, well-known for his studies on the Arabic dialects of the Syrian desert, deals with the dialect of the Druze community in Jabal Ḥaurān and comes to the conclusion that they brought certain peculiarities with them when they immigrated from the Lebanon.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

THE LATEST issue of the *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris, the first quarterly issue of 1939, contains several interesting articles. Of the profusely illustrated article on the battlefields of the time of the Prophet, we have already taken notice in a previous issue. Another interesting article is the translation of *A Letter to the Academy of Irān* of Moḥammed 'Alī Foroughi, the late Prime Minister of Irān. It contains not only the constitution of the academy *Farhangistān-e-Irān*, but in fact a whole programme to guide the institution in its deliberation for the rejuvenation of the Persian language, which lags so much behind in the matter of technical terms and scientific literature.

Briefly, this Royal Academy of Irān was founded by King Riḍā Shāh in March 1936. Its president is nominated by the King and the ordinary and associate members (اعضای پیوسته و وابسته) are to be elected with the approbation of the Ministry. Its budget is included in that of the Ministry of Public Instruction, and the members are entitled to special gowns. The objects of the Academy are to be the following :—

1. The compilation of a dictionary of Persian words and technical terms.
2. The selection of words and technical terms for all walks of human existence—Persian words, as far as possible.
3. The rejection of foreign and incompatible words.
4. To lay down rules for the language and to determine regulations regarding the establishment of Persian words, and adoption or rejection of foreign words.
5. The collection of words and technical terms used by artisans and people of different professions.
6. The collection of words and technical terms from ancient texts.
7. The collection from different provinces of words, technical terms, poems, proverbs, stories, curious anecdotes and popular songs.
8. The search for and making known ancient texts (MSS.) and encouraging their publication.
9. To guide public opinion as to what is true literature, prose and poetry ; selecting what is praiseworthy in the literature of the past and rejecting what has undergone change ; establishing a method for the future.
10. To encourage poets and prose-writers to produce great literary works.
11. To encourage the men of erudition to compile or translate useful works in clear and natural Persian.
12. To examine the reform of the script.

Mr. Foroughi deals at considerable length with the question which Arabic words should be retained and which should be replaced by Persian ones. At any rate he is definitely convinced that Arabic words should be

given preference to words from modern European languages, even though the former is a Semitic language and the latter are of the same Aryan stock as Persian itself. The Indian languages, more especially Urdu, contain very many words of Persian origin, and the deliberations of the Academy of Irān must be of great interest to the Urdu-speaking public. Similarly the classical Urdu work by the late Prof. Salīm of the Osmania University (وضع اصطلاحات), as well as the achievements of the Translation Bureau of the same university, may be of immense value to the enthusiasts of Teherān. A selection of a few of the recently approved terms of the Iranian academy may be of interest to our readers :—

آب باز	diver, life-saver	انگشت نگاری	dactylography
اژدر	torpedo	ایست گاه	station
اژدرافکن	torpedo-boat	بارآور	productive
اژدر انداز	torpedo-thrower	بازجوی	investigation
انجمن شهرداری	municipal council	بالا دو	lift
برگردان	carbon paper	دورگو	telephone
برگه دان	card-shelf	سنگ واره	fossil
بی نام	anonymous	سوخت آمه	carboretter
پشت نویسی	endorsement	سوزا (؟ سوزان)	combustible
تن پیمائی	anthropometry	گذرنامه	passport
دانش نامه	certificate	ناوبر	navigator
دریابان	vice-admiral	نبرد ناو	cruiser
دریا دار	counter-admiral	ناو شکن	counter-torpedo
دریا سالار	admiral	نژاد شناسی	ethnology

The *Oriente Moderno* of Rome records, that it has been decided to conduct drill of the regular army of Hadramaut in Arabic whereas so far the English words of command were in use. The Egyptian army has now adopted Arabic words of command even for aviation.

Under King Fārūq, Islamicisation is going apace in Egypt, and it has been decided that henceforward post offices should work on Sundays and close on Fridays,—as in Hyderabad.

The University of Egypt has been renamed King Fu'ād I University. Recently, a commission was appointed consisting of representatives of the University, the medical profession and the militia. They have unanimously recommended that military training, theoretical as well as practical, should be made compulsory in all the faculties of the University, and this four times a week. The students will then be eligible for the territorial army as officers.

DECCAN

DELIVERING the convocation address of the Osmania University, Mr. S. E. Runganadhan, the Christian Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University observed :

“ [THE] CIVILISATION OF ISLAM.

“ Of all Eastern civilisations, Islam has been historically the most closely in touch with Europe. It has shared with Europe the heritage of classical antiquity. On the other hand for more than twelve long centuries Islam has been in contact with Hinduism in India, affecting the thought and life of the people and in its own turn influenced by its environment. Its great doctrine of duty is intended to cover every aspect of human life and its mysticism has developed a lofty conception of ethics. It is, as some of its great modern leaders have pointed out and as is exemplified in the life of the Ruler of the State (i.e., Hyderabad), a religion of peace, toleration and brotherhood.

“ [THE] TRANSLATION BUREAU.

“ Apart from the work of the Bureau, it would be an excellent thing if the University could establish a Central Research Institute which would deal scientifically with the literature and history of the past. Hyderabad possesses both State and private libraries containing priceless collections of rare manuscripts and books in Arabic and Persian. The University would be rendering a great service to Oriental learning by undertaking the task of collecting and editing such of those MSS. as have great historical and literary value. Good work, I know, is being done in regard to Arabic MSS., but there seems to be scope for a great extension of research activity in the whole field of Arabic and Persian records.”

THE ARABIC ACADEMY (الجمع العلمى العربى) of Hyderabad has received a new lease of life under the new Executive Committee with H.H. the Sultān of Mukalla as President, Nawāb Zulqadar Jung as Vice-President, Maulānā al-Ma'mūn as Secretary and Dr. 'Abul Mu'īd Khān as Joint Secretary.

The Academy will serve as a centre for the Arabic-knowing people of Hyderabad and visitors to the City. Periodical lectures in Arabic, efforts to popularise the Arabic language, the editing of Arabic classics and their translation into Urdu,—such are its immediate aims.

HYDERABAD has for long been a great centre of Oriental medical science. The local school, *Madrasah Tibbiyah* has, by a special ukase of the

Nizam been raised to the rank of a first grade college to which is attached a general hospital. Opening the new palatial building of this latter General Yūnānī Hospital (صدرشفاخانه نظامیہ), the Nizam observed :—

It was my desire for a long time that a Yūnānī hospital should be established in my Capital on the lines of the Osmania General Hospital, to accommodate and treat patients who prefer the Yūnānī system. It was also necessary that it should be staffed by able physicians and supplied with unadulterated medicines. I thank God this wish of mine has now been materialised through the opening of this hospital. Though at present only fifty patients will be accommodated, I hope that the Hospital will be able to expand in the near future to cope with a maximum of three hundred in-patients.

As you are well aware, the Yūnānī system is an ancient and noble system. It was founded by well-known groups of Greek physicians. There are records of Yūnānī physicians curing diseases which now-a-days are regarded as incurable. For these reasons I have taken keen interest in the revival of this system, and whatever little knowledge and experience I have of this system is well-known to the Yūnānī medical community.

I have, therefore, made it my objective to revive this science, which was decaying, and in fact dying, due to lack of proper appreciation of its benefits. This system of treatment is very popular among the masses as is evident from the attendance of patients at the various dispensaries in the Dominions.

At the same time there is a need for able Yūnānī physicians. I hope, therefore, that the Nizāmiyah Tibbī College will produce such able physicians and thus earn distinction for itself in the State.

THE LATEST addition to the Osmania University- town is the Arts College built at a cost of over 3½ millions of rupees. The Nizam, who is not only the founder and patron of this University but also the recipient of the degree *honoris causa* of "Sultānul-'Ulūm" (Prince of Learning), was pleased personally to open the building, and replied to the address :—

I well remember having laid four or five years ago, the foundation-stone of this building and I am thankful to Providence that on the foundations so laid this noble edifice has now arisen, which in beauty of design, magnificence and splendour has not a rival in India. I regard the Osmania University as marking a great achievement of my period of rule, and this building will be a glorious monument of it. It will remind future generations for centuries to come of the cultural and the architectural tastes of our times. The laying of its foundation-stone and its opening have, therefore, been the source of great pleasure to me.

The chief characteristic of this University is that its medium of instruction is Urdu, a language derived from personal contacts and

friendly relations between Hindus and Muslims, their common heritage, spoken and understood generally throughout India. It is a matter of satisfaction that this University has given such an impetus to the progress of Urdu, enriching it with books on Eastern and Western learning, so that it is now an adequate medium for expressing the most abstruse ideas and for imparting education to people up to the highest standards. Though Urdu is the medium of instruction and examination, the standards of this University are not lower than those of any Indian University where English is the medium.

I may observe in this connection that, like Urdu, the architecture of this building represents a blending of the Hindu and Muslim styles and the art and culture of both these nations are reflected in the pillars and traceries and carvings on the doors and walls. Thus this building symbolises the close contacts and the friendly relations subsisting for centuries between the various classes of my subjects as a result of which the people of my State have always in the past lived in harmony with each other. I, therefore, deem it my duty and an expression of my love for my people to maintain those relations between them. The Osmania University should not only be the repository of Hyderabad's best traditions, a model of its high culture ; it should also aim at broad-mindedness and mutual toleration and unity among the students, for in that ideal lies the well-being and the prosperity of the State.

I wish, therefore, to take this opportunity to impress on the officers and staff of this University the necessity of promoting harmonious relations between the staff and the students on the one side, and the students of the different nations and religions on the other. This duty devolves on them as part of their work.

AUNDH is a tiny Maharatta State on the Western Ghāts near Poona. The capital, Aundh, is a village of about 2,000 inhabitants yet well-ahead of many a far bigger town in British India. It has a High School, a hospital, a museum and picture-gallery, electric light, water-supply by pipe lines and a popular government. The Raja has the right to select two ministers from among only the elected members of the Legislature. One of the two ministers is a Muslim. The Raja is also the chief Qāḍī of the Muslim citizens of his State, and as such penalises them if they do not regularly attend the Friday service in the Mosque. The ruling family is a very orthodox Sanantandharmist one, yet it has earned popularity among all classes of the people irrespective of caste and creed. The princesses have voluntarily worked and succeeded in eradicating illiteracy from their capital. There is also a government-maintained Muslim school where, besides Mahrati, Urdu and Arabic and the Qur'ān are taught. The picture-gallery of Aundh is the finest in India regarding the comparative art of the different Hindu and Muslim schools of India. The museum also boasts of possessing a copy of the Qur'ān calligraphed by the Emperor Aurangzeb.

In the private collection of the Raja there are many Persian translations, illustrated and otherwise, of the Ramayana, Purana, Mahabharata, Gita (translated under the auspices of the Emperor Aurangzeb), etc., and also some rare works of Dārāshikōh like *Safīnatul-awliyā*, again the *Basātin* 'Ādilshāhī, the *Irshād at-tālibīn* by Harkaran Dās, etc.

Such is the place which attracted this year the International Fellowship to hold their seventh session there and discuss questions of inter-religious harmony. The main topic was introduced by Dr. Syed 'Abdul Laṭīf of Hyderabad, who very ably explained why the Indian Muslims are moving towards the "fatality" of the cultural redistribution and exchange of population of the different parts of India. It is characteristic that the Fellowship which has so far remained a very great stronghold of the Congress, unanimously accepted the resolution of Dr. Laṭīf, condemning the Constituent Assembly and implying that composite government was the imperative need of the hour.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS invited Dr. Ḥamīdullāh of the Osmania University in the second week of January last to deliver a set of three extension lectures on :

1. The place of Islam in the history of modern international law.
2. Factors in the development of Muslim law in early days.
3. The status of Indian States according to International law.

In the first of these, the lecturer pointed out that the assertion of Oppenheim and others that during the Middle Ages there was no need of international law was a fallacy, that the link in Europe between the Roman period and the modern times was provided by Islam through Muslim states in Spain, Sicily, and Switzerland, the Crusades and several other channels. The lecturer pointed out that the books on the laws of war and peace written by early international lawyers like Ayala, Gentiles, Grotius, Victoria and others were modelled not upon any Greek or Roman counterparts but upon Arabic works on *siyar* (conduct in time of war and peace) the earliest of which by Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150 H.), al-Awzā'īy, Abū Yūsuf, ash-Shaibānīy, and others have come down to us in part or *in toto*, and the subject has ever been taught in every Muslim school as part of Fiqh. According to the lecturer, the Arabs were the first to make of international law an independent science, divorcing it from political science and law general.

In the second lecture he drew attention to the importance of the fact that the non-Arab *Mawālī* have produced generations of teachers of the great Imāms, Abū Ḥanīfah himself being a non-Arab ; to the pre-Islamic Arab elements not abrogated by the Prophet even in religious matters like the Ḥajj, not to speak of the laws of tort, retaliation, sale, contract, etc. ; to the retention of Persian and Byzantine revenue and other administrative laws by the Caliph 'Umar in the conquered provinces of Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt and others ; to the traditions that the Prophet preferred the practices of the "scriptuaries"

(Jews and Christians) to those of the Pagan Arabs ; to the commands of the Qu'rān to follow the guidance of ancient Prophets like Moses, Jesus and others *فبهذا هم اقتدوا* ; to the great number of jurists from Bukhārā and Turkistān, that centre of Buddhist culture ; and to many other details and facts of foreign influences in all walks of Muslim peoples.

In the third lecture he particularly relied upon English judicial decisions as against political assertions, and examined very closely the cases of the Muslim Native States of Malaya like Johore (1894) and Kelantan (1924) and quoted from Vattel's *Law of Nations* regarding unequal alliances and tributes. And he keenly observed that the treaty of 1800 of Hyderabad was not retrospective and hence could not affect previously existing relations, for instance with France.

In a lecture delivered at a scientific society in Hyderabad, Dr. Hamīdullāh traced the history of Islam in Tibet, specially from Muslim sources. He gave vivid pictures of Tibet from *خطبات نامہ*, that important report of the ambassador of Sulṭān Sulaimān the Magnificent sent to the court of the Emperor of China. Then he dealt with the conquest, or rather re-conquest, of Tibet, in the time of Shāh Jahān and quoted at length from the *Shāh Jahān Nāmeh* or '*Amal Ṣāliḥ*' by the historian Kanbu (edited by the Asiatic Society of Bengal). Then the lecturer described the personal account of his accompanying a contingent of Tibetan pilgrims during the Hajj season of 1357 H., for over a month when he happened to be in the same camel caravan from Mecca to Medina, and back to Jedda. He said that there are 4,000 Muslims in Lhasa alone who assemble in four mosques, that Urdu has made astonishingly rapid headway in Tibet, *via* Calcutta, and is widely spoken even by non-Muslims, and that new converts to Islam are not rare in Tibet. Finally he dwelt upon the curious report of the newspapers that the new Lama was discovered to have been born in a family of Chinese Muslims and that his parents accompanied him to Lhasa when he was conducted there for installation—a fact the effects of which are only to be surmised.

The Senate of the Osmania University has resolved to establish a chair of Turkish, and has recommended the Government to train at least 20 Osmania students yearly for aviation. Dr. Hamīdullāh has for the present been asked to take the Turkish classes in addition to his work in the Law College. Classes in German and French have been run in the University for some years, and it is expected that Italian will also be started soon.

The Dā'iratul Ma'ārif of the Osmania University has published the third and the final volume of the *کتاب المعبر* of Abul Barakāt al-

Baghdādīy, and has included therein the lectures of Sulaimān Nadawī delivered two years ago on this very book in the Conference of Islamic Studies organised by the Dā'ira. Two more volumes of المنظم of Ibn al-Jawzīy have also been published. The institution has now moved to the University-Town in Adikmet (P. O. Lallaguda).

During the conference-week of the end of the year, many Hyderabadīs presided over scientific conferences in British India: Nawāb Kamāl Yār Jung over the All-India Muslim Educational Conference in Calcutta, Nawāb Mahdī Yār Jung over the All-India Urdu Conference in Delhi, Dr. Shendarkar and Dr. B. K. Das of the Osmania University over the Psychology and Zoology sections of the Science Congress in Madras.

Two new periodicals have appeared in Hyderabad.

The *Journal of the Hyderabad Academy* is at present only an annual concern. Its first issue has recently come out and contains important articles by its members on science, law, history, literature and other subjects. The Academy is functioning under the auspicious patronage of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Berar, and is presided over by Nawāb Mahdī Yār Jung, the Minister of Education.

The other journal is the Urdu *Siyāsāt* سیاست, a quarterly organ of the newly founded institute of social sciences, and is edited by Dr. Yūsuf Husain Khān of the Osmania University. The first issue begins with an article decorated with illustrative maps, by Dr. Hamīdullāh on the Principles of Muslim Diplomacy in the Time of the Prophet. Other articles are on constitutional law, the effects of machines on modern civilisation, and others.

We wish both of these our contemporaries long life and ever-increasing utility.

A whole century has passed since the birth of Jamāluddīn Afghānī, that great personality of pan-Islamic renown. Hyderabad was also among the many centres which he chose one after the other for his activities. The occasion of the centenary was celebrated in a befitting manner in Hyderabad, and the King of Afghānistān not only associated himself with the celebrations in Hyderabad but also sent order to Afghān consuls all over the world to observe the occasion as best they could. Several Hyderabad dailies and monthlies brought out special numbers for the occasion.

The writer remembers, when he was in Istanbul in 1932, the very poor attention paid to the grave of this great man of his century by the former Turkish Government. So much so that the very sepulchre was erected by an American tourist who also provided the only inscription, and that in English.

The lamentable condition of Waqfs and Muslim escheats has more than once been an occasion for debates in the Central Legislature of British India. Some time ago a bill was brought forward to the effect that Muslim intestate properties should not devolve upon the Crown and be confiscated in favour of the general exchequer, but should be kept in trust for the whole of the Muslim community in accordance with the writ of the Shari'at. The then Law Member of the Government of India remarked: "I quite agree that, according to Muslim Law, it is not a case of escheat, but that the last heir, instead of being a particular person, is the Muslim community. In that sense, I have not raised any question about it." His contention was that the Bill should more appropriately have been introduced in the provincial legislatures.

The matter was the subject of a learned debate recently in a Hyderabad Society and it was pointed out that any new attempt would be unnecessary since the Shariat Application Act of 1937 (of the Central Legislature) clearly lays down in §2 that: "Notwithstanding any custom or usage to the contrary, in all questions... regarding intestate succession... the rule of decision in case where the parties are Muslim shall be the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat)." Laws against the Act have been expressly abrogated.

The Waqf endowments are a very great asset of the Muslim community not only in British India but also in Hyderabad. Recently the Waqf Regulations of Hyderabad have received the assent of the Nizam and bestow upon the government wide powers not only compulsorily to register all the Waqf properties but also to see that their income is properly spent; and at the same time they empower the Ecclesiastical Minister to divert part of the income to charitable purposes other than those specified by the endower, and this in accordance with the personal law of the endower.

Accordingly, it is reported that the Water-mill Waqf of Aurangabad, and the Miān Mishk Sarāi and the Nabī Khāna of Hyderabad have been converted into boarding-houses for poor students coming from districts and unable to pay the expenses of the college and school boarding-houses. Similarly, some Hindu Waqfs are also being availed of. Rules are under preparation to make religious instruction and the observance of orthodox rites compulsory for all the boarders.

It is more than a decade since the society *Ittiḥādul Muslimīn* was founded in Hyderabad in order to provide a common front for the different schools of Muslims in matters common to all. The society has now developed into the most powerful and well-organised Muslim institution in the Nizam's Dominions. Recently, when it organised an annual meeting, its value was enhanced by an exhibition of Muslim industry (visited by the Prime Minister downwards), and an Urdu Con-

ference with which even the Nizam associated himself by sending a message in verse :—

داد مذهب چه فرازی اینست	بهر مسلم که چه نازی اینست
همه در نقش و طرازی اینست	لوح قرآن که ز کلک قدرت
طینش هم به نیازی اینست	من چه او صاف نبی را گویم
آشکارا همه رازی اینست	منصب او که ز احزاب رسل
پر کشاده که چه بازی اینست	بر سر سدره و طوبی عثمان

The resolutions passed by the gathering were characteristic of the new spirit animating young Hyderabad, in internal as well as external domains.

The opening of the Muslim Bank in Hyderabad is perhaps the most important news in the economic sphere. The bank lends money without interest though it charges a very small sum on the beneficiaries (not more than 2 per cent.) for the maintenance of the establishment.

The co-operative society مؤیدالاکوان which also lends money without interest, has now completed its 49th year and preparations are being made to celebrate its golden jubilee in a befitting manner, as it was the first to contribute something original and purely Islamic to the co-operative movement at large, and this at a time when it had not left the shores of Europe to penetrate into India.

M. H.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

A MUSLIM CULTURE ASSOCIATION was formed in June 1938 at the suggestion of Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali. The idea was to provide means of social gatherings at which subjects of Islamic cultural interest could be discussed by a limited number of members of advanced attainments. So far a number of meetings have been held at which the following papers were read, creating lively interest among the public :—

- (a) Mr. Abdullah Yusuf Ali—'The Meaning of Islamic Culture.'
- (b) Dr. R. M. Choudhri—'Present Day Backwardness of the Muslims.'
- (c) Mr. K. Abdul Waheed—'Muslim Degradation : Its Causes and Cure.'
- (d) Prof. Siraj-ud-Din—'The Position of Women in Islam.'
- (e) Sh. Niaz Ali, Advocate—'Purdah in Islam.'
- (f) Dr. Hadi Hasan, Aligarh—'Mu'tamid, the Poet-Prince of Andalusia.'

- (g) Dr. R. M. Siddiqi, Hyderabad—'The Muslim Contribution to Science.'
- (h) Mr. S. G. Khaliq—'The Palestine Problem.'
- (i) Dr. B. A. Kuraishi—'The Study of Arabic in Muslim Institutions.'
- (j) Dr. M. D. Taseer—'Arabs in England, a Study in Cultural Semasiology.'
- (k) Prof. B. A. Hashmi—'The Wardha Scheme.'

Generally the meetings of the Association are held at the residences of the members where interested outsiders may be also invited.

Punjab University Arabic and Persian Society

Moulana Abdul Qadus read a paper on 'Umar bin al-'Adeem's *Life and Works*. The learned lecturer gave a detailed account of the family to which 'Umar bin al-'Adeem belonged, and also of the period in which he flourished. His forefathers successively held the position of Qāzīs of Halab from the first century up to the 8th century of Hijrah. They were well known for their consummate scholarship, integrity of character and judicial capacity. 'Umar bin al-'Adeem was born at Halab in 588 A.H. and died in 660 A.H. at Cairo. He spent the major part of his life in his native place, where he occupied important positions at different periods as a professor as well as a judge. He was, however, forced to quit Halab towards the closing days of his life, owing to the invasion of the Mughals. The learned lecturer then dealt at length with the literary achievements of 'Umar and gave a graphic description of his activities as a successful teacher, a powerful writer, a fine calligraphist and a tactful servant of the State. The president, Dr. B. A. Kuraishi, pointed out that after the conquest of Halab by Halākū Khān the office of Qāzī was again offered to 'Umar by the inhabitants, which he eventually accepted, but unfortunately he breathed his last before assuming charge of the post. Kh. Abdul Waheed read a paper on the *Islamic Origins of Modern Sciences*. He began with the contention that science was unscientific in the sense that it was not based on observation and experiment. It was Islam which encouraged these two factors and insisted on the use of the senses and rational enquiry into the phenomena of nature. He then dealt at length with the definite contributions of Muslims to various branches of science. He took up a detailed study of the Renaissance and showed that all the main factors which produced it owed their origin to the activities of the followers of Islam. In the end he traced the extensive influence of Islam on Western culture and gave a large number of instances of modern English words which are derived from the Arabic language.

Khan Abdus Sattar read a paper on the *Administration of Ilutmish* in which he fully described the social and political conditions

then prevailing in India. He also gave an account of various departments which formed the government structure during that period. The lecturer particularly drew the attention of the audience to the public works department which successfully functioned for general welfare and popular relief.

Prof. Shairani in the course of his learned paper on *A New Method of Scansion of the Quatrain* gave in detail the main features of the *Rubā'ī* and criticised the statement of Sayed Sulaimān Nadawī referring to his work the *'Umar Khayyam*. By means of printed charts he illustrated the different cycles of metres generally used in the scansion of *Rubā'ī*.

Dr Muhammad Iqbal read a paper on *Nau Rūz*. He traced the origin and its different phases in different periods of history. According to him, the institution of *Nau Rūz* was even recognised in India where the day was celebrated with great enthusiasm during the reigns of various kings and sultāns. He quoted several instances from Indian history to show that *Nau Rūz* had assumed much importance and had become a national festival in certain periods.

The Punjab University Oriental College Research Lectures

Prof. Shairani presented a very important and authentic monograph on the *Contribution of the Followers of Sayed Muhammad Mehdi of Jounpur to the Development of Urdu Literature*. He particularly confined his researches to those followers who resided in Dariah, a small village lying due east about two furlongs from Khandela, the principal town of an estate of the same name in the *Torawati nizamat* of the state of Jaipur. Dariah was founded by Mīān Mustafā, one of the successors of Sayed Muhanīmad Mehdi in 999 A.H. as a teacher of the Sayed's *dāīrah* (circle) of followers, and thus it took the name Dariah after them which even to this day is wholly populated by the adherents of Sayed Muhammad Mehdi. Prof. Shairani first gave a brief account of Sayed Muhammad Mehdi, who flourished during the reign of Sultān Hussain Sharqi (863-881 A.H.) and declared himself to be the Promised Mehdi in 905 A.H. at Barli, a small village near Patan (Gujerat). He made his way with his followers to Qandhar through Gujerat and Sind where he died in 910 A.H. at Farāh. After this the learned professor made a survey of the successors of Mīān Mustafā. His immediate successor Mīān Abdulla settled there in 999 A.H. and he composed his first work *مثنوی بحر النکات* in 1003 A.H. He died in 1004 A.H. It was during the days of his fourth successor, Sheikh 'Isā, that the first Urdu work of the sect, entitled the *مثنوی فیض عام* was composed by Abdul Muhammad in 1141 A.H. and was followed by many others, such as *تاریخ غریبی*, composed in 1164-70 A.H., *شہادت نامہ* and *وفات نامہ* (1175 A.H.), etc. Prof. Shairani, illustrated his paper with

copious specimens of verses from these hitherto unknown works of old Urdu.

THE ALL-INDIA URDU CONFERENCE held at Delhi under the auspices of the Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu during the last week of December 1939, was a great success and was largely attended by delegates, members and all those interested in the advancement of Urdu as a common language of India. Shamsul 'Ulema Moulvi Abdur Rahman, in welcoming the delegates said that those who were today attempting to fashion a new common language for India at the expense of Urdu were in reality enemies of Hindu-Muslim unity. Nawab Mehdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University, and the President of the Conference, in his printed address, asserted that to work for Urdu was to work for the country. For, it was the language which could be understood throughout the length and breadth of India and was the medium for intercourse among the people of India. It was wrong to identify Urdu with any one community. He gave a history of the movement for the revival of Urdu and briefly discussed the services of the Osmania University for the Urdu language, as well as of other institutions which were doing useful work in that direction. Several messages were received from various distinguished persons such as Mr. Gandhi, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, etc. In his message Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru refused to look at the language question from the communal point of view. He regretted that efforts were, at present, being made by both Hindus and Muslims to ruin Urdu, and said that the success of those attempts would not only destroy the language but the culture of a large section of people residing in North India. An exhibition of Urdu records was opened by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi. Among other resolutions, the conference strongly recommended to the Universities in Northern India to adopt Urdu as medium of instruction.

A descriptive catalogue of Islamic Literature has recently been published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf of Lahore. It contains notices of about 250 books on Art, History and Biography, Caliphate, Religion and Philosophy, Qur'an and Hadith. It is the first catalogue of its type ever published in India but fails to furnish full particulars of the books, such as their place and date of publications which are most important.

Hindustani

Dr. Muhammad Baqir delivered a speech in the Oriental College, Lahore, on Hindustani and he based his remarks on his researches at the University of London in the Indo-Iranian Field of Study, carried out mostly from unpublished MSS. scattered all over India and Europe. It was concerned mainly with the old Hindustani literature produced

from the earliest time to 1700 in the form of translations and adaptation from Persian originals. Dismissing various other names like Dakhani, Gojri, Gujrati, Zubān-e-Dehlvi, Urdu-e-Mu'alla, Rēkh̄ta and Urdu, Dr. Baqir discussed the importance of the name *Hindustani*, which in his opinion is the most appropriate one for the language.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE UNDER MUHAMMADAN LAW by Mirza Mahbub has recently been published at Lahore as a comprehensive and exhaustive commentary on Muhammadan Law relating to these important institutions. The author has mostly based his arguments on his personal experiences of daily occurrences in the British courts.

M. A. C.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE FIFTY-SECOND SESSION of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference was held at Calcutta in the last week of December 1939. The Hon'ble the Premier of Bengal, welcoming the delegates in a thoughtful address, dealt with the glorious contributions of the Aligarh movement to the educational, literary, social and political cause of the Muslims of India. He exhorted them to make the aims of their education threefold : (1) To attain complete autonomy in their culture, language, script, education, religious laws and traditions, (2) To frame a comprehensive scheme which may meet the individual needs of Muslims living in different provinces and also bring them together into one national and cultural unity, (3) To devise means which may help them to reap advantage from every branch of knowledge in order to keep pace with the march of time.

He also urged reforms in the old syllabus of the Arabic Madrassas, and recommended that more attention be given to the teaching of theology and Islamic history to the Muslim youths in schools and colleges. He emphasised at the same time the importance of scientific and technical education, the imperative necessity of proper training in journalism, and military schools for Muslim boys. Incidentally he pointed out to his audience the evil influence of the publication of Islamic religious books by non-Muslim agencies, and wanted such publications to be taken over by Muslim publishers only.

Nawāb Kamāl Yār Jung Bahādur, the president of the conference, delivered a brief but highly useful address, in which he said that "Islam is not a name for mere sentiment, nor is it an abstract belief that may be relegated to the limbo of an individual's private life. It is in fact a way of corporate living and should form the concern of every system of education that may be provided for our children." Islam, he added further, aims to maintain a social order, laying its supreme emphasis on two

fundamental truths :—action, and unity in life, and any type of education that may be prescribed for Muslim children should conform to the great truths of life which Islam stands for.

In the various sections of the Conference, the presidential address of Mr. M. Azizul Huque, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, in the Islamic Culture Section, deserves special notice. Describing the outstanding contributions of Islamic Culture to India, the learned president said : “ Much of what India is to-day was due to the pioneer works of the Muslims in this country.” But he deplored the fact that these cultural contributions to India have not been sufficiently brought to light, and stressed the need of a greater amount of research work to be carried out in this field. He also deprecated the inclusion of historical books in the curriculum which give a wrong picture of Muslim rule in India to students in the formative period of their life and character.

A remarkable feature of the Conference was the manifest desire of its members to popularise Urdu amongst the Muslims in Bengal. The Hon’ble the Premier of Bengal voiced the sentiments of the Muslims of his province by saying that he earnestly desires to make Urdu a compulsory language for them. The Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University remarked : “ We in Bengal will be well-advised if our students, at least those who do not want to go up for higher studies of Arabic and Persian, take up Urdu as their second language.” Maulānā Syed Sulaimān Nadawī, in the course of his presidential address in the Urdu Section, also emphasised the importance and need of propagating Urdu in Bengal. He wanted the help of the Bengal Ministry to encourage it in schools and colleges. The Conference urged the Government of Bengal to make immediate and adequate provision for the teaching of Urdu as a second language and to allow the writing of Urdu in the Bengali script to facilitate its early propagation. It also requested the Government to permit the revival of Arabic script for writing Bengali, the discontinuation of which has adversely affected the education and culture of the Bengali Muslims.

Some interesting and useful papers were also read in the Conference, such as : Muslim Education in the Bombay Presidency ; The Education of Muslim Women in India ; Urdu Manuscripts in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal ; The Origin and Progress of Urdu ; The Relationship between the Bengali language and Urdu.

THE Indian History Congress also held its annual session in Calcutta in the last week of December. The Medieval Period Section of the Congress was presided over by Dr. M. Nazim, of the Archæological Survey of India, Patna. In making a comprehensive survey of the works and research done on this period, the learned president remarked that this period has not received its due share of attention from the historians of India, either because of their lack of interest in it or more probably because of the comparative paucity of material and the limited number of original contemporary authorities. But the latter deficiency may be made up by

the study of other contemporary works such as collections of verse, correspondence, and discourses as well as by books on biography and even on such subjects as astronomy and mathematics, which sometimes yield valuable historical data. He warned scholars not to pin their faith on the English translations of the original Persian texts, for they are full of errors, hence unreliable. He then referred to the translations of *Tārīkh-e-Yamīnī* and the *Ṭabāqāt-i-Naṣirī*, rendered by Reynold and Major Raverty, and characterised both of them as inaccurate and extremely misleading. Even the translations of the Persian texts, given in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, he averred, was far from being reliable, although, universally quoted as a first-class authority. These errors have now been collected in the form of a book entitled 'Studies in Indo-Muslim History' by the indefatigable efforts of Mr. H. S. Hodivala, formerly Principal of the Baha'ud-Din College, Junagadh, who has rectified a large number of misinterpretations and incorrect transliterations. His expert knowledge as a numismatist has enabled him to correct various toponyms and determine the exact chronology. This book will perhaps come as a great shock to those scholars who had faith in the infallibility of Elliotts' *History of India*.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal has recently published an English translation of Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad Bakhshi's *Ṭabākāt-i-Akbarī*. A part of the translation by Mr. De was published in 1913, but the issue of the succeeding parts was delayed owing to Mr. De's death. This has been now completed and issued under the able editorship of Dr. Beni Prashad, who has included in the preface a detailed account of Khawja Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad Bakhshi's life compiled from his own work and other contemporary records.

Another notable book '*Alivardī and His Times*, has been published under the auspices of the Calcutta University. It deals with the political career of the Indianised Turko-Arab Alivardī Khān who seized the government of Bengal in 1740, and ruled it capably as a practically independent ruler till his death in 1765. During most of Alivardī's reign, the Marhattas made terrible inroads and drained the financial resources. Alivardī made every effort to repair the damage but his task of keeping the military, landed and mercantile aristocracy under check, and of restraining the foreign trading companies was nearly overwhelming, and he was not spared long enough to ensure the harassed province a fair recovery. He was however more tactful than his grandson, the ill-fated Sirāj-ud'Dawlah' and managed to utilize the fissiparous forces at work to his own advantage.

The Mughal History Section of the Indian History Congress was presided over by Dr. Tara Chand of Allahabad. He delivered a learned presidential address on the mutual assimilation of the cultural ideas of the Hindus and the Muslims. "How" he exclaimed, "these new-comers to India (i.e., the Moghuls) learnt the language of the country, entered into the spirit of its culture, and created original works of an abiding

literary value is an amazing historical phenomenon ! ” He greatly admired the spirit of inquisitiveness, bold adventure and extraordinary energy of the Moghul princes, and appealed that the Moghul period should receive from Indian historians the greater attention which it so richly deserves.

THE National Academy of Science held its annual session in Allahabad in January. The Council of the Academy awarded a gold medal to Dr. Abdul Hamid, Professor of Anatomy, King George Medical College, Lucknow, for his paper on “ The Genito-Urinary System of the Indian Ground Squirrel.” The Hon’ble Sir Shah Sulaiman, the permanent president of the Academy, read a paper on his well-known theory of Relativity. After explaining the implications of some of the postulates, he said that Einstein’s postulates appeared to be unconvincing and their acceptance would become difficult when observation showed large discrepancies. As already reported in the press, it is significant that Sir Shah Sulaiman’s calculations have been justified by the observations of some well-known astronomers on the total solar eclipse of 1936, and his criticism of Einstein received considerable support from the photographic results of Professor A. A. Michailovof of Moscow.

THE English translation of *Al-Fārūq*, which is one of the monumental works of the late Maulānā Shibli N’omānī, and deals with the life of the second Caliph of Islam, has now been published by Shaikh M. Ashraf of Lahore. It is interesting to mention that apart from a Turkish version rendered by Omar Raza in 1928, the sister of the late King Nadir Shah of Afghanistan translated this book into Persian and published it at Kābul in 1932. Its latest translation into English we owe to the famous Urdu writer and publicist Maulānā Zafar ‘Alī Khān of Lahore. Another important work of the Shibli Academy, that is the *Sīrat-un-Nabī*, which already has a Turkish edition, is expected to be rendered into Arabic by Professor ‘Abdul Wahhāb of the Egyptian University, while yet another publication of the Academy, namely *Khulafā-e-Rāshidīn*, is being translated into the language of the Maladive Islands.

THE manuscripts of Dastur-ul-‘Amals, dealing with the organisation and administration of the Moghul Government, have recently attracted the attentions of scholars. So far eleven works of this kind have been traced in various libraries and throw a flood of light on many political, cultural as well as industrial details of the Moghul period with particular reference to the daily life of the Emperor Shāh Jahān and ceremonies of his magnificent court.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

AL-FĀROOQ, LIFE OF OMAR THE GREAT, SECOND CALIPH OF ISLAM, by Shibli Nu'mānī, translated by Zafar 'Alī Khān (of the daily *Zamīn-dār*, Lahore), published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Bookseller, Khashmiri Bazār, Lahore, Vol. I, pp. 306 with a map hors du texte, price Rs. 4.

AL-FĀRŪQ of Shibli is perhaps rightly considered as one of the finest monuments of Urdu literature during the last century. The author spent several years on this book and utilised the libraries of Istanbūl, Syria and Egypt, besides those of India.

Many a monument of Muslim historical interest has come to light during the last half a century since *al-Fārūq* was first published in the Aṣāfiyah Series of Hyderabad, and a second edition is much needed. Nevertheless, it will still be of some use to the English-knowing public to get access to this scholarly work of Shibli, as it is, and hence the publishers deserve our congratulation on this undertaking.

Maulānā Zafar 'Alī Khān, the translator, has many a literary monument to his credit besides his great pecuniary sacrifices in the field of politics. The present work was completed by him full forty years ago, in 1900, when he was in the service of the Hyderabad Government. This is probably the first, and so far also the last, of his English compositions.

The translation itself leaves not much to be desired, yet much is certainly needed to bring the original work up to date. This could have been done

through adding footnotes by the author's pupil and *continueur* Sulaimān Nadawī or any other competent scholar in the country. To mention but a few works not utilised by the author, much light was shed on the battle of Yarmūk and other Syrian events by the learned work of de Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie* (2nd ed.). Again, the *Annali dell'Islam* of Caetani is an indispensable book now for any one working on the history of the Orthodox Caliphate.

The poor map of the Muslim world added at the end of the volume is far from doing any credit to the scholarly work it illustrates. Very detailed maps of individual provinces like Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Irān, Central Asia, etc., are sorely needed therein, indicating former names as well as modern appellations. So too, the maps of the some of the world-famous and epoch-making battles fought in the time of 'Umar the Great are conspicuous by their absence.

The transliteration of Arabic names is far from satisfactory. Leaving aside the question of the Indianised pronunciation of Arabic sounds of *Th*, *Z*, *D*, *Dh*, etc., even the vocalisation is very defective and sometimes even blunders of greater magnitude have been committed, for instance, *Arzaqī* instead of the correct *Azraqī*. Here is but a very rapidly gleaned list of mistakes of transliterations:—

Erroneous	Correct
Fahl	Fihl
Fahr	Fihr

<i>Erroneous</i>	<i>Correct</i>
Zahri	Zuhri
Abu Jehl	Abu Jahl
Bashar	Bishr
Bakht Nasr	Bukhat Nassar
Bait al-Shajara	Bai'at—
Asaba	Isābah
Ans	Anas
al-Quzzat	al-Quzat (Quḍāt)
Saqfi	Saqafi (Thaqafi)
Qadsia	Qādisiyah
Bani Saada	—Sā'idah
Ghatfan	Ghatafan
Harab	Harb
Hasan b. Sabit	Hassān—
Jandi-Sabur	Jundai—
K. al-Ammal	—al-'Ummāl
kitaibahum (p. 6)	Kuttābihim ?
Les Civilisation	La Civilisation
Talaiha	Tulaihah
Umm Kalsum	—Kulsūm (Kulthūm)
Springer	Sprenger
Purandukht	Būrāndukht
Maaraf	Ma'ārif

and a host of others.

It is certainly very bad taste to insert a photograph of an animate object (even be it of Shibli himself) as the frontispiece to the life of that puritan and orthodox of the orthodox Muslim, 'Umar the Great. We earnestly request the publishers to remove it from the copies in stock as soon as possible.

We trust that the second and the final volume will also soon be made available, and that it will contain some of the additions we have suggested above.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOG OF THE GARRET COLLECTION OF PERSIAN, TURKISH AND INDIC MANUSCRIPTS INCLUDING SOME MINIATURES IN THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, by Mohammad Moghadam and others, 1939, pp. 94, \$7.50.

THIS is a companion volume of the Catalogue of Arabic MSS. of the same collection published some time ago (cf. *Islamic Culture*, October 1939). The present "Descriptive Catalog"

published at rather a high price, indicates about two hundred Persian, half a dozen Urdu, one Pashto and a few Turkish manuscripts, a dozen miniatures besides an album of 55 items, calligraphic as well as miniatural. The album was prepared for one of the Governors of Portuguese India.

The importance of the collection lies mainly in its illuminated MSS., the most important of which is the *Zafar-Nāmeḥ* of 'Alī Yazdī, containing miniature paintings of Bihzād (which have already been studied and described by Arnold in 1930). Its value is further enhanced by the entries in the handwriting of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and even one word from the pen of the Emperor Akbar, perhaps the only specimen of this great monarch.

The copy of the *Rubā'iyāt* of 'Umar Khayām dated 868 H. contains, according to the authors of the Catalogue, 145 quatrains, a few of which are not found elsewhere. The *Husn-o-Dil* of Fattāḥī Nishāpūrī was written only fifteen years after the death of the author. The *Khamseh* of Nizāmī is represented by three MSS., one of which, dated 847, contains miniatures of the Timūrid school. The *Khamseh* of Amīr Khusrāw dated 930 contains eight full-page miniatures by Turābī Bey of Khurāsān. The *Diwān* of Ahlī of Shīrāz dated 1028 shows calligraphy, illumination and binding of the finest order of the period. There are also four superbly illustrated copies of the *Shāhnāmeḥ* as also a unique MS. of the complete works of the poet Ashraf of Marāghah, dated 1054, well executed and illuminated with miniatures of good quality. Again, there are two different Persian translations of the 'Ajā'ib al-Makhluqāt of Qazwīnī, profusely illustrated. "A probably unique MS. (no 75) is an anonymous treatise on the construction and use of a special astronomical instrument," called رساله فی العمل باسهل آلة من قبل النجوم

من قبل النجوم

Among the URDU MSS. there is a complete early nineteenth century illustrated copy of the *Kulyāt* of Sawdā; the *Ijād-e-Rangīn* by Sa'adat Yār Khān, *Taqwiyatul-Imān* by Muḥammad Ismā'il,

Jhūlanhā-e-Shāh Husain, and the *Ṭibb-e-Hindī*, may also be mentioned.

In the list of miniatures, the following may be mentioned :—

No. 204. Portrait of a prince by *Ghulām Bālchand*.

205. *Timūr* attended by the princes he had subdued, his court and retinue with his infantry outside the castle in the foreground and the cavalry on the hills in the background. The Turkish *Sultān Bāyazīd* is brought as a prisoner before him. Artist *Mir Kalān Khān* of India.

206. Album containing also the following :—

Ibrāhīm Adham, *Hadrat Nizāmuddīn*, Princess *Zīnat-un-nisā*, a daughter of 'Alī 'Adil *Shāh*, *Anūpchand*'s painting of girls smoking *huqqa*, *Chandarbadan* with *Mihyār* kissing her feet, *Chānd Bibī* galloping and *Chānd* (two items), *Shāh Jahān* with his four sons, *Mullā Dopiyāzah*, *Jonas* swallowed by the Fish, *Akbar* on an elephant and while hunting (two items), *Jahāngīr*, *Yūsuf* and *Zulaikhā*, these besides many items of calligraphy by *Mir 'Alī* and others.

Curiously enough, the authors write "Fārisī" instead of "Fārsī," and "Bey" instead of the correct "Bég" (in Indian names). It may be observed that on certain miniatures is written "kār-e-Wilāyat." The authors have not explained it. Obviously, it means executed by some European. The album is represented by the works of the masters of the schools of *Bijāpūr* and others.

May we suggest to Princeton University not to use the sign of the cross for indicating death regarding Muslims, who naturally resent this sign and symbol of Christianity?

SPECIMENS OF ARABIC AND PERSIAN PALÆOGRAPHY (from the India Office Library MSS.), by *A. J. Arberry*, 1939, price not mentioned.

THE collection consists of 48 full-page fac-simile reproductions of specimens in which are included pages from a *Qur'ān* attributed to the Caliph 'Uthmān, *al-Alfāz* by Ibn as-Sikkīt dated 461 H., an *Ijāzah* (certificate) by al-Firūzābādī, autograph and illustrated copy of Calvius' *Gnomonica* translated into Arabic by Mu'tamad *Khān*, (of the time of Awrangzeb), *Tafsīr-al-Qur'ān* in Persian by *Surābādī* dated Rabi' ii 523 (one of the oldest Persian MSS. in the world), a page of the famous *Divān* of *Adīb-shābir*, illustrated quaintly, *Kanzut-Tuḥaf* dated 784 with illustrations of musical instruments, a description of his dreams autographed by *Tipū-Sultān*, *Sirajut-Tawārīkh* by *Nūr Muḥammad* (autograph dated 1240, on the history of the Nawabate of Arcot), and finally a page calligraphed by the last Mughal Emperor *Bahādur Shāh*.

No doubt, a catalogue of the kind under review, though neither the first nor the only, is still both interesting and useful. However the world is still in need of a sort of *catalogus catalogorum*, collecting from the world over, of

1. specimens of autographs of famous authors and calligraphists;
2. specimens of calligraphy illustrating the development of the Arabic alphabet in different lands and in different centuries.

Such a work will be extremely useful for determining the probable time of undated MSS. At the same time, it should, in itself, be a complete and vivid history of the Arabic alphabet. Such a work must obviously embrace not only Arabic and Persian and Urdu but almost all the languages actually or ever written in Arabic characters, showing orthographical and other peculiarities. Few people may know that languages such as Polish and Spanish used to be written in Arabic characters, Spanish even by non-Muslims. The

writer came across English Muslims in London in 1932 who had already begun to correspond with each other in English written in Arabic characters. Englishmen transcribing books in Arabic, Persian, Urdu and other languages are not few, and the name of William Hook Morley, who died in 1860, (cf. India Office, No. 4640) will ever remain prominent in this class of calligraphers.

Will it be too much to hope from our prolific and resourceful author that he will produce such a work for the lasting gratitude of the science?

M. H.

STUDIES IN INDO-MUSLIM HISTORY. By Prof. S.H. Hodivala, Bombay, 1939.

PROF. Hodivala is well known for his remarkable work on Mughal numismatics. His present volume *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* is a critical commentary on Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*.

Elliot and Dowson's work, which was published sixty years ago, is as indispensable a reference book today as it ever was. But unfortunately it is not immune from shortcomings. It contains some errors of statement and inexactitudes which ought to have been rectified long ago. Professor Hodivala has made a very careful and minute study of its contents in order to correct the errors of facts and interpretation and thus to prevent the repetition of errors in future. He has worked through all the new material and has added his own suggestions to previous comments regarding many obscure details. Errors of transliteration have also been pointed out. The intelligent use of the present volume would add to the utility of Elliot and Dowson's work itself. No one should be under the impression that the value of Elliot and Dowson's work is any the less today than it was some time ago. In the words of Professor Hodivala: "Nothing could be further from his thoughts or more

remote from his wishes than the intention to say anything to disparage or detract from the merit of their (Elliot and Dowson's) monumental performance." He will think himself amply rewarded if he is thought to have cleared some of the grounds and facilitated, even in a small measure, the compilation of a more accurate and scientific history of the Muhammadan period than any which we possess at present.

Y. H.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ANJUMAN
TARAQQI-E-URDU, DELHI.

THE following publications of the Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Delhi, have recently appeared.

Farhang Iṣṭilāḥāt Peshawārān (A Glossary of Technical Terms Used in Indian Arts and Crafts; by M. Zafarur Raḥmān, pp. 240) deserves welcome because it fulfils the urgent need of scholars and craftsmen. The learned editor has done well to compile it in two chapters, viz., (1) the Construction of the Building and (2) its Decorative Side, which contain twenty sub-chapters, ten each. And there is a general index of all the terms, which is very useful for such technical books. Every effort has been made to explain the current terms clearly and illustrations have been given wherever necessary.

Anjuman Taraqqī Urdu Kī Kahānī (by Moulvi Ghulam Rabbani, pp. 56) is an up to date history of the *Anjuman* which the able author has summed up in very few pages, rightly glorifying the services of Moulvi 'Abdul Haq, the honorary secretary of the *Anjuman*, to whom it owes so much.

Taqwīm-i-Hijri wa 'isawī (Comparative Tables of Hijri and Christian Dates by A. M. Khalidī and Prof. Maḥmūd Ahmad Khān, pp. 75) has been published accurately in the Urdu language for the first time. These tables extend from the first Hijri to 1500 H. In the foreword the learned editors have acknowledged that they have adopted

the European work *Wüstenfeld-Mahler'sche Vergleichungstabellen der mohammedanischen und christlichen Zeitrechnung* by Edward Mahler (Leipzig 1854). It has been neatly printed in foolscap size.

Urdu Translation of Browne's *A History of Persian Literature* by S. Wakhajud-Din Ahmad of the Osmania University. The Anjuman has already published a translation of the first volume of Browne's history, which proved useful for the students of Persian literature, and we are sure that this volume which covers another important period of Persian Literature will also prove of great help to all interested in the study of the subject.

Hayāt-i-Jāwid (pp. 900) is a new and handy edition of this famous Urdu biography of Sir Syed by his friend and co-worker Hālī,

Khamsa-i-Kaifi (pp. 70) in reality is a collection of five masterpieces of Pandit Datātrya Kaifi on the origin and development of the Urdu language and the Cultural Relations of Hindus and Muslims. The first and last contributions are in verse. Pandit Datātrya is well known as a veteran of Urdu and the Anjuman has done service by publishing these stray writings in book form.

M. A. C.

THE SOURCES OF ARABIAN MUSIC; *an annotated bibliography of Arabic Manuscripts which deal with the theory, practice and history of Arabian Music* by Henry George Farmer, M.A., Ph.D., issued privately by the author, Bearsden, Scotland, 1940.

THE name of Dr. Farmer is too well known as our chief authority on Muḥammadan music that his pub-

lications hardly require any recommendation. In this work he gives in chronological order, as far as it is possible a list of all works on the subject the titles of which are known, even if no copies have come down to our days. Music was not one of those sciences favoured by Muslim theologians though music was practised from the earliest times especially for the entertainment of the wealthier classes. Pious zealots frequently took a delight in smashing musical instruments but the art has survived to our days.

One of the principal difficulties has been that Oriental music knew of no proper notation and hence we are entirely in the dark about melodies of ancient times though some of the lost works may have been of such nature as to enable us to get a clearer insight. From the illustration, taken from ancient manuscripts, we can get a good impression of the various musical instruments in use at various periods. The work is printed on good paper in clear type and will always remain a work upon which future writers on Arabic music will have to fall back.

I do not quite agree with some of the translations and titles and I give here some remarks for consideration:

No. 54: *Kitāb al-Mughannī al-Mujīd* (The Book of the Skilful Singer). No. 58: I believe his Nisba should read as-Ṣaimarī. No. 221: cannot possibly be by Shams ad-Dīn al-Dhahabī by what we know of his stern character. We rather should expect from him a work against music. No. 240: The Nisba should read al-Māradānī and a biography of him is found in the *Dau' al-Lāmi'*, vol. V. 19. He died in 809 A.H.

The book is printed in a small edition of 150 copies only and should soon be out of print as it must find a place in every library dealing with Arabic literature.

F. KRENKOW.

CORRIGENDA

"THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ROLE OF ISLAM IN THE HISTORY OF INDIA."

We regret to say that unforeseen circumstances made it impossible to have the proofs of the above-named article published in the *Islamic Culture* (January 1940, pp. 44-62) read and corrected in time by the learned writer who now sends the following corrections to the printed text.—(Ed., I. C.):—

PAGE	LINE	TEXT	CORRECTIONS
47	last line	between the words : " cultural historic " and " personality "	should be added " <i>point of view as it illustrates the influence of one single</i> "
50	16	Iruba <i>Irula</i>
"	17	between the words : " contra " and " for "	.. " <i>to be said</i> " should be added.
"	last line	" treated as " should be read " <i>traced</i> "
51	last line	" reduced them to " should be read " <i>produced</i> ."
"	footnote 1	the words " Marshall op. cit. "	.. should be deleted.
52	footnote 2	should be transferred to p. 53 and the mark 2 should be inserted in the 5th line of p. 53 after the words " personal merits. "	
53	4th line	instead of : " an establishment " ..	" <i>social system, not</i> " should be added
"	footnote 1. line 1	" my study on mother-right op. cit. "	.. should be deleted.
"	1	instead of : " p. 1g. "	.. read : " 10 "
"	3	" classes of the highly "	.. " <i>classes of then highly</i> ."
54	2	" Dharmacharka-veene "	.. " <i>Dharmachakra-scene</i> "
"		footnotes No. 1 and the footnote No. 2 on p. 55 should be mutually exchanged.	
55	line 23	" known " should be read : " <i>unknown!</i> "
57	22	" essential " " <i>essentially</i> ."
58	21	" on tradition " " <i>a tradition</i> "
59	Section 5 (headline)	" Changes in "	.. " <i>changes of</i> "
"	line 19	between the words : " convert " and " too " should be added	" <i>who on their part were exaggerating things</i> ."
61	11 from bottom.	instead of : " interpretation " read : " <i>inter-relation</i> "

DAVID SAMUEL MARGOLIOUTH

WITH the death on March 24th last of Professor Margoliouth European Oriental studies have lost one of its greatest scholars. Born in October 1858 as the son of a missionary for the conversion of Jews to Christianity, he was educated at Winchester School and from the earliest date showed conspicuous ability especially in languages and he was a first-class Greek scholar besides his principal studies of Arabic and other Eastern languages. This led to him being appointed at an early age Laudian professor at the University of Oxford and I believe that I am correct in asserting that that important post has never before been filled by a more distinguished savant. A year before his appointment, in 1889 to the chair at Oxford he published his first work on Arabic philosophy in his "*Analecta Orientalia ad Poeticam Aristoteleam*" but the majority of his publications and translations were in the field of Islamic history and the edition of the biographical dictionary by Yāqūt and the edition and translation of the work of Ibn Miskawaih (in conjunction with the late Mr. Amedroz) under the title "*Eclipse of the Caliphate*" will remain standing monuments as both works are indispensable for all students of the history of the Middle Ages and in the influence of the Arabic Empire upon the history of the world in general. Another work published which even more than the ordinary works on history throws a vivid light upon the life in the capital of the Islamic Empire was the "*Nishwar*," by at-Tanūkhī of which the translation appeared under the title of "*Tabletalk of a Mesopotamian Judge*." The first volume appeared in text and translation in 1922 in the series of the Royal Asiatic Society, while the latter

discovered second and eighth volume were published in the Arabic text in the Journal of the Arabic Academy of Damascus while the English translation appeared in several issues of "*Islamic Culture*." Among other works one may mention "*Mohammed and the Rise of Islam*" (1905), Cairo, Jerusalem and Damascus" (1907), "*Mohammedanism*" in the Home University Library (1911), "*Early Development of Mohammedanism*" (1914) and "*Arabic Historians*" (1930) which in book-form reproduced lectures delivered before the University of Calcutta. His Greek publications do not interest the readers of *Islamic Culture*, even as they display his remarkable knowledge in this sphere. The number of articles published in reviews and scientific journals is so great that an enumeration would fill considerable space. He was involved in a bitter controversy with other leading scholars concerning the Hebrew Fragments of the "*Ecclesiasticus*" discovered in 1896 in which he doubted the genuineness of the Hebrew text.

On one occasion I personally had the honour of differing from him as regards the genuineness of ancient Arabic poetry. Margoliouth upon the false supposition, in my judgment, that the criticism by some ancient Arabic scholars has pointed out that certain antiquarians, like Hammād ar-Rāwiyā, had actually forged poems attributing them to poets of the past, he argued that the whole of ancient poetry was likewise forged at much later dates. Besides this he advanced that intimate knowledge of these ancient poets of the language of the Qur'ān was proof that these compositions were necessarily influenced by the language of the Divine Writ. In a friendly controversy before the Royal Asiatic Society, Margoliouth having furnished me before with the salient points of his arguments, I claimed that the language of the poets before Islam was essentially that used in the Qur'ān and moreover that in some poems of the past we find allusions to events and persons of whom the Arabic critics on the end of the second century of the Hijra, who were the supposed forgers, had no knowledge whatever, but of whom contemporary Greek historians spoke.

In Islamic circles it was often regretted and mentioned to me that he displayed an undisguised hostility towards

Islam. When we consider that he was a member of the Anglican clergy, an ordained priest though he never held a curacy, but occasionally preached, his attitude will become more clear to Muslims and I believe they will honour his position just as a zealous Muslim expects his belief to be respected and honoured by those who may hold opposite views.

I do not recollect for how many long years I have been in friendly contact with him. I remember the friendly reception at his home in Oxford when his wife was alive and the frequent occasions when we met, the last time at the Congress at Brussels when he had come all the way on the long journey from Istanbul to deliver an address. I shall always revere his memory as a kind friend.

F. KRENKOW.

CONCEPT OF LOVE IN RŪMĪ AND IQBĀL

LOVE is a cosmic principle. All beings have their source in God and life is a perpetual urge to move back towards that force. Life and love are paradoxical: they are moving forward and yet they are really returning to their source. Love is a kind of homesickness.

Love is a force of creative evolution. The processes of assimilation, growth and progress can be satisfactorily explained only through the force of creative love.

The contrast of rationalism with irrationalism: Rūmī and Iqbāl are both irrationalists. Both believe in freedom and will. Both consider the intuition of life as inexpressible by the logic of identity, and both believe feeling and will to be nearer reality than the intellect.

Rūmī & Iqbāl both fight against quietistic mysticism. Both believe struggle to be a genuine element of existence. Both believe Love to be free and immortal.

Iqbāl emphasises the aspect of self-assertion more than Rūmī. In general there is considerable identity in their outlook. Both believe that the life of desire and the love of power are genuine expressions of the cosmic urge towards love if rightly directed.

METAPHYSICS is the attempt to understand life as a whole. Reality may or may not be one; the universe may be as much a universe as a multiverse. Man who reacts on the universe is not the whole of reality; he is a fragment of it and in this fragment too, there is no obvious unity. The sciences concern themselves with his different aspects. There may be a physics of man, a chemistry of man and a mathematics of man. Physiology, psychology, ethics, æsthetics, may denote the different aspects of man himself or may describe his different methods of approach to the reality within and without himself.

The various types of metaphysics hitherto propounded as systems have been the results of attempts to consider some one aspect as fundamental and to derive all other aspects from it. Even the attempt to do justice to all the aspects has been dominated by one element more than by another.

The early hylozoists of Greece, starting from the elements of nature, made water, air or fire the primary element and deduced all the multifarious phenomena of existence from that one element. But very early man began to realise this fact also that there are abstract and imponderable elements within him and within the nature around him, that could serve as the bases of more satisfying and comprehensive hypotheses.

The neatness and certainty of mathematics and its universal application convinced the Pythagoreans that abstract measure or mathematics was the essence of Being, a line of thought which culminated in the unchangeable realm of the ideas of Plato. Plato conceived Truth mathematically and laid the firm foundation of the mathematical logic of identity which, systematised by his great pupil Aristotle, has domin-

ated two millenniums of thought in the East and the West. The long, ingenious, and adventurous search after Truth culminated in Greece in an outlook which may correctly be described as intellectualism.

The discovery of Logos is a great achievement of humanity. It endeavoured to bring order into the apparent chaos of human experience and laid the foundation of all sciences which arrange and guide human experience and activity. As I have already said, a system of metaphysics is a conscious or unconscious attempt to make some one aspect fundamental. It may be an element selected from external nature or it may be an aspect of the internal or mental life of man. The protagonist of every system would rebut this statement and say that this is exactly what metaphysics does not do, because it does not believe in the finality of fragments and aspects, but makes an attempt to transcend the multiplicity of appearances in order to reach a unity of essence which, although the source of every aspect, is not quite identifiable with any one of them. But the fact remains that all metaphysics is based on analogy. Entire existence is sought to be explained on the analogy of any one of its aspects.

As man began to look inward, the study of the structure of mind revealed to him that the self within has also many aspects. Man does not only think but also feels and wills. But to the early thinkers, thought appeared to be the worthiest aspect of man.

The practical aim of man is to grasp and apperceive as much of experience as possible to satisfy his theoretical and practical instincts. The material phenomena around him and the aspects of feeling and willing within him appeared to be chaotic in comparison with the categories of impersonal reason. That explains the horror that intellectualism felt against indefiniteness and vagueness, and all kinds of infinities. Herbert Spencer called Carlyle an "immeasurable ass" because he was always talking of the abysmal depths of Being and Life and All and the Universe, all with capital letters.

To mathematical logic or intellectualism the definable is more rational than the indefinable, the measurable is superior to the immeasurable, the actual more real than the potential; and consequently the life of feeling and willing is a "big booming buzzing confusion" as compared to that which could be conceptually handled, neatly labelled and categorised. No doubt we do meet among the early Greek thinkers the concept of Love and Hate as fundamental forces but in the main trend of Greek thought Logos overwhelmed all the other aspects.

In the words of Nietzsche, the Apollonian element conquered the Dionysian; cold reason triumphed over ecstasy. But man could not be long satisfied with being reduced to a logical machine. The superb nutritive meal of logic was found to be devoid of certain essential vitamins. Iqbāl has put it in a beautiful verse:

"There is intoxication in knowledge, but it is a Paradise without the soul stirring love of a woman."

There have been various methods of classifying philosophies. They may be dichotomised into realism and idealism, absolutism and phenomenalism, materialism and psychism, etc. But I think one of the most important divisions would be rationalism and irrationalism.

In the history of human thought, Rationalism has assumed and will continue to assume diverse shapes and the same is the case with Irrationalism, and it may be that the pendulum of thought will continue to swing between these two. The crude subjectivism of the sophists and their phenomenalism was also a reaction and the climax which Platonism reached in Neo-Platonism, where the Ineffable One transcended all the categories of Logic as well as of Being is the antithesis or the *reductio ad absurdum* of Greek intellectualism. The overthrow of classical antiquity in the West by Christianity can also be explained under this hypothesis as the rising in revolt of the feeling and the willing aspect of man over his abstractly logical side. Love was exalted over Law and the feeling aspects were held to be more important than his logical reason. The saint was held in greater esteem than the philosopher. A shallow historian of human thought might lament this as a setback, as an obscurantist reaction, as a triumph of imagination over reason. But my view in this respect is different. However we may deplore the illegitimate and cruel suppression of free and healthy human activities in the name of religion, we cannot gainsay the fact that religious feeling at its best tried to rescue those essential aspects of man which intellectualism had a tendency to deny and to obliterate.

After this brief introduction we are now in a position to turn to Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī the mystic poet and thinker of the thirteenth century, whom I consider to be one of the greatest bulwarks of irrationalism and perhaps not only the greatest singer of Love but also its greatest philosopher.

He takes love as the fundamental urge of Being, its *elan vital* and its *raison d'être*. For him life is fundamentally ultra-rational and all its phenomena, along with the consciousness of them and the Logos that understands them, are derived and secondary aspects. It is a very interesting and instructive study to discover in him, without the undue straining of any point, the primacy of the practical reason of Kant, the ethical monism of Fichte, the religious outlook of Schleiermacher, the 'Will to live' of Schopenhauer, the 'Will to power' of Nietzsche, the intuition of Bergson and the radical empiricism of William James. To a person unacquainted with the works of Rūmī, the claim may sound extravagant and fantastic. But we must not forget the fact that Rūmī is not a system-builder. He represents mainly a vision of life and a tendency. As a philosopher he seems to be a free-lance. His philosophy has to be carefully extracted and arranged before we get out of the wood and have a clear view of the panorama of his thought. He philosophises as Nature produces or the artist creates. Plato talked in dialogues and myths without losing his central thread and Rūmī is

unsystematic like Plato, but as with Plato there is a method in this madness.

I will try to summarise briefly for the purpose of this short paper his main utterances about Love being the primary urge of existence. He tells us that the attempt to define love in words is doomed to failure. In this respect art is superior to logic and it is not logic but music which is a partial but more adequate medium of its expression. Love being paradoxical in nature, the logic of identity which has moulded the spatio-temporal language of man is by nature incapable of expressing it. Love is poison and antidote at the same time. He anticipates the English poet who said that our sweetest songs are those that tell us of saddest thought. There is a secret in the melody of the flute which if divulged would upset the scheme of things. Love is a cosmic force and operates universally from the atom to the star and from worm to man. Love is a movement towards beauty, which being identical with goodness and truth represents perfection and the highest idea. Love is the inherent desire of every being to achieve immortality through negation. The process of assimilation, growth and reproduction are so many manifestations of a cosmic libido. The causal sequence is not rectilinear but circular. All things are moving in a circle back towards the source from which they have emerged. The categories of time and space are created by this movement. Rūmī thinks that intellect and morality are both utilitarian. They swim over the surface and cannot dive into the depths of Being. Only love is an intrinsic value; all other values are extrinsic and instrumental and are to be judged according to their capacity for the realisation of this primary value. Love is the only categorical imperative. It is the only jewel that shines by its own light. Love recognises no rewards and punishments outside of itself. The creed of love is something *sui generis*; it does not completely coincide with any positive religion.

Theologians and jurists hover only about the portico and do not enter the house of Being. Love strikes no bargain with God or man. Love and beauty are the convex and concave sides of existence; they are inseparable. It is a cosmogonical principle which works as a force of creation. Unification and assimilation in every atom and one form of life absorbing another form and being absorbed further is the basis of assimilation and growth.

In the hierarchy of Being everything lower is being taken up by the next higher to it in the scale of existence. There is only life; death does not exist. Whatever is generally misconceived as death is a stepping stone to higher things. The struggle of existence, which appears so repelling and grim, is the wrong side of the tapestry that is woven by love. When inorganic matter is absorbed by a plant both become evolved in the process; destruction is only a necessary prelude to growth. The object of life is still higher life and a more comprehensive manifestation of love. Love is the principle of growth; and the wage

of hatred is retrogression.

The objects of love change, but love grows and continues to ascend rung after rung of the ladder of Being. As an ultra-rationalist he asserts that the ground of Being is not logically knowable; only feeling is the right approach to reality. The categories of the understanding or what he calls Particular Reason, are from their nature incapable of grasping the ultimate unity of reality. All thought is discursive and dualistic. Reason, he says, is a light and a guide, but it is neither the starting point nor the goal of existence. The external beauty that attracts the lover is not the effulgence of logical truth. Plato said: 'Let us follow where the argument leads,' but Rūmī says: 'Let us follow where the primary urge of life leads, for it is a surer guide than argument.'

Rūmī says that in the process of evolution all higher stages emerge out of the lower. His central conception is not truth but life. He thinks that the chief defect of logic is that it separates things by defining them and it becomes incapable of grasping the vital urge which by its own dialectic, continuously transforms things into one another and transcends opposites by a creative synthesis.

We have seen how Rūmī has raised Love into a cosmic principle. His influence on the subsequent thought of about six centuries has been so enormous that it would be extremely difficult in a short paper to appreciate its full significance through literature, both prose and poetry, and through the moulding of religious doctrine. Even later theology has been suffused with his vision and emotion and both the genuine and the pseudo-mystics, poets and poetasters, all seem to be directly or indirectly under his influence. But in the world of Islam it took about six centuries for a cognate spirit to arise whose inspiration and expression remind one constantly of Rūmī.

That was the illustrious philosopher-poet Iqbāl, who departed lately from the material plane of existence. Iqbāl in his long poetical career was affected by various movements of thought and action originating in the past or the present, in the East or the West. One can watch him gradually winding his way from philosophy to what may be vaguely called practical mysticism, but like most the great poets of the East there was a vein of mysticism in him from the very beginning.

Mysticism is not a result of thought and training but is something temperamental. When a great mind is assailed by currents that come from opposite directions it does not and cannot drop any of them but is obliged to take all of them up into a higher synthesis.

Mysticism everywhere has always had a tendency to absolute monism on the one hand and quietism on the other. It is a general indictment of the mystic that his intellect gets swamped by his ecstasies and he loses a sense of the reality around him. For him history becomes an illusory phantasmagoria, and the life of the senses is despised. The freedom of the will is looked upon with suspicion and the merging in the qualityless Absolute becomes the final goal. The love of the

individual for the Absolute becomes a suicidal love like the love of the moth for the flame and the merging of the finite in the infinite self is like the sinking of the bubble in the ocean of infinity.

In the mystical and metaphysical thought of the East, Rūmī, as well as Iqbāl, occupies a similar but a unique place, as fundamentally opposed to this type of mysticism. Let us first note the similarities.

1. Both are ultra-rationalists or, to use the German terminology, irrationalists believing Reason to be secondary and instrumental only.

2. Both are creative evolutionists, believing love to be the creative force that perpetually moves forward towards more and more comprehensive forms of creation, never resting and ever transcending itself.

3. Both are believers in free-will.

4. Both believe intuition or the immediate experience of life to be superior to and deeper than the discursive intellect, and hence both may be called 'Lebens philosophen,' philosophers of life.

5. Both believe in self-realisation rather than self-abnegation.

6. Both believe in the eternal evolution of the individual ego and an ever-advancing assimilation of the Divine without any final absorption in which the individual may lose his identity, or negate his selfhood.

7. Both believe in the primacy of Feeling and Willing over Reason.

8. Both spurn quietism, and are what we may now call voluntarists or activists. Reality for them is identical with activity, and in the words of Rūmī even blind activity is preferable to inactivity because blind activity, while not reaching the goal directly, at least exercises certain functions which when rightly directed will prove to have been useful preparations.

Iqbāl, who on account of his independence of mind would not readily undergo discipleship to any one teacher, gladly and proudly calls himself a disciple of Rūmī. He acknowledges the debt sincerely and generously. The similarity between the two is marked and remarkable and the differences, if there are any, are due to differences of time and environment and perhaps slightly of temperament. Iqbāl was not a mystic or a saint in any accepted sense of these terms, but his thoughts and feelings are strongly imbued with the tendencies that go to make the mystic or the saint.

Let us take a few specimens of the thoughts and emotions of Iqbāl about the nature of love and the lover, which may to some extent elucidate the similarities and the slight variations to which I have alluded.

1. Love is immortal, it is identical with life.

2. A lover does not take life passively, he does not mould himself according to his environment but moulds his environment according to his free and creative urge ; in fact he is a revolutionary.

3. The nature of good and evil cannot be determined theoretically if the supreme value of love is not both the starting point and the goal.

4. Love being an evolutionary urge knows no contentment ; it may continuously die unto the old to live unto the new ; it is a creator of universes one after the other. There is no stagnant Being ; change is universal.

5. Love is identical with the immediate intuition of life.

6. The incessant urge of expanding life finds the existing scheme of things a resistance to be overcome ; Iblis or the Devil represents this aspect of Universal Resistance ; hence the so-called Principle of Evil is a necessary principle ; without Evil there would be no Life.

7. Love is the supreme source of all great art, it is the inspiration and the creative impulse of the artist.

8. Love is free ; it is the principle of freedom. No slave can be a lover and no lover can be a slave. For the free development of love liberty is necessary. Love is the free instinctive and healthy functioning of the ego in all its aspects.

9. When laws and theologies become petrified, it is only the force of love that can infuse new life into them. Religion without love is a mockery.

10. All philosophies that have not discovered creative love as the solution of the riddle of life have been bouquets of artificial flowers.

11. Nietzsche's philosophy of the 'will to power' is a philosophy of the urge of creative love, rather obliquely presented. It is not antagonistic to the philosophy of love.

12. According to Iqbāl there is only one step from Nietzsche to Rūmī ; which unfortunately Nietzsche could not take.

13. Knowledge cannot by itself create love but is a very necessary and helpful instrument.

14. In love alone, the finite is near to, and almost identical with the Infinite ; no other approach to the Absolute can ever succeed or satisfy.

15. Desire is the source of life ; what is wanted is not the suppression of desire but the intensification and the regulation of it ; virtue is desire directed towards the enrichment of life and vice is the desire directed towards its impoverishment ; the ego must be perpetually strengthened and must advance eternally on the stepping stones of its own past achievements and failures.

16. Love is not a life of pure æsthetic contemplation, nor

does virtue consist in living according to nature. All real virtue is the perpetual transformation of nature, within and without us. There is no eternally given pattern to which we have to conform.

17. Not the search after God but the perpetual creation of new forces within the ego or what Iqbāl calls the 'discovery of man' is the aim of all religion that is alive. Neither intellectualism nor any theology can create the vision that is born only of creative love.

18. Even art is an inadequate expression of this primeval urge; although it is superior to philosophy as an approach to reality, and is an interpretation of it. The creative impulse of the artist is almost like the sexual urge; both are nearer to life than any structure of ideas.

19. The aim of life is the objectification of its immense and incalculable possibilities. Iqbāl agrees with William James that no block universe exists and even God is not a static or changeless reality. God is a perpetual creator; He never ceases to create and his ceaseless creation is a realization of Himself. Immutability is not one of His attributes; love and life cease to be when they cease to create and renovate.

20. Love does not annihilate itself before its object; its aim is to conquer its object and assimilate it to itself; it does not stoop to conquer but on the other hand develops itself and strengthens itself for the task.

Love is the deepest and the most soul-stirring of all instincts and emotions of man, and philosophy is the driest of human expressions. In presenting to you in this arid prose the richness of Rūmī and Iqbāl I feel I have been guilty of turning their wine into water. In the words of Goethe: 'Grau ist alle Theorie und grün des Lebens goldner Baum' (All theory is like dry leaves but the Tree of Life is green).

تا ز مستان پرده ها برداشته

کاشکه هستی زبانه داشته

KH. ABDUL HAKIM.

ASCENDENCY OF MAḤMŪD GĀWĀN

Pacification of Northern and Western Borders—870/1466 to 877/1473

IT was about 870/1466 that Muḥammad Shāh III, then in his fourteenth year, was married with great pomp, and robes of honour were distributed among the civil and military officers of the Kingdom.¹ The sagacious Dowager Queen Makhdūma-i Jahān, who had been the great unifying factor in government since her husband Humāyūn's death, now thought it was time that she should retire from active participation in politics, and although the King made it a point to visit his mother every day and take her advice on matters of policy,² it was not as a ruler but simply as a well-wisher of State that she communicated her opinions to her son. Khwāja-i Jahān Turk had already been removed, and with the retirement of Makhdūma-i Jahān the stage was really set for the formal investiture of the Maliku't-Tujjār Maḥmūd Gāwān as the Chief Minister. For this purpose a ceremonious Durbar was held at which His Majesty delivered an address to those gathered together, which is remarkable for the sagacity of the youthful King and once again gives an insight into the theory of the Bahmanī government. He said: "It should be known that both religious and worldly affairs require the help of advisory councils, and the laws on which the organisation of every state or country is based need great thought and circumspection. Thus it is necessary that care should be taken to acquire the opinion of the wise in matters pertaining to the affairs of Government. For God Almighty himself ordered the Apostle of Islam (Peace be upon him and his descendants!) that he should take counsel in worldly affairs. The Apostle himself laid down that counsel was like a fortress against repentance and a refuge from reproach, and the Caliph 'Alī has said: 'The best of ministers is counsel and worst of powers is self-will.' The purport of all this is that it is best to act upon the advice of a wise minister, . . . for his opinion would be like a mirror of truth and honesty. Philosophers of old have said that Kings and successful leaders should not interfere with the policy of State without the advice

1. *Burhānu'l-Ma'āthir*, Persian MSS. Society, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1936, p. 109.

2. *Ferīšta*, 348.

of wise elders."¹ In order that all this might be accomplished, the King with the active consent of the Dowager Queen made Khawāja Maḥmūd Gāwān Prime Minister, giving him charge of all the provinces of the Kingdom as well as authority over matters great and small.² He was not only given the title of Khawāja-i Jahān but was henceforth addressed in official documents as "Lord of the habitors of the Globe, Secretary of the Royal Mansion, Asaf of the Marks of Gem, Amīr of Amīrs, Deputy of the Realm," with 2,000 Mughal troops as his body-guard.³

A couple of years after this, i.e., in 872/1468,⁴ was undertaken the campaign of Kherla⁵ which proved to be the last conflict between Malwa and the Deccan, and thanks to the strong attitude of the new Minister, ended in the physical as well as moral victory of the southern kingdom. Although there had been no fighting in the northern sector since Rajab 867/April 1463 the tension between the two countries had by no means abated. As a matter of fact it transpires that Maḥmūd Khiljī claimed that Māhūr⁶ and Ellichpūr⁷ should be ceded to Malwa, to which Maḥmūd Gāwān rightly replied that the two territories had been part and parcel of the Kingdom of the Deccan ever since the time when Narsing Rāi wanted the protection of Fīroz Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh Walī against the Sultan of Malwa, but on the arrival of the Deccan forces he changed sides with the result that his territories were conquered and annexed to the Deccan. Under these circumstances the two districts could not be snatched away from the Bahmanī State.⁸

As a matter of fact it was an open secret that the ambitious ruler of Malwa, Maḥmūd Khiljī, was making preparations for another invasion of the Deccan. Knowing fully well that the promises made by the northern ruler were "as slender as the spider's web"⁹ and forestalling the Malwese action, Muḥammad Shāh appointed Musnad-i-ʿĀlī Malik Yūsuf Turk, surnamed Nizāmu'l Mulk, commander of the army of Berar, to settle matters once for all,¹⁰ and also sent Maḥmūd Gāwān

1. For the actual words of this remarkable address, see *Bur.*, 111; compare with the address delivered by Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī at the time of his accession in *Bur.*, 88.

2. *Bur.*, 112.

3. Titles in *Ferīšta*, 348. Probably it was now that the Khawāja's son 'Alī was made Maliku't-Tujjār.

4. So *Fer.*, 348. *Bur.*, 109, however, states that the campaign was undertaken and Nizāmu'l Mulk murdered in 870/1466.

5. Kherla, now a small village 4 miles north of Bētul.

6. Māhūr, in the Adilabad District of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions; 98°50' N., 78° E.

7. Ellichpūr, once the capital of Berar, now the headquarters of a subdivision in Amraoti District 21°16' N., 77°33' E.

8. *Riāḍu'l-Inshā*, to Shaiḫul-Islām el-Māndavī, LXXXIII., 137. The copy of the *Riāḍ* that I have used is from the famous Ḥabibganj Library belonging to Nawāb Ṣadr Yār Jung Bahadur.

9. *Riāḍ*, 'To Shaiḫ Dāwūd el-Māndavī,' LXXXIV., 130b.

10. *Fer.*, 348.

with the diverting forces to Fathābād on the borders of Khandesh.¹ In the meantime the old diplomacy of allying the Deccan with Gujrat against Malwa was revived. We have a communication from the Bahmanī King to Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujrat in which the latter was informed that a treaty of mutual alliance had been signed by the plenipotentiaries of the two states through the good offices of the Gujrat envoy Khān-i-A'zam Ṣafdar Khān, and the King of Gujrat was requested to send a posse of troops to the frontiers of Asīr in order that "the enemy might end his days soon."²

Anyhow, Nizāmu'l Mulk went and besieged Kherla. The local Hindu *muqaddam* or chief was put to such straits that he had to call in the help of the Malwese army which was, it is interesting to note, composed both of Afghans and Rajputs.³ But this was of no avail, and after sustaining heavy losses and leaving five thousand of his own men dead on the field, Sirāju'l Mulk, the Malwese Commander, was taken prisoner along with 23 elephants by Nizāmu'l Mulk and the fortress of Kherla occupied by the Deccan army, though the Deccani Commander allowed the main Malwese army to march out of the fortress unharmed. There was, however, so much bad blood between individuals composing the opposing forces that Nizāmu'l Mulk had to pay for his clemency by his very life.

It is stated that when the Deccan forces had finally succeeded in gaining the fortress without unnecessary loss of life, two Rajput defenders of the citadel came to him and begged him to allow them to kiss his feet. Their request was granted, and as they bowed for the supposed obeisance, instead of kissing the humane Commander's feet they took him unawares and stabbed him in the heart killing him instantaneously.⁴ Nizāmu'l Mulk had adopted two boys 'Abdu'l-lah Yaghraṣh Khān and Fathu'l-lah Wafā Khān and these brought their patron's corpse to the king at Bidar, and were honourably received there, made hazāris, and granted the titles of 'Ādil Khān and Daryā Khān respectively.⁵

When Maḥmūd Khiljī heard of the losses sustained entailing the fall of Kherla he hurried to the battlefield himself in spite of his failing health. On perceiving the Khiljī's movements Maḥmūd Gāwān im-

1. *Riāḍ*, 'To Shāikh Dāwūd el-Mandavī, LXXIV. 130b. I have not been able to establish the exact position of Fathābād, but possibly it was at this place that the third Bahmanī Mint was located.

2. *Riāḍ*, XII. 37b. By Asir is meant Khandesh, of which the great fortress of Asīrgarh is still a prominent landmark near Burhānpūr the erstwhile Khandesh capital.

3. *Fer.*, 348.

4. Thus in *Fer.*, 348, *Bur.*, 109, says that it was the Hindu chief of that fort (مقدم آر حصار) who stabbed the Deccan Commander, while *Riāḍ* (To 'Amīdu'l Mulk, XVI. 47) has it that the deed was done by a non-Muslim whose sons were being led away to prison.

5. Thus in *Bur.*, 109. *Fer.* says that this 'Ādil Khān was Yūsuf Ādil Khān, and he and his associate Daryā Khān were Nizāmu'l Mulk's 'brethren of the Path,' i.e., belonged to the same Sufic fraternity.

mediately wheeled round from Fathābād and fearing that his communications might be cut off once again by the Deccanīs and their allies the King of Malwa retraced his steps back to his capital.¹

This was the end of the campaign against Malwa and the Deccanīs had once again succeeded against the Malwa forces. There are some interesting *pourparlers* revealed by our authorities, and the way they ended in finally cementing the alliance between the two countries shows the magnanimity which had been the mark of Deccani statesmanship ever since the time of Aḥmad Shāh Walī and which was ably continued by Hūmayūn, so unjustly surnamed 'the cruel.'² The *pourparlers* seem to have begun with communications from the Malwese Minister and were duly reported to Maḥmūd Gāwān by Zainu'l-Qudāt Qāḍī Aḥmad and Malik Nāṣir and purported to entertain the idea of sending a special envoy to Bidar. Maḥmūd Gāwān replied that when "the other party" was inclined towards peace the Deccan should also be ready, and sent Khān-i-A'zam Ṣadr Khān to Shādiābād Mandu.³ The King of Malwa thereupon sent a peace mission consisting of Sharafu'l Mulk⁴ and Khalafu'l Mashāikh Shaikh Dāwūd el-Māndavī⁵ with an autograph letter from himself to the Bahmanī Sultan in which he climbed down from his former claims for Māhūr and Ellichpūr and made a proposal to the effect that as it had been agreed upon by Sultan Hoshang Shāh of Malwa and Sultan Aḥmad Shāh Walī that Berar should remain a part of the Deccan and Kherla should go to Malwa, the pledge thus entered into between the parties should still be regarded as binding. Maḥmūd Gāwān does not seem, however, to have been very sanguine about the intentions of the King of Malwa, who had broken his plighted word so often and who would have put an end to the Bahmanī Kingdom itself if help had not been forthcoming from Gujrat in the reign of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad III. He has some very plain-speaking in his letters to the Malwese emissary Khalafu'l Mashāikh Shaikh Dāwūd. He says that it was not the first time that Khiljī envoys had come to Bidar to sue for peace, for this was only a repetition of what had been done in the time of Aḥmad III, when also Shaikh Dāwūd had sent an appeal for "joint action by the two Muslim States." He goes on to say: "On his part the Khiljī showed his opposition and antagonism instead of love and alliance and did not desist from the wayward path which was different to the route laid down by the Sultans past and present, and was always turning his ears to the party which delighted in scandal-mongering. The best of Kings consider that the only method of bettering the condition of their people is based on

1. *Riāḍ*, 'To Amidu'l Mulk,' XVI. 47.

2. Hūmayūn's character has been thoroughly discussed in a previous chapter.

3. *Riāḍ*, 'To a Minister of Shādiābād,' LXXV. 131b, Shādiābād Māndū or Māndōgarh, now in the Dhār State, Central India Agency, 22°21' N. 75°26' E.

4. *Bur.* 109; *Fer.*, 348.

5. *Riāḍ*, 'To Shaikh Dāwūd el-Māndavī' XIX., 52 and LXXXIV., 130b.

external as well as internal purification. By external purification is meant the ending of internecine feuds, . . . while by internal purification is meant turning away from falsehood and deceit." He would be ready to do everything to end the useless antagonism between the two peoples only if the King of Malwa did not lend his ears to irresponsible advisers and if he could be relied upon to follow the correct line of action.¹ In another letter to Shaikh Dāwūd he says that the foundation of promises made by the Khiljī were as slender as the spider's web and nothing further could be done unless the outward purity of *action* is in a line with the inward purity of *intention*. Malwa should know that the history of Malik Shāh's defeat could never be repeated and that the Deccan was always ready to fight and win the cause of freedom and righteousness.²

The response came in the shape of another peace mission, the members of which were Qādī Ladan (sic) Ṭāḥir and Ishāq Ṭāḥir, who represented that Maḥmūd Khiljī was really sorry for all that had happened. The Deccani men of piety and learning thereupon persuaded the King to send his own envoy with a satisfactory reply. Aqḍa'l Quḍāt Ḥājī Malik Aḥmad and Qādī Shaikh Muḥtasib were thereupon sent to Māndu and the ally of the Deccan, the King of Gujrat, was duly informed.³ The mission to Māndu carried an autograph letter from the Bahmanī King to the King of Malwa expressing the desire on the part of the former for a lasting and a permanent peace.⁴ It was received by Maḥmūd Khiljī with great pomp, and the leader Qādiu'l Quḍāt Aḥmad was received in private audience by the King. Finally a treaty of peace and friendship was signed by Shaikh Aḥmad on behalf of the Deccan and Shaikh u'l-Islām Salāmu'l-lah Auhādī on behalf of Malwa and was duly sealed by the Umara and Mashaikh present who showered curses on the party which dared to break it. By this treaty Kherla was given to Malwa and Berar kept by the Deccan.⁵ The whole episode ended in burying past quarrels between the two neighbouring states and cementing ties of friendship by exchange of mutual envoys "in order that the rules of friendship might serve as the foundation of love which should henceforth shine like a glittering and a highly ornamental palace."⁶ This just settlement and the feeling of mutual respect between the Deccan and Malwa were the direct outcome of the policy of Maḥmūd Gāwān and lasted till the end of the Bahmanī State, for never was the hatchet dug up again.

With the final rectification of the northern frontier of the Kingdom it was now the turn of the western coast-line to be pacified and brought under control. As has been mentioned, the western lands called the

1. *Riāḍ*, 'To Shaikh Dāwūd el-Māndavī' XIX., 52.

2. *Ibid.*, LXXIV., 130b.

3. *Riāḍ*, 'Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī to Maḥmūd Shāh Gujrātī,' XVIII., 51b.

4. *Ibid.*, LXXXV. 141b.

5. *Fer.*, 349.

6. *Riāḍ*, 'Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī to Maḥmūd Shāh Khiljī, LXV., 141b.

Konkan and Dēsh, were nominally under the Bahmanī sceptre but had never been effectively occupied, and the massacre of Khalaf Hasan Baṣrī and his companions had left a blot on the reputation of the Bahmanī arms with the resultant restiveness of the local chiefs. Two of these chiefs seemed more powerful than the rest, namely the Rāyas of Khēlna¹ and Sangamēshwar,² and they were wont to intercept Muslim trading vessels plying in the Arabian Sea, sending hundreds of boats³ out every year to battle with these ships. The Rāya of Sangamēshwar alone sent nearly 130 vessels to rob the Mecca pilgrims annually⁴ and "many thousands of Muslims were sacrificed at the altar of the greed of these people."⁵ These piratical raids must have meant a very big drop in the maritime commerce of the country, as the merchants were afraid to take out their wares, and while the Rāyas were no doubt enriched by their robbery the country as a whole was thereby impoverished.

The western campaigns may be divided into three fairly marked divisions, namely, the campaign of Hubli by the King in person, the subjugation of the Konkan and the Malabar ports by Maḥmūd Gāwān, and the pacification of the hinterland with Belgaum as the centre by the King and the Minister together. This leads us to the death of the Dowager Queen in 877/1473 and the end of the first part of Maḥmūd Gāwān's ascendancy.

The Bagalkot⁶ and Hubli⁷ campaign was short although the King was able to reduce Hubli only after a siege. Much booty was taken from the local chiefs and they were forced to pay tribute to the Bahmanīs.⁸

In the beginning of 874/1470 Muḥammad Shāh expressed a desire that Konkan should be effectively subdued, so that peace and plenty instead of uneasiness and restlessness should be the order of the day.⁹ He really wished to lead the campaign himself as he had done at Hubli a short while before, but Maḥmūd Gāwān, perhaps knowing the difficulties of the country to be subdued, begged that His Majesty would not take the trouble himself, but that he should be allowed to act for the King as Commander. On receiving royal orders the Khwāja pro-

1. Khēlna, modern Vishālgarh in the Kōlhāpūr State 16°54' N., 73°47' E.

2. Sangamēshwar (Sanghēshar of the Persian authorities) in the Ratnāgiri District of the Bombay Province, 17°16' N., 73°33' E.

3. *Fer.*, 349, says that 300 boats were sent annually.

4. *Riāḍ*, 'To Maulāna Jāmī,' XXXIX., 86b.

5. *Ibid.*, 'To Kamālū'd-Dīn Rūmī, XLI., 91.

6. Bagalkot (Bagarkot) headquarters of a taluqa in the Bijāpūr District of the Bombay Province; 16°11' N., 75°42' E.

7. Hubli, headquarters of a taluqa in the Dhārwar District of the Bombay Province, 15°20' N., 75°9' E.

8. *Bur.*, 113.

9. *Fer.*, 349; Sherwānī, *Khwāja-i-Jahān Maḥmūd Gāwān's Campaigns in the Māharāshtra*, First Indian History Congress, Poona, 1934.

ceeded to Kōlhāpūr and made that city his headquarters.¹ On the other hand, when the Rāyas heard of the arrival of the Bahmanī forces they forthwith closed the Ghāts which was their natural gateway and "swore that they would put to the sword every Muslim living in their country if the Bahmanīs advanced."² Soon Maḥmūd Gāwān found that his cavalry was no use whatever in the mountainous region through which he had to advance, and was only acting as an impediment to his mobility, so he sent it back. At the same time he sent orders for reinforcement to his own province of Bijāpur. His ex-slave, Khush-Qadam, who was later created Kishwar Khān, brought the forces from Dabol and Karhad,³ while the armies of Junair and Chākan came under the command of As'ad Khān and help also arrived from Chaul, Wai and Mān.⁴ The ground was covered with thick jungle and the Khwāja lost no time in having the woods cut down and burnt. It seems that the enemy began by having recourse to guerilla warfare "giving fifty battles" to Maḥmūd Gāwān's troops,⁵ and this went on for many weeks till the rains had set in, which are generally very heavy in those parts, so the Khwāja had to retire to his thatched headquarters at Kōlhāpūr.

When the rains had subsided to a certain extent the Khwāja emerged from his retreat and marched on the fortress of Raingnah⁶ which was so strong that its forced capture was possible "only with the greatest carnage,"⁷ so evidently in order to stop wanton bloodshed he opened his purse-strings for the leaders of the opposing army and they were offered "Frankish cloth, belts studded with jewels, palanquins, Arab steeds and arms of the most exquisite pattern"⁸ so that the proud fort was surrendered with little bloodshed after the payment of an indemnity of twelve lakhs in cash and kind, on 20-1-875/19-7-1470.⁹ From Raingnah he marched to the fort of Machal, "the largest fort in the neighbourhood," which was attacked in full force, and "battlements, pigeonholes and bastions of the skyscraping eminence" were all reduced and everyone of the surviving defenders made a prisoner of war. The Rāya was so hard pressed that he sent his own son "with some wise

1. *Bur.*, 114, Kōlhāpūr, now the capital of the State of that name, 16°42' N., 74°16' E. 2. *Fer.*, 349.

3. Karhad, headquarters of a taluqa in the Satārā District of the Bombay Province 17°17' N., 74°11' E. Junair or Junnār, a taluqa in the Poona District; 19°12' N., 73°53' E. Chākan in the Khēd taluqa of the Poona District, 18°45' N., 73°32' E.

4. Chaul, in the Alibagh taluqa of the Kolaba district; 18°34' N., 72°55' E.

Wāi, headquarters of a taluqa in Satārā District; 17°57' N., 73°54' E.

Mān, name of a taluqa in Satārā District; between 17°27' and 17°56' N., and between 74°17' and 74°53' E. The taluqa is named after the Mān river and its capital is Dahiwādi.

5. *Bur.* 115.

6. Raingnah, a small town in the modern State of Sāwantwādi.

7. *Riāḍ.*, 'To a Bahmanī Wazīr,' XLV, 94.

8. *Ibid.*, 'To Maulāna Abū Sa'id,' XXVIII, 66b.

9. *Ibid.*, 'To a friend,' LXXVI, 132b.

men" from the neighbouring fort of Khēlna to surrender the fort to the Bahmanī arms¹ and the surrender was finally effected on 22-7-875/18-11-1470.²

In spite of the rapid movements of the army, the long-drawn battles and guerilla tactics of the enemy must have told on the Khawāja's resources. Jakhūrāi of Sangamēshwar was not a man to look forward to annihilation with equanimity, and during the struggles in the spring of 1470 he was not allowed to make much progress. Moreover, as the Khawāja himself relates, this hilly country was studded with mighty forts "each of which in its height and extension is like the jungles of Ṭabaristan and Damāwand."³ Before marching onward to Sangamēshwar itself the Khawāja wrote to Bidar for further reinforcements, for if he were entrapped in this difficult and God-forsaken land he as well as the royal army would perhaps share the fate of his predecessor Khalaf Hasan Bašri. But the protracted absence of the Khawāja from Bidar had given long sought opportunity to the party opposed to him, and they began to undermine him in two ways, firstly by withholding reinforcements from reaching the Konkan and further by beginning to poison the ears of the King himself.

We have in our possession three letters from the war camp in which the Khawāja wrote to friends and Ministers in a bitter vein, showing his great concern at the machinations of his opponents, while he was leading the royal forces to victory after victory against great odds. He says 'to a friend':

"I am very much grieved at the wanton acts of the instigators (فساد) and the envious, and am grateful for the regard of the small number of my 'helpers' (انصار). The delay in the arrival of the army of As'ad Khān and the refusal to commission troops (منع نامزدی) on the part of His Majesty are all matters of the deepest concern. The real object of the party of envy. is that those unfortunates who happen to be in the island of Goa should be martyred at the hands of the enemy and the star of the honour of this humble servant should set in the horizon of utter obscurity."⁴

In another letter he writes to a Bahmanī minister thus:

"If anyone believes in the help of the nobles, Khāns, and Maliks of this Kingdom he can only reap a harvest of utter failure and hopelessness. . . . On the other hand if one sends forth the arrows of endeavour and vigilance to the butt of the fulfilment of his

1. *Riāḍ*, 'To a Sultan of Gilān,' XXXVIII., 82, Machal, now in the Rajapur subdivision of the Kōlhāpūr State.

2. *Ibid.*, 'To the Sultan of Gilān,' XIII., 38b.

3. *Ibid.*, 'To the Sultan of Gilān,' XXXVIII., 82.

4. *Ibid.*, 'To a Learned Friend,' LXIX., 126b.,

objects by the strength of his own arms without the hope of any external help, for him there is an assurance of success. You are fully aware that the Konkan country is full of jungle and mountain and it is impossible for the army to pass through without cutting down the trees and to a certain extent levelling the ground for the army to pass through . . . You can well understand that this task is difficult of accomplishment without man-power and implements of war”¹

As has just been said, apart from trying to undo the *Khawāja*'s efforts in the cause of the greatness of the Bahmanī Kingdom, the opposing faction was poisoning the ears of the King against him and thus was already preparing the ground for the fateful day of his murder. When he got to know of the machinations at the capital he wrote a letter to a Minister in which he complained :

“ At this hour the arrows of affliction and calumny are being projected on to my heart from the bow of the enmity of the envious Baseless lies and terrible mendacities are being concocted to hide faint sparks of truth and sent up to the foot of the Royal Throne The world-consuming fire is burning in the ovens of their dreadful hearts And one is not aware how long the people of the capital are going to shut their eyes and ears to the truthful facts. ”²

Again, writing to Qādiu'l Quḍāt Ṣadr Jahān he says :

“ Their treasuries are full of sinfully earned money, just as their hearts are full of greed, ignorance and envy Although the dark existence of these people is due to the shadow cast by the moon of the organisation instituted by this humble servant, the feelings of these men are such that out of sheer malice they would kill each other and make me the object of all the wrongs which it is in their power to perpetrate. ”³

These letters throw a lurid light on what was happening at Bidar and show how seriously handicapped Maḥmūd Gāwān was in fighting the Rāya of Sangamēshwar and his associates, how keen he was to pacify the western coast-line and to ensure that “ the travellers by land and sea should be free from the fear of marauders and pirates. ”⁴ In spite of the great risks he was incurring and although he knew that things were taking an adverse turn at the capital he went steadily forward and did not turn his back till his mission had been fulfilled. After Māchāl the forts of Bulwārah, Miriad and Nagar were also captured,⁵ but now the rainy season set in, which he spent at Kōlhāpūr.⁶

1. *Riāḍ*, 'To a Minister,' XLVII. 96.

2. *Ibid.*, 'To a Minister,' LXXXVIII. 143b.

3. *Ibid.*, 'To Ṣadr Jahān,' LXXXIX. 146.

4. *Ibid.*, 'To Maulāna Jāmi,' XXXVII. 69.

5. *Ibid.*, 'To the Envoy of Gujrat,' L. 99.

6. *Ibid.*, 'To a Friend,' LXXVI. 132b.

When the rains had subsided, he marched on to the great fort of Sangamēshwar, "second only to Junair and equal to two Khaibar" which had once been subdued by Khalaf Ḥasan Baṣri.¹ The army encamped outside the wall of the great fort so thoroughly frightened the Rāya that he sent his own son to make peace with the gallant commander of the royal army, and Sangameshwar opened its gates to the Khwāja on 29-6-875/25-12-1470² while the next day, 1-7-875/26-12-1470 the Rāya made his formal submission.³

One object of the campaign, namely the end of the power of the recalcitrant Raya of Sangamēshwar, had been attained. But Maḥmūd Gāwān rightly perceived that the Raya had at his back the power of the Rāya of Vijayanagar, whose port, Goa, was only fourteen farsakh from Sangameshwar.⁴ The Khwāja says that his great objective was to attack the heart of Vijayanagar, "which was the centre of all mischief" and the real cause of the rebellious attitude of the Bahmanī protectorate, and so after strengthening the Bahmanī position in the subdued region the army moved on to Goa,⁵ which Maḥmūd Gāwān describes as "the envy of the islands and ports of India and famed for its fine climate, its cocoanuts and betel-nuts as well as for its springs, canals and plenty of sugarcane and betel-leaf."⁶ He says that "owing to the abundance of its trees and springs it is like the mirror of the Grove of the Genii and a copy of the Cistern of Plenty (حوض کوثر)."⁷ The Khwāja sent 120 boats by sea apart from the land forces which were "composed of the tigers of Arabia and the lions of Persia."⁸ As'ad Khan and Kishwar Khān had preceded the main army, while his son 'Alī Maliku't-Tujjār was sent as diversion to conquer Vijayanagar forts." It seems that while As'ad Khan and Kishwar Khān were waiting for him at Goa, the people of that city were actually sending deputations to these commanders in order to arrange for the terms of surrender.⁹ Hardly any attempts were therefore made to defend the city when the main army arrived, and it was captured and annexed to the Kingdom of the Deccan on 20-8-875/11-2-1471.¹⁰

Having accomplished his purpose with such sagacity and alacrity the Khwāja now turned his steps home. He had heard that the party

1. *Bur.*, 114.

2. *Riāḍ*, 'To Islām Khān, the Envoy from Gujrat,' LXXII., 129.

3. *Ibid.*, 'To Maulāna Jāmi,' XXIX., 86b.

4. *Ibid.*, 'To a Wazīr,' LV., 94b. Farsakh 12,000 yards. 14 Far. 100 miles. The Rāya of Vijayanagar was Virupaksha Raya.

5. *Ibid.*, 'To the Sultan of Gilān,' XXXVIII., 86b.

6. *Ibid.*, 'To a Wazīr,' XLV., 94b.

7. *Ibid.*, 'To Maulāna Jāmi,' XXXIX., 86b.

8. *Ibid.*, 'To the Sultan of Gilān,' XXXVIII., 82, and *Fer.*, 350 both agree with regard to the number of boats sent.

9. *Riāḍ*, 'To a Wazīr,' XLV., 94b.

10. *Ibid.*, 'To the Sultan of Gilān,' XXXVIII., 82.

inimical to him at the capital was intending to bring the King to the battlefield in person, which would not only have been a great hardship to His Majesty but would have been a useless campaign as everything that was to be accomplished had been achieved. Moreover, if the King was to come, the Khwāja must meet him at least half way. So "it was time to tie the saddle of circumspection on the steed of decision" and join the Sultan's army, so that "His Majesty might with his own eyes see the fruit of the ruses of the ignorant and the consequence of the words of mean chatterers." He goes on to say: "Although some people are greatly shocked to hear what the intriguers have to say, still there are others who think that implications of that party are not impossible.¹ Anyhow the Khwāja began to retrace his steps on 1-11-875/24-4-1471 after leaving a strong garrison at Goa. He had been away in the western regions for three years and now returned to Bidar with huge spoils of war and was, perhaps contrary to his expectation, received with great joy by his royal master. Kettledrums were ordered to be beaten for a whole week during which the King honoured him by being his guest, giving him a suit of his own robes, while the Dowager Queen addressed him as her brother. His already profuse titles were further enlarged by the addition of "Lord of the Benign Council, Great Leader, Great Lord, Wielder of the Pen and the Sword," and the forts of Goa, Ponda, and Kōlhāpūr were added to his jurisdiction.²

Although this was really the climax of the Khwāja's honour and greatness and he was now supreme in the land, his conduct showed that he was not prone to any mean thoughts and temptation. It is related that after the departure of the King from his mansion, the Khwāja retired and praised the Almighty for all His Kindness, wept, put on the robes of a dervish and distributed clothes, eatables, jewels, etc., to the Syeds of Bidar. When Mullā Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad asked him why he was depleting his wealth in this manner and why he was crying when he ought to be happy at such great honours showered upon him, he replied that he was doing this in order to shake off all sense of pride, temptation and other evil passions which had been generated. During the rest of his life he always dressed very simply and spent his leisure hours in mosques or in the great college which he was about to build. On Fridays he would go disguised to different wards of the Capital distributing alms to the needy and the lowly and telling them that the alms were on behalf of the King and it was for His Majesty's long life and prosperity that they should all pray.³

In 875/1471 was born the heir to the throne who later became King

1. *Riāḍ*, 'To a learned friend' LXV. 124.

2. *Fer.*, 350. New titles were 'صاحب السيف والقلم' 'همايون اعظم' 'سيد عظيم' 'حضرة مجلس كريم' Ponda in the Portuguese India, now in the Belgaum District.

3. *Fer.*, 350.

as Sultan Maḥmūd II.¹ A short while after this arrived the news of the illness and death of the Rāya of Oriya² and of the usurpation of the Government by a Brahman, Mangal Rāi, who had expelled the rightful successor Hamir Rāi from the territory. Hamir Rāi now petitioned the King to help to restore him to the throne.³ Thereupon the King held a Council of War at which Malik Ḥasan Baḥri, who had now become the Sultan's favourite,⁴ volunteered to lead the expedition, and on the Khwāja's special recommendation, was so ordered.⁵ In the campaign Malik Ḥasan forced Mangal Rāi to flee from the territory and vacate the throne for the rightful owner Hamir Rāi, who was duly restored. Malik Ḥasan, however, was not content with this, and at the Sultan's instance, went and conquered Rajamahendri and the great fort of Kondavidu.⁶ When Malik Ḥasan arrived back at Bidar with immense booty he was graciously received by the King with great deference, granted a robe of honour and made the *Sar-lashkar* of Tilangānah with the title of Nizāmu'l Mulk at the instance of the Dowager Queen and the Khwāja.

Two other nobles also came in to the lime-light, i.e., Faṭḥu'l-lah and Yūsuf 'Ādil. Faṭḥu'l-lah who was the "wisest of the subordinates of Khwāja-i Jahān Turk"⁷ was recommended to the *Sar-lashkarship* of Berar by Maḥmūd Gāwān and given the title of 'Imādu'l Mulk, while a few months later Yūsuf 'Ādil, who had now been adopted by Maḥmūd Gāwān as his own son and was perhaps the ablest of Turkish nobles, became the *Sar-lashkar* of Daulatabad, Junair and Chākan with Daryā Khān and most of the other Turkish aristocracy including Qāsim Beg, Shāh Qūli Sulṭān and other Mughals, as his subordinates.⁸

It was about this time that Maḥmūd Gāwān laid the foundation of the great College at Bidar which was to remain a permanent symbol of the public welfare which he always had at heart. Here it is better to quote the words of a great authority on Deccan architecture with regard to this edifice which is still the glory of the erstwhile capital of the Deccan. "The front of the building which was luxuriously adorned with encaustic tiles of various hues and shades, all arranged in different designs, had one stately minaret at each side, rising to a height of 100 feet. These minarets also were decorated with tiles

1. *Bur.*, 117.

2. "Oriya" of Persian authorities means the Telingānah.

Bur., 117, says that this particular Rāyā was the chief of all the Rāyās of Telingānah.

3. *Fer.*, 351.

4. *Bur.*, 117.

5. *Fer.*, 351.

6. *Ibid.*, 352. Kondavidu fort, subsequently called Murtaḍanagar, now in the Narasārāopet taluqa of the Guntūr District. Rajamundry of Rajamehandri, headquarters of a subdivision of the Godavari District; 17°1' N., 81°46' E.

7. *Ibid.*, 351.

8. *Ibid.*

arranged in zigzag lines, a pattern which lent the building a most attractive appearance. The building rises to three storeys in a most imposing position. Its entire length extends to 205 feet with a width of 180 feet, which is divided up into apartments comprising the mosque, the library, the lecture halls, the professors' quarters and the students' cubicles leaving a space of 100 feet square in the middle as a courtyard.... The building has excellent arrangement of light and air and cannot be surpassed on these points by modern structures."¹

This was the great *Madrasah* which Maḥmūd Gāwān completed in 876/1472 as is evidenced by the following lines:²

این مدرسه رفیع و محمود بنا چون کعبه شد است قبله اهل صفا
آثار قبول بین نه شد تاراجش از آینه رنایا تقبل منا

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It is related that the *Khawja* invited some of the greatest men of learning in the Orient to deliver lectures in this College and he himself was nowhere more at home than in its libraries and lecture halls. The

verse of the Qur'ān³ *طِبِّمُ فَاَدْخُلُوْهَا خَالِدِيْنَ* which still adorns the main gate, beckoned everyone to come and partake of the intellectual food provided there. The building was damaged by an explosion during the reign of Aurangzeb in 1107/1696 and more than a quarter of it was destroyed.

Yusūf 'Ādil Khān had soon to show his mettle in his own province. During the last campaigns against Malwa a part of the North-Western Provinces, namely, the territories of Antūr and Virākhērā, had seceded and fallen into the hands of Mahratta chiefs, the leader of whom Jansingh Rāi was holding Virākhērā.⁴ The King now ordered 'Ādil Khān to proceed against these intruders. The occupants of Antār could not withstand the Bahmanī arms and sued for peace, but Virūkhērā held out for six months, at the end of which the Rāya begged that he and his army should be allowed to depart in safety. This was done and the stronghold of Virākhērā was given by the King⁵ to 'Ādil Khān as a Jagir along with the surrounding country. Yūsuf now

1. Yazdani: *The Antiquities of Bidar*, Calcutta, 1917, pp. 21 and 22. Mr. Yazdani is soon bringing out a voluminous study of Bidar with illustrated description of the latest excavations which have been undertaken by the State Archaeological Department of which he is so worthy a head.

2. "This College, with high and praiseworthy (محمود) foundations has been erected as the Ka'bah of men of purity.

Lo! the sign of Divine approval that the chronogram

Is derived from the Quranic verse, "O Lord, accept it from us."

The lines are said to have been composed by Mullah Sami'i by *Fer.*, 352. and by Muḥammad Badr Shīrāzī by *Bur.*, 119.

3. "Peace be on you that are good, so enter it for ever."

4. *Fer.*, 351. Antur, a fort in the Kannad taluqa of Aurangabad District 20°27' N., 75°15' E.

5. *Bur.*, 120.

returned to the capital laden with the richest booty, jewels, money and elephants and was received by the King in right royal manner. His Majesty ordered that the Khwāja should entertain Yūsuf for a whole week on his behalf, after which the King went to stay with the Khwāja himself, and gave such liberties to Yūsuf in his own presence that it made the scions of the old aristocracy very critical and jealous and led further to greater rupture between the Oldcomers and the Newcomers.¹

But the Mahratta chiefs continued to be restive and in spite of the most solemn promises were bent on taking advantage of any opportunity that might be offered to them. With a strong man like Yūsuf 'Ādil at Daulatabad there was little danger from that quarter but the Goa country was still giving trouble. In 877/1473 it was reported to the Khwāja that Perkētah, chief of Belgaum, and the Sipāhdār of Bankapur² wanted to raise an insurrection at the instigation of the Rāya of Vijayanagar and were actually blockading Goa. The Khwāja thereupon reported the matter to the King³ and begged that he might be allowed to lead the campaign so that he might break the back of the Vijayanagar State and end the turmoil once for all. Perhaps influenced by the members of the old aristocracy who did not want the laurels to be gained by the Khwāja, the King led his troops in person. On reaching Belgaum the royal army found that the fort was one of the strongest in the neighbourhood and was built on a rock cut perpendicularly from the bottom to the top and surrounded by a deep ditch full of water. The King, finding that the immediate capture of Belgaum was impossible, proceeded to besiege the fortress and ordered that another redoubt be erected opposite the old fort. Perkētah, on the other hand, finding that the Bahmanī army was very powerful, tried the stratagem of bribing the Generals and Commanders⁴ so that the next day they made the request to the King that Perkētah was willing to lay down his arms and might be pardoned. The King was keen enough to see the ruse and said that he had been bothered too much by the affairs in the locality and as he wished to make Belgaum a lesson for all, he ordered "fireworkers" to take the fortress by storm in a fortnight's time at the outside⁵ and asked Maḥmūd Gāwān to fill up the ditches. But Maḥmūd Gāwān's attempts came to naught as Perkētah would remove during the night the earth which had been filled in during the day. After repeated failures mines were dug under the walls of the fort by Maḥmūd Gāwān, Yūsuf 'Ādil and Faṭḥu'l-lah Imādu'l Mulk

1. *Fer.*, 352.

2. Perkētah's name occurs both in *Bur.*, and *Fer.*, but I have not been able to trace either his real name or his genealogy. Bankāpūr, now a taluqa, of the Dhārwar District in the Bombay Province, 14°55' N., 75°16' E.

3. *Fer.*, 352.

4. *Bur.*, 121.

5. *Fer.*, 352.

and fired with the result that the walls opposite these mines were breached.¹ Now the King himself led the onslaught and made an assault gaining the ramparts of the fort. Seeing that further resistance would be useless, Perkētah now tied a rope round his neck and placed himself at the King's mercy.² The fortress was reduced and given to Maḥmūd Gāwān as a Jagir, while the Rāya was pardoned and even made an *Amīr* of the Kingdom.³ Thus was Maḥmūd Gāwān's reputation avenged and the King clearly saw that he had no more loyal or more faithful servant than the *Khwāja*. On a petition of the *Khwāja* the King now assumed the title of *Lashkarī* or 'Warrior,' in commemoration of the great success he had personally achieved, and it is with this title that he is known in history.⁴

On the way back the whole army was steeped in grief over the death of the *Khwāja*'s patroness and helpmate, the Dowager Queen Maḥdūma-i Jahān, who had accompanied her son on this arduous campaign.⁵ The King was naturally very much grieved and wrote to his ally the King of Gujrat informing him of his bereavement.⁶ But no one had a greater shock than the *Khwāja*, who in a letter to his brother 'Amīdū'l Mulk at Mecca, says that the Queen's death was a personal loss to him and goes on: "Over and above the excess of weakness naturally due to age, the terrible calamity of the passing away of His Majesty's mother and the increasing burdens of government have told on me... and it is difficult for me to keep the mark of obedience and acceptance on the neck of strength and ability (گردن طاعت و استطاعت) ... still.... I feel a duty and like the payment of a long-standing debt to put the ball of my heart on the field of the homage I owe to His Majesty's person."⁷ Never daunted, however, and knowing fully well that the number of his enemies far exceeded those who called themselves his friends, Maḥmūd went on to rid the Kingdom of the ills which were eating into it, by his far-reaching though short-lived reforms.

1. It should be noted that this was the first time that gunpowder mines were laid in the Deccan.

2. There is a difference between the descriptions of the episode in *Bur.*, 121 and *Fer.*, 353. *Bur.* says that Perkētah appeared on a bastion, while *Fer.* related this story as well as another that he actually came to the royal camp in disguise which he discarded in the King's presence tying his turban round his neck.

3. *Fer.*, 352. This is a remarkable epilogue to the episode and another instance of the policy of compromise and toleration put into practice by Maḥmūd Gāwān so many times.

4. We might here mention that 'Alī Maliku't-Tujār accompanied his father Maḥmūd Gāwān in this campaign and composed a few lines in honour of the victory. These lines are quoted in *Bur.*, 122.

5. *Fer.*, 353.

6. *Riād*. 'Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī to Maḥmūd Shāh Gujrati,' LXVI.124b.

7. *Ibid.*, LVIII. 111b.

On his way back to the Capital, Muḥammad Shāh Lashkarī broke his journey for a few days at Kālābāgh near Bījāpūr, the centre of Maḥmūd Gāwān's Governorate. He intended to stay there during the rainy season but was confronted by a severe drought causing what is called the Bījāpūr Famine in history, and so he hurried back to Bidar.

H. K. SHERWANI.

NUMERICAL COMPOUNDS IN PERSIAN

INTRODUCTORY

IT is intended in these pages to present a comprehensive survey of such numerical compounds and epithets used in the Persian language as have a signification other than the literal meaning, and to illustrate them with examples from standard Persian works, chiefly of classical poetry.

Expression of thought with the help of sounds or signs, written or otherwise, constitutes an art, which, like other arts and sciences, has been developed and perfected through long practice and consummate skill. Like other gifts of God, or, more scientifically speaking, achievements of man, this skill in the formation of language varies from person to person, from community to community, and from nation to nation. The Iranians (or, to use the old term, the Persians) possess, as a careful study and a critical analysis of the compounds and epithets compiled herein will reveal, the fecundity of the mind necessary for the development of the language and literature of a nation. The Iranian brings forth in numerous different forms and phases one and the same idea or object. His analytical mind finds resemblance of an object in so many different and, sometimes, opposite things. The two lips of a damsel can be expressed in half-a-dozen different ways. Sometimes, they are to him 'two fires' (دو آتش), because of their similarity in colour to the flames of fire; at another occasion they are 'honey,' on account of their 'sweetness' and 'good taste.'

Soon after the Arabs came to Iran in the seventh century, their civilisation was accepted by the Iranians, who, through their intelligence and fertility of mind, transformed it into something more suitable to the nature of the country and the psychology of its people. Similarly, in the field of literature the Iranians at first imitated and then adopted the Arab mode of expressing their ideas, as also the language and the main features of Arab culture and civilisation. After some time, however, these early 'imitators' surpassed, at least in some spheres, the masters themselves. The Iranians possess the skill to combine a few words, when one word does not carry them far, for opening a whole world of meaning before the readers.

The Iranians have doubtlessly left an indelible mark of their own on the civilisation of the Arabs. This ingenuity is also apparent in their excellent use of numerals. The numbers have their own part to play in science, philosophy, astronomy, and many other branches of human knowledge. In literature the metaphorical expression of an object with the help of number is generally based on the component parts or some chief characteristics of the object. To take one or two examples, the elements formerly believed to be four in number are generally defined by four (چهار، چار) *čahar*, such as چار بسیط *čahar basīṭ* etc. The planets, known to the ancients as seven in number, are described by هفت *haft*, used in many compounds. The numerical adjective *haft* (seven) is used to qualify the noun metaphorically which describes the seven planets. The new moon of one night's standing is described as *māh-i-yak šabāh*, which denotes the eyebrows of the beloved. The numerals have also helped a great deal in the extension of metaphors, and enhancement of the various figures of speech. But for the use of numerals the formation of so many symbolical epithets to express the same idea would not have been so easy. The seven heavens can be described in many different ways simply by qualifying a noun with هفت (seven); of course, the noun ought to have some sort of resemblance to the object described. Thus the heavens can be said to be the seven collyrium-coloured ones, or the seven domes. Similarly, the five senses are referred to as the five immune steeds, which help the living in moving from place to place. توسن سلامت (steed of immunity) alone would not have carried us far in understanding the real meaning, but پنج (five) makes things clearer. Further, the compound دو یک [two (or) one] in the sense of last (two or one) breath of a man expresses more exactly the condition of the moment. It is also a common practice of writers to describe the beauty of the beloved by comparing it to the moon (ماه); but to express the same idea with the numerical metaphor as ماه دو هفته (the moon of two weeks), when she is at the zenith of her beauty, enhances the effect.

Thus we notice how far a thorough study and a correct use of the numerals has helped the Iranians in enriching their language. Innumerable idioms and epithets would hardly have existed if the numerals had not made possible the extension of expression. The beauty and charm of thousands of epithets would vanish if at any moment the numerals were taken away from them.

The study reveals two grades of compounds: (1) those comprising only two words, the numerical adjective and the noun qualified, such as يك اسبه *yek asbe*, دو یاقوت *du yaqūt*, سه بعد *seh ba'ed*, چار جوی *čahar jūy* etc., and (2) those consisting of more than two words, as يك سرمه دان شراب، دو خاتون خرگه سنجاب، چهار مرغ خلیل، پنج توسن سلامت *yek serme dān šarāb, du xātūn xarḡe sanjāb, čahar marḡ xalīl, panj tūsen salāmat* etc. In many cases, however, it will be seen

that a phrase of two words means exactly the same as that of any one of the second grade, and the compound of the latter group is in reality the same except that one or two more words are added to it. The additional words qualify, clarify and often specify the prefixed phrase. For example, the phrases دوخاتون (two ladies—the pupils of the eyes), چار بیخ (four roots—the four elements), شش بانو (six ladies—the six planets, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon), هفت شمع (the seven candles—the seven planets), etc. etc. mean exactly the same when used with the additional word or words اس خاتون خرگه سنجاب (two ladies of the court of ermine), چار بیخ حیات (four roots of life), شش بانوی پیر (six old princesses), هفت شمع بی دخان (seven smokeless candles), or هفت شمع درخشان (seven brilliant candles). Thus it seems that the original compound consisted of two words, but succeeding writers added adjectival words and phrases.

A striking fact is that one and the same object or idea has been expressed in so many metaphorical ways. For example the idea of 'a little, a small quantity' has been expressed in 24 different ways, and the موالید ثلاثه (three kingdoms of nature: mineral, vegetable and animal) are symbolised in 10 different idioms. Similarly, 'the four elements' have as many as 37 distinct epithets to express it.

It will be noted that almost all the illustrations, in the following thesis have been taken from books of verse, particularly the *qaṣīda*. This may be due to the fact that such artifice can be employed in the *qaṣīda* to the best advantage and with ease, whereas in prose there is little scope for this.

The field covered in this collection is limited to such cardinal numerical compounds as are exclusively used in a metaphorical sense. Compounds which are used in the literal sense, and allow no metaphorical interpretation, have not been taken into account. Similarly, there are some compounds with يك (such as يك جهت , يك دل , يك رنگ , يك نفس etc.) which all imply "of one and the same kind, or nature," and also the abstract nouns formed from them يكجهتی , يكدلی , يك رنگی , يك نفسی. In these and similar compounds there is only a tinge of the transferred sense, and therefore, they have also been excluded. The Ordinals too have been left out of this study, as they form a study by themselves.

The compounds are arranged in the numerical order. The pronunciation of each compound is transliterated immediately after it. The literal meaning of the compound is first given, the metaphorical meanings following immediately.

Persian lexicons have generally been badly edited and those available are full of misprints, which made the work of the present writer very difficult. An attempt has always been made to establish the correct reading.

Carelessness on the part of the worthy lexicographers is, however,

not the only cause of this. A comparison effected between a couple or more idioms of one and the same book easily reveals the very sorry fact that these valuable works have greatly suffered at the hands of every subsequent editor and printer. While they deserve all our praise for their labour, these editors and printers can hardly escape the blame for mutilation of the texts. The present writer craves indulgence of the readers for these words and assures them that they have been called forth by the difficulties he met and had to reckon within the course of his study. The writer humbly hopes, that this collection with all its shortcomings will prove of help to students of the Persian language and literature, and may be of some use in guiding them to a correct understanding of a language which has left an indelible mark on the language, life and culture of many a people, oriental and occidental.

I wish to offer my sincere thanks to Prof. M. N. Reḥmān of the Arabic and Persian Department of the Allahabad University. Mr. Reḥmān not only suggested this interesting subject for work, but has also helped me with his valuable suggestions throughout the work. While all commendable features in these pages should be ascribed to him, all shortcomings and faults are certainly mine.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

ARaj.	stands for	<i>Farhang-i Ānand Rāj.</i>
AsLugh.	.. do	<i>Āṣafu'l Lughāt.</i>
BAj.	do	<i>Baḥr-i 'Ajam.</i>
Bahar	do	<i>Bahār-i 'Ajam.</i>
BQ.	do	<i>Burhān-i Qāṭi'.</i>
ChirH.	do	<i>Chirāgh-i Hidāyat.</i>
Gh.	do	<i>Ghiyāthu'l Lughāt.</i>
HQul.	do	<i>Haft Qulzum.</i>
Jah.	do	<i>Farhang-i Jahāngīrī.</i>
Johns.	do	<i>Johnson's Pers.-Arabic-English Dictionary.</i>
Kashf.	do	<i>Kashfu'l Lughāt.</i>
MF.	do	<i>Muwayyidu'l Fuḍalā'.</i>
MusSh.	do	<i>Muṣṭalaḥātu'sh Shu'arā'.</i>
Rsh.	do	<i>Farhang-i Rashīdī.</i>
Redhouse.	do	<i>Redhouse's Turkish-English Dictionary.</i>
q. v.	do	which see.

نیم

نیم *nīm*, half. (1) One hundred, because the total value of the three letters (ن، ی، م) in it, calculated according to the *Abjad* system of calculation comes to 100. (2) Very little, little, the least part of a thing. Under this head come a few compounds in which نیم (*nīm*) is meant to indicate the least part of something. Sa'dī says:—

ز نند لشکر یانش هزار مرغ به سیخ به نیم بیضه که سلطان ستم روا دارد

(1) *Nīm jur'a may*, half a draught of wine. Very little.

(2) سیر گلستان — — *sayr-igulistān*, half a walk in the garden. A very short walk. Ṭālib Āmulī says (Bahār):—

اگر دل است و گر دین درین شکفته بهار به نیم سیر گلستان فروختن دارد

(3) غنچه تبسم — — *ghuncha tabassum*, the smile of half a bud. The least trace of a smile. Ṭālib Āmulī says (ibid.):—

حاشا که در بساط دل درد جو بود ذوقی که نیم غنچه تبسم درو بود

Of the same nature are such compounds as نیم برشت (or برش) half-roasted, نیم بسل (half-slaughtered), نیم پخت (half-cooked), نیم کشت (half-killed), etc., signifying an incomplete act or state.

آدمی — — *ādamī*, half a man, i.e., a (or one) woman, because in Muslim Law evidence of two women is considered as equal to that of one man.¹ Khāqānī, in a self-laudatory *qaṣīda*, makes use of this epithet to indicate his own mother:

لیک نیم آدمی آن جاست مرا چون سپردمش به یزدان چکنم

آستین — — *āstīn (nīma āstīn)*, half sleeves. An upper robe with half-sleeves, commonly made of gold and silver tissue.

انداز — — *andāz*, half-thrower. An incomplete throw, which can severely hurt without killing the victim. Ṭālib Āmulī says (ARaj.):—

یکی صید رهائی دشمنم آتش عنانی کو که در قید کمند آرد به سعی نیم اندازم

نیم دست — — *bi-dast*, half a span. (1) The distance between the point of the thumb and the tip of the fore-finger, when extended. (2) A small pillow. Cf. نیم دست

1. Qur'ān, II, 282.

نیم

بر - - *bar*, half body. A stratagem, or skill in wrestling. Najāt says (Bahār):—

تلخ و تند است ز چشمت نظری می خواهد آسان از نگهت نیم بری می خواهد

پارچه - - *pārcha*, half a piece. A paralytic affection of one side.

پرتو - - *partaw*, half shining, i.e. the moon, or the stars when giving little or very dim light.

پیشه - - *pīsha*, of half trade. Poor, with little property.

تاج - - *tāj*, half crown. An ornamental head-dress worn by the bride. Nāẓim Harwī says (ibid.):—

مرصع نیم تاجی بر سرش بود که ماه نو کلاه زدگرش بود

ترك - - *tark*, half forehead. (1) The helmet as covering half the forehead. HQul. says that it has also been written as نیم ترگ *nīm targ*, rhyming with برگ *barg*.

تسلیم - - *taslīm*, half saluting: performed by reaching one's hand to the navel and bending a little by way of salutation. Against this is تمام تسلیم *tamām taslīm*, full saluting: performed by placing the hand on the ground and then touching the forehead with it.

تن - - *tan* (also تنه *tana*), half body. (1) A garment with short sleeves and skirts; a vest worn by the eastern monks called Calendars, which reaches the lower part of the body. It is so called because it covers only half the body of man. Nizāmī says (ibid.):—

نیم تنی تا سر زانوش هست از پی آن بر سر زانو نشست

(2) Home. (3) Same as نیم چهره q. v.

ته - - *tah*, divided into two. Half a fold. Whence we get نیم ته کردن (to make half-fold), i.e. to bend double at the waist. Hātifi says in the *Timūr Nāma* (ARaj.):—

یکی نیم ته کرده قصاب وار بسی قوچ جنگی دران کار زار

جان - - *jān*, half alive. (1) The lover, supposed to be half-dead on account of suffering pains in love. Tāhir Wahīd says (Bahār):—

مسیح فاتحه خوان است نیم جان ترا رواست دادن جان رنج ناتوان ترا

نیم

(2) Half-dead (with fear).

نیم - See (1) under جرعه می

چاشت - - *chāsht*, half-lunch. Breakfast.

چرخ - - *charkh*, half the sky. A kind of bow, having very short arrows. Anwarī says (ARaj.):—

ای بجاهی که از علو بفگند نیم چرخ تو چرخ را از دست

and Asīr Akhsikātī (ibid.):—

گردون چو نیم قوس در آهنگ تک چنان کز نیم چرخ وهم جهد ناوک کمان

نیمچه *nīmchah*, half-let. (1) Small shirts and coats. Mujīru'ddīn Bīlqānī says (Bahār):—

سبزه گر نیمچه بر آب زند باکی نیست کاب را روز و شب از باد زره بر بدن است

(2) A small sword and gun.

چهره - - *chihra*, half face. A species of imaginary being, having half a face, one eye, one arm, one foot : it is male and female ; the male having the right hand, foot, etc. ; the female the left. When united they resemble one human figure ; when separate, they are supposed to run with amazing velocity on one foot, and are considered very dangerous and cruel. Also called نیم تن .

خایه - - *khāya*, half egg. (1) A dome. (2) The visible sky, being half of the whole heaven. Khāqānī says (Rsh.):—

گر عظمت نهد چو جم منظر نیم خایه را خایه مورچه شود نه فلك از محقری

and

ای چتر تو زیر سایه چرخ زردی ده نیم خایه چرخ

خایه مینا - - *khāya-i mīnā*, half glassy egg. Same as نیم خایه q. v.

خند - - *khand*, half smile. Faint smile. Šā'ib says (Bahār):—

روزی که بسته دید لب هم چو قند او شد خنده زهر در دهن نیم خند او

خواب - - *khwāb*, half asleep. (1) Feeble of the eye. (2) Coquetry, blandishment. Khusrāw says (ARaj.):—

باز نداری ای پسر غمزۀ نیم خواب را تانبرد به جادوی جان من خراب را

نیم

خورد - - *khwurd*, half eaten. (1) A little, very little, little. (2) Incomplete. ARaj. quotes :—

همچو آب زندگانی نیم خورد خضر نیست سر بمهر شرم دارم غنچه خندان تو

نیز کردن - - *khīz kardan*, to perform 'half rising.' A mode of salutation performed by standing half erect.

دار - - *dār* (contracted form of نیم‌مدار *nīm madār*), half-apportioned. A garment or floor not quite old. Aṣḥraf says (Bahār) :—

افکنده طرح خرمی از سایه‌های نیم دامن دشت ساخته نو فرش نیم‌دار

Shifā'ī says (Araj.) :—

می‌شود زیر پیچ دستارش گلم نیم‌دار يك خروار

دست - - *dast*, half cushion. (1) A small cushion. Anwarī says (Bahār):-

دست آفت بدو چگونه رسد که درو نیم‌دست دستور است

دینار - - *dīnār* (also نیمه دینار *nīma dīnār*), half *dīnār* (coin). (1) The lips of a mistress. (2) A kiss. Ḥasan Dihlawī says (ibid.) :—

از دهانت نیم دیناری به بخش واجب آمد گنج خوبی را زکواة

and Khāqānī says (Rsh.) :—

دوش گرفتم به گاز نیمه دینار تو چشم تو با زلف گفت زلف تو در تاب شد

راست - - *rāst*, half erect. A Note in music. Khusraw says (Bahār) :—

گفتی ازان قول که قوال راست گفت گهی راست و گهی نیم راست

رخ - - *rukḥ*, half face. A portrait showing half of the face, with one eye, a profile. 'Urfī opens a *qaṣīda* of his, eulogising Abu'l Faṭḥ thus :—

چهره پرداز جهان دخت کشد چون به حمل شب شود نیم رخ و روز شود مستقبل

رس - - *ras*, half ripe. (1) A half-ripe fruit, verdure, or wine. Ṣā'ib says (Bahār) :—

نو خطی سلسله جنبان جنون است مرا سبزه نیم رسی تشنه به خون است مرا

and Raḍī Dānīsh says (ibid.) :—

چید هر کس بر به قدر دانش از بستان فیض میوه ما نیم رس از شاخسار افتاده است

نیم

(2) A bird with new feathers, not very helpful in flying. Ṭāhir Waḥīd says (ibid.):—

به خون خویش ز نیم غوطه گر کنم پرواز چو طائری که پر و بال نیم رس دارد

It is also used as *nafas-i nīm ras*, half-approaching breath, and *tīr-i nīm ras*, half-approaching arrow, meaning thereby as not hitting the mark. Dhawqī Ardistānī says (ARaj.):—

تا چند ز همراهی دل باز یس اتم چون ناولک لطفان به نشان نیم رس اتم
and Jalāl Asīr says (ibid.):—

خجل از ناله کنم فاخته و بلبل را از خموشی نفس نیم دسی یافته ام

rang, half colour. (1) With faded colour. (2) Incomplete, unfinished.

rū, half-faced. A pearl or gem which is round on one side and flat on the other. Says Sayyid Ḥusayn Khālīsh (Bahār):—

حق القدم گرفت گهرهای نیم رو پای کسی که آبله زد در سراغ ما
and

با حباش نیم رو را بخت از بد گوهری است او ز عیان خیزد این از چشمه آب حیات

rūz, half (mid) day. (1) The country of Sistan. Of the many very interesting reasons for so naming the place, a few are: (a) when it is sunset in the West, it is noon, midday in the Middle East; Sistan being situated in this part of the world. Hence the name. (b) When Solomon, of the Old Testament, reached this place, he found it filled with water. He commanded the *devas* (demons) to fill the place with dust, and as it took half the day to fill it, the place came to be known as such: and (c) when the emperor of China reached that place it was midday, and hence the name. Shaykh Aḥmad Ghazzālī, the brother of the Great Ghazzālī, says (ARaj.):—

تا یافت جان من خبر از ملک نیم شب صد ملک نیم روز به یک جو نمی خرم

(2) A note in music. The twenty-ninth of the Thirty Modulations (q. v. سی لحن) of Bārbad, the celebrated musician of ancient Iran.

zūbān, of half tongue. (1) Talking very little. A person not fond of talking much. Bāqir Kāshī says (MusSh.):—

گر چه روی سخن امروز سراسر با ماست ما ز کم حوصلگی نیم زبانیم همه

نیم

(2) One who cannot express himself fully on account of his shyness, or decorum, or awe.

سفت - - *suft* (also سفته *sufta*), half-bored. (1) An incomplete, unfinished discourse. (2) Light shower.

سوخته - - *sūkh̄ta*, half-burnt. A piece of burnt cloth.

سیرگلستان - See (2) under نیم .

شکری - - *shakarī* (also نام شکری *nam shakarī*), half-sugared. A sweet, also known *namak shakarī*.

غنچه تبسم - See (3) under نیم .

کار - - *kār* (also کاره *kāra*), half work. (1) Anything incomplete and unfinished. Šā'ib says (Bahār):—

ز عجز صورت کارش تمام صورت بست مصوری که شبیه تو نیم کار گذاشت

and *Khusraw* (Bahār):—

تا نقش تو زمانه بر پیرهن دشیده بر کارگاه گردون مه نیم کار مانده

(2) A pupil. *Khusraw* says (ibid.):—

در از لعلش به درج تنگتاری مه از رویش به شغل نیم کاری

(3) A labourer. *Zuhūrī* has (ibid.):—

نافه نیم کاره دل ما نفس سست دگ تمام نه کرد

kāsa, half cup. A kind of cup made of wood.

کاسه زیر کاسه داشتن - - *Kāsa zīr-i kāsa dāsh̄tan*, to have a 'half cup' under the cup. To cheat, fraud. *Ṭughrā* says (ibid.):—

ز ماه چارده هرگز نرسد آن هلال ابرو که چندین نیم کاسه زیر یک کاسه چرا دارد

لنگ - - *ling*, half leg, or heel. (1) The quiver. *Nizāmī* (ibid.):—

همه ساز لشکر به ترتیب جنگ بر آراست از جعبه و نیم لنگ

نیم

(2) A bow. Shams Fakhri says (ARaj.):—

به يك تير پای فلک شل کند اگر بر کشاید به دین نیم لنگ

(3) Half ass-load. (4) The shanks. (5) Beautiful, handsome. In poetry نیم *nīm ling* can also be used as نیم لنگ *nīm lang* for the sake of rhyme.

— mast, half drunk. One intoxicated, yet in his senses. The epithet is generally used for the eyes and the beauty of the beloved. Ṣā'ib says (Bahār):—

به ساغر احتیاجی نیست حسن نیم مستش را نه می جوشد می از پیانه چتم می برشش را

نیزه -- *nīza*, half spear. A small spear.

nīma. (1) A short garment, covering half the body. (2) A broken (half) brick. Tāhir Waḥīd says in praise of the mason (ibid.):—

طلب کرد چون نیمه آن بی وفا شود خوش ازان نیمه دل مرا

(3) Side, direction. (4) The veil.

nīma pinjāh, half *pinjāh*. (1) Thirty, because the numerical value of *pinjāh*, according to the *Abjad* system of calculation comes to sixty, (2) ل (*lām*) letter of the Arabic script, because the numerical value of ل according to *Abjad* system is 30.

nīma qandīl, half the candle. The new moon. Khāqānī says :—

نیمه قندیل موسی بود با محراب روح یا مثال طوق اسب شاه صفدر آمده

nīm hilāl, half new-moon. The lips of a mistress. Khāqānī says :—

آورد هزار عید پیدا تا نیم هلال کرده گویا

يك

يك آب خوردن *Yak āb khurdan*, to drink one water—to satisfy one's thirst with one drink. Šā'ib says:—

ای سکندر تابکی حسرت خوری بر حال خضر عمر جاویدان او يك آب خوردن بیش نیست
(1) يك بادام See - آش پختن

— *āwīz*, one hanger. A short and broad sword.

— *asba*, possessed of one horse, one who rides alone. (1) The sun. Of the many metaphors signifying the sun is also شاه يك اسبه and سلطان يك اسبه. *Khāqānī* says:—

سلطان يك اسبه سایه چتر بر ماهی آسمان بر افکند

(2) Bravely, valiantly. *Ṭālib Āmulī* has (*Bahār*):—

خود را يك اسبه بر سر افلاك می زنم خورشید سان سر اینک بر کف نهاده ام

— *andāz*, single thrower. (1) A small arrow flying far. (2) An arrow which when discharged at a victim is never sought for. *Athīru'ddīn Akhsikātī*¹ has (*Rsh.*):—

تا زده بر هدف سینۀ من چرخ را هیچ يك انداز نماند

(3) A double-headed arrow. (4) *Bahār* explains it also to signify a fatal arrow, and quotes *Khusrāw*:—

دو يك انداز را بهم پیوست پس بر آهو روانه کرد ز شست

هر دو در سر چنان نشاندش غرق که دو شاخش پدید کرد ز فرق

and *Majdu'ddīn Bilgrāmī*:—

پاسخی کز غمزه چشم يك اندازش برفت گر چه از دل بگذرد پیکانش در بر نشکند

(5) A perpendicular or steep precipice or an unscalable river bank. (6) Equal, even.

bi yak angusht-i kasī bastan, to tie with one finger of some one. It is used to indicate the greatness of a man, meaning thereby that a work can be accomplished with but little attention on his part. *Ta'thīr* says (*Bahār*):—

به قدرت خامه صاحب سخن دستی چنان بسته که چندین رستم دستان به يك انگشت او بسته

1. *Far. Jah.* has اخسیکی which clearly enough is a misreading of آخسیکی.

يك

يك *yakāyak*, one-upon-one, one-one. Suddenly, unexpectedly, all at once. (Cf. يك بدو). But the compound loses this implication in the phrase :

يك يك شدن متاع *yakāyak shudan-i matā'*, going of the merchandise all at once. Rise of the value of merchandise, property, etc.

يك يك شدن متاع *yakāyak kardan-i matā'*. Same as يك يك شدن متاع Sayyid Ḥusayn (entitled *Imtiyāz Khān*), surnamed *Khālīṣ* says (MusSh.):

در سر زلفش دوبالا می شود سودای دل این متاع هم بها این جا بک بک می کند

يك بادام *bādām*, one almond. A small quantity. There is quite a considerable number of such compounds prefixed with يك signifying a small quantity--in fact a *quantity*, small or large as the noun qualified by this numerical adjective happens to be small or large. A second noun is further added to a compound and is qualified by the latter which then serves as an adjective. For instance, they say *yak bādām jā* where the compound *يك بادام* qualifies *جا* and thus implies a small space or room, in fact as small as will accommodate one solitary kernel of an almond. *Shawkat Bukhārī* (ARaj.):—

کے از اندازه خود پا نہد نظارہ ام بیرون نکلہ من ز لوی یار بک بادام جا کیرد

Under this category fall the following :

(1) *ash pukhtan*, to cook one soup. A small quantity of a thing, a small period of time, a trice. *Yahyā* (ARaj.):—

می خورد خام گوشت را چو هزبر ده ندارد يك آش پختن صبر

(2) *baghal*, one armpit. A small quantity, as small as can be easily contained in one's armpit. ARaj. quotes *Tughrā*:—

يك بغل مشک میسر شودش نافہ صفت دست شانہ چو بہ کیسوی رسای تو رسد

(3) *baghal āghūsh*, one armpit of embracing-lap. A momentary embrace. *Ṣā'ib* says (Bahār.):—

بہ يك آغوش چہ گل چیم ازان نخل امید همچو کل يك بغل آغوش تمنا دارم

(4) *pusht-i kamān*, one arc-ful of a bow. A very small space, course, expanse. *Ḥasan Big Rafī'* has (Bahār.):—

دل من زان خم ابرو نہ شود رو گردان ز انکہ دو ریش ز يك پشت کبان بسیار است

يك

(5) پشت ناخون -- *pusht nākhūn*, one back of a (finger-)nail. Same as (4). BAj. explains it as a small quantity, while Bahār takes it to signify a small field. Šā'ib says (Bahār):—

چون قلم شد تنك بر من ازسيه داری جهان نيست جز يك پشت ناخن دست گاه خنده ام

(6) تار -- *tār*, one thread. A small quantity.

(7) چبه -- *chaba*, one night. Little, a little while.

(8) چشم پریدن -- *chashm parīdan*, one eye-twinkle. A very short time, a trice. Šā'ib has (Bahār):—

می توان رفت به يك چشم پریدن تا مصر بوی پیراهن اگر قافله سالار شود

(9) چشم خواب -- *chashm khwāb*, one eye-ful of sleep. A short sleep, nap. Šā'ib says:—

در عالمی که دیده ما را کشوده اند يك چشم خواب دوات بیداریش نيست

(10) چشم زدن -- *chashm zadan* (also زد *zud*, and بهم زدن *baham zadan*), one twinkling of the eye. Same as (8). *Khayālī* (Bahār):—

تا چشم من ز خون جگر چاشنی لرفت يك چشم زد نشد به غلط میهان آب

(11) حرف رنگ -- *harf rang*, one iota of colour. A little colour, a dot of colour. Šā'ib says:—

يك حرف از آن غنچه دهن رنگ ندارد هر چند که ده رنگ زبان در دهن اوست

(12) خنده گل -- *khanda gul*, one smile's worth of a rose. Just a little of rose, or a flower. *Tāhir Wahīd* has (Bahār):—

يك خنده گل نه چیده ام از نخل زندگی آمد بهار و غنچه دل وانی شود

(13) دهن -- *dahan*, one mouth. Little, very small. *Šādiq (Dast-i Ghayb)* says (ibid.):—

زان ز نخدان يك دهن حلوای سیب نر دهد می دارم از جان بهترش

(14) دهن خمیازه -- *dahan khamyāza*, one mouthful of yawning. A little yawn. Says Šā'ib (ibid.):—

سراپایم چو ساغر يك دهن خمیازه می گردد چو می گردد به خاطر یاد آن لب های می نوشش

Jalāl Asir has (ibid.):—

چو خندان بگذری از طرف گلشن گلستان يك دهن خمیازه گردد

يك

(15) *dahan khandīdan*, one mouthful of laughing. A brief and sweet smile. Sālik Yazdī has (ibid.):—

تا لب مشکل کشایت دهن خندیده است نیشکری عقدہ روید از شکر زار دلم

Also Shafī' Athar (ibid.):—

لاف برابری به دهان تو گرزند خنده به غنچه مرغ چمن يك دهن کند

(16) *dahan gūyā*, one mouthful articulate. Speaking for a very short while. Bidil says (ibid.):—

گر چه بیدل شیشه من از فلک آمد به سنگ این قدر شد کز شکستن يك دهن گویا شده

(17) *dāda khwāb*. Same as (9). Jalāl Asīr (ibid.):—

يك دیده خواب راحت سیاه آرزوست بی طاقی به مذهب من آرمیدگی است

(18) *rishta tāb*, one thread twist. Just a little, very little. Tughrā says (ibid.):—

هزار بار نخ موج در محیط غمت به آب باده يك رشته تاب گوهر ماست

(19) *gul jā*, one rose space. A very small space. Sālik Yazdī has (ibid.):—

از دو عالم گوشه چشم بتان مارا بس است تیره بختان را چو داغ لاله يك گل جابس است

(20) *lab nān*, one lip-ful of bread (food). Very little food. Abū Ṭālib Kalīm (Bahār):—

به وقت کرسنگی نفس دون کدائی کرد چو یافت يك لب نان دعوی خدائی کرد

(23) *muzha-i khwāb*, one eye-lash worth of sleep. Little sleep, any sleep at all. Ṭālib Āmulī (ibid.):—

اجل مبند به رویم در فسانه که من ز شوق يك مژه خواب عدم هلاک شوم

(24) *muzha chashm shikastan*¹, one twinkle of the eye-lash. A very short time, a moment. Qāsim Mashhadī (ibid.):—

می توان با صد خیابان بهشتم طرح داد يك مژه چشمی که بر روی عزیزان بشکند

yak bā dū kardan, to make one by two. To have communion with some one. To be so familiar with a man as to have a hand in his private affairs. Kamāl says (ARaj.):—

بجز خموشی روی دگر نمی بینم که نیست زهره یکی با دو کردیم یارا

1. For شکستن BAj. gives شگفتن which is not supported by idiom, and is palpably incorrect.

يك

بارگی - - *bārgī*, at one time or turn. At once. (1) Wholly, entirely.
(2) Universally.

بام دو هوا - - *bām dū hawā*, one terrace (and) two breezes. A proverb, used when in a place two different types of law are in force, and the people do not act according to a single law. *Shāpūr* says (BAj.):—

بیار نسیم کوی یاریم کانجا دو هوا بود به يك بام

بادو - - *bā dū*, one against two. Suddenly, all at once, unexpectedly.
Cf. یکایک

يك بر دو زدن *yak bar dū zadan*, to strike one on two. (1) To see two of one, as those of squinted eyes do. (2) Praise for one who is expert in business, and who makes double profit in a bargain.

بر (در) دو گفتن - - *bar (dar) dū guftan*, to say one on two. To exaggerate.

بسی - - *basī*, one too many. Suddenly, all at once.

بغل - - *baghal*. See يك بادام (2).

بغل آغوش - See يك بادام (3).

بن - - *bun*, one root. Sweet basil.

بندی - - *bandī*, singly bound. (1) Goodness. (2) Victory. Also يك پندی *yak pandī*.

به يك - - *ba yak*, one by one. (1) Suddenly. (2) Like. (3) Sure.

به يك پا استادن *ba yak pā istādan*, to stand on one foot. To be ready to serve. *Ghanīmat* says (Bahār):—

پرستاران هندی شوخ و زیبا ستاده بر سر خدمت به يك پا

پاره - - *pāra*, one part or piece. (1) Massive. (2) At once.

پاشدن - - *pā shudan*, to become one foot. To walk hastily.

بر يك پرکار گذاشتن *bar yak parkār gudhāshstan*, to leave on one compass. To let something remain in a certain condition. *Ismā'il Imā* says (Bahār):—

به يك پرکار ماراکی گذارد جنون دوری دیوانه ما

يك

پشت - - *pusht*, one prop. (1) Two men of the same opinion about something. (2) A companion.

پشت دارد ماندن - - *pusht kārđ māndan*, to remain (at a distance of) one knife's back. To be very near. Ibrāhīm Adham says (ibid.):—

در حب آل صاحب تیغ دوسر علی يك پشت كارد مانده كه كویند عالیام

(4) يك بادام See - پشت لمان

(5) يك بادام See - پشت ناخن

بندی -- *pandī*. Same as يك بندی q. v.

پهلوی - - *pahlū*, one side. (1) Stable in one condition or state. Šā'ib says (ibid.):—

بر نمی آید کسی باخوی يك پهلوی تو هست يك پهلوی تر از خوی جوانان خوی تو

يك رو نشین q. v. (3) Same as يك رو q. v. (2) Same as

پهلوی افتادن - - *pahlū uftādan*, (also with به), to fall on one side. (1) To engage oneself in a certain work whole-heartedly, and finish it. Qubūl says (ibid.):—

به چشمم باز اشك از خوی يك پهلوش می آید اگر خون دلم چون كبك تا زانویش می آید

(2) To feel shamed. Ashraf (or Salīm ?) says (AsLugh.):—

بسته كمر به لیم از قبضه كمان او در كشتن من تیغش افتاده به يك پهلوی

and Qubūl says (Bahār):—

ز ابروی تو نتوان برد جان افتاد يك پهلوی به قصد قتل ما چون صورت كشید بر داغ

از (به) يك پیمانه نوشیدن *az (ba) yak paymāna nawshīdan*, to drink from (with) the same cup. To be equal. Šā'ib says:—

نمار و خواب و بیماری و شوخی نسیه و مستی ز يك پیمانه می نوشند می از چشم شهلایش

and (ARaj.):—

كم نه از لاله صاف و درد این میخانه را با لب خندان به يك پیمانه می باید كشید

It seems the idiom is used with نوشیدن and كشیدن both.

يكتا *yaktā*, single. (1) Simple. (2) A garment without a lining. (3) God.

يك

تا پیراهن -- *tā pīrāhan*, one shirt. (1) The man who wears only one shirt, is sparsely clad. Abū Ṭālib Kalīm has (Bahār):—

شب قباى صبر دل ها چاك شد چون آمدى هم چو شمع خلوت فانوس يكتا پيرهن

‘Abdu’llāh Waḥdat of Qumm uses the epithet in the form يكتاى پيراهن *yaktāy pīrāhan* (Bahār):—

تو كز بند قبا وا كردنش دخت سفر بستی چه خواهی كرد گريكتاى پيراهن برون آيد

yaktā dilī, single-heartedness. Amity.

تار -- *tār*, one string. Very little, in very small quantity.

تاز -- *tāz*, (also يکه تاز *yakka tāz*), single runner. One who charges the enemy alone. Gh. says that it signifies a little. Clearly enough it is a misreading and misconstruction of يك تار (see supra).

تاش -- *tāsh*, one partner. A fellow-servant.

تنه -- *tana*, of one body. (1) Alone. (2) Matchless, unique.

تهى -- *tahī*, of one fold. (1) A garment without a lining, worn especially during the summer season. (2) A shirt, shift.

جا -- *jā*, one place. At the same time. Equally.

جان -- *jān*, one soul. A friend.

جانب -- *jānib*, one side. A partisan.

جانب افتادن -- *jānib uftādan*, to fall on one side. To face, to combat. Ṣā’ib says (MusSh.):—

چرا به تيغ جوانان فند به يك جانب كسى كه جوشن صبرش ز سنگ خارا نيست

جانب شدن -- *jānib shudan*, same as above.

جلو -- *jilū*, one rein. A swift runner. Ṭughrā (Bahār):—

اى طفل اشك تندرو كز شوق گشتى يك جلو حرفى از اين يعقوب نو با يوسف ثانى بگو

جلو رفتن -- *jilaw raftan*, to go on a horse-bridle. (1) To make the horse run. (2) To go all of a sudden. Ta’thīr (BAj.):—

گر چنين كار خرام قدش از پيش رود يك جلو تا به قيامت آلف از خویش رود

يك

جهت - - *jihat*, one face. (1) Unanimous. (2) A friend.

چپه - See يك بادام (7).

چشم - - *chashm*, one eye. (1) One who looks on, or only considers the exterior. (2) A hypocrite. *Khāqānī* says:—

دهر است پیر مردی زال عقیم دنیا چون باد ریشه يك چشم این زال بدفعالش

(3) A short-sighted person. (4) A unitarian. (5) The sun.

چشم پریدن - See يك بادام (8).

چشم خواب - See يك بادام (9).

به يك چشم دیدن *bi yak chashm دیدن*, to see with one eye. To regard two contrary things as equals and not to differentiate between them. *Tā'thīr* says (AsLugh.):—

مرا از فطرت خودشید تابان این پسند آمد که با يك چشم می بیند بزرگ و خرد دنیا را

چشم زدن - See يك بادام (10).

چشم (چشمه) کردن *chashm (chashma) kardan*, to make one eye. To decorate, adorn. *Khusraw* says (Bahār):—

عروس صبح دم يك چشمه کرده به بام چارمین ایوان برآمد

چشمه کار - - *chashma kār*, the single-eyed work. A decorated piece of work. Also pronounced as چشم کار - - *chashm kār*. *Ṣā'ib* says (MusSh.):—

شیوهای حسن او صائب نیاید در شمار دل بری يك چشم کار از نرگس جادوی اوست

*Qāḍī 'Aṭā'ī*¹ says (ibid.):—

ما زهر اهل دلی يك چشمه در آموختیم ناله از نی گریه از ابر بهار آموختیم

چشمی - - *chashmī*, one-eyedness. (1) To give equal importance to good and bad: not to differentiate between the two. (2) A hypocrite.

چندبار - - *chand bār*, a few horses. A string of horses.

چوبه - - *chūba*, one-poled. A tent.

1. Bahār names the author as قاضی حلائی (*Qāḍī Ḥalā'ī*) and MuSh. as قاضی علائی (*Qāḍī 'Alā'ī*), both of which seem to be misreadings for قاضی عطائی (*Qāḍī 'Aṭā'ī*), surname of قاضی علاء الله (*Qāḍī 'Aṭa'ullah*) who flourished in the time of *Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafawī*.

يك

يك بادام - See (11). حرف رنگ

خانۀ گشتن (شدن) کمان - *khāna gashtan (shudan)-i kamān*, the turning of a bow into one curve. One side of a bow overpowering the other, i.e. the bow becomes crooked. Bending the bow. *Khushraw (Bahār)* :—

گشت چو يك خانه کمان سپهر داد سپهر آتش تیرش به مهر

يك بادام - See (12). خنده گل

دانه - *dāna*, one pearl. (1) An incomparable gem. *Hāfiz* :—

گریه شام و سحر شکرکه ضایع نه گشت قطره باران ما گوهر يك دانه شد

(2) A string of pearls. (3) A necklace, formed in this way that five or six (according to *Jah.* seven) pieces of thread are taken, and on each piece five or six (or seven) pearls are threaded. Then all the six threads are together passed through a larger pearl. The threads are parted again, and a few pearls more are added to each one of them. Then, in the same way, all are together passed through a pearl with bigger hole, and this goes on until the necklace is complete. *Khāqānī* (in an elegy) says :—

مهره از بازو و معجز جین باز کنید یاره از ساعد و يك دانه زبر بکشائید

dast, one hand. (1) Entire. (2) Whatever can be lifted with one hand. (3) Even (cloth). (4) Homogeneous. (5) A kind of dress. (6) A number of things of the same form and quality ; a set, such as *دست رخت* - *dast rakht*, meaning a whole suit of clothes : turban, trousers, handkerchief and all ; also *دست سلاح* - *dast silāḥ*, meaning all the armour, helmet, coat of mail and other things. *دست جامه* - *dast jāma*, one hand garment. A kind of garment reaching from the head to the heels.

dil wa yak jihat shudan, to become one heart and one face. (1) To consent. (2) To conspire.

dila, one hearted. (1) Uniform. *Qā'ānī* says :—

فگنده اند غلغله دوصدهزار يك دله به شاخ گل پے گله ز رنج انتظارها

(2) Sincere. (3) Brave, valiant.

dama (يك دمۀ) *muqāranat-i yak dama*, society of a moment. A transient acquaintance.

يك

دندانه - - *dandāna*, one toothed. Similar. Ṣā'ib says (MusSh.).

در بهارستان يك رنگی بلند و پست نیست ناز خار و گل به يك دندانه می باید کشید
(13). See يك بادام دهن —

(14). See يك بادام دهن نخیازه —

(15). See يك بادام دهن خندیدن —

- - *dahan lab-i khandān*, one mouth of laughing lip. To smile a little. Ṣā'ib says (Bahār) :—

تا خنده بر بساط فریب جهان کنم چون صبح يك دهن لب خندام آرزوست

(16). See يك بادام دهن گویا —

(17). See يك بادام دیده خواب —

ذره - - *dharra*, one atom. The least part of a thing.

- - *rā dū kardan*, to make two of one. To be in communion with some one.

- - *rān*, one thigh. A light, day, dun, chestnut, or flea-bitten horse. (2) A chestnut coloured horse with a white mane and tail. (3) A fine, full-grown, light-breed horse. (4) A horse which takes a shorter step with one hind foot than the other. Kamāl Ismā'il says (Jah.) :—

نشسته آب ز رشک لطافت در خاک چنان که باد بر آتش ز نعل آن يك ران

(ARaj. has رشک for رنگ).

Badr-i Chāch has :—

این محب تر بین که يك ران شهنشه دم به دم چار بامه بعد را در يك قدم آسان رسید

(5) The colour of myrtle and of the pistachio nut, likewise, yellow and grey.

- - *rukḥ*, one face. A kind of bow.

- - *rasīdan*, to arrive singly. To meet together.

- - *rishta*, one thread. (1) Consenting, agreeing. (2) Of one condition, state.

(18). See يك بادام - - *rishta tāb*. رشته تاب

يك

چار نفس -- *raqīb*, one Preserver. God. See رقیب.

دکابی -- *rakābī*, of one stirrup. (1) A led horse of state. (2) Haste or hurry. Nizāmī says:—

عنان را يك دکابی زیر می زد دو دستی با فلک شمشیر می زد

Hence دکابی شدن -- *rakābī shudan*, to prepare to do some work. Nizāmī says (ARaj.):—

زین بیش بر دل فریبی مباش به نادستی يك رکیبی مباش

and Khāqānī (ibid.):—

يك دکابی مپای بر سر زهد چون شود دل عنان گرای صبح

رنگ -- *rang*, one colour. Sincere, faithful, true.

رنگان -- *rangān*, of one colour. Simple, sincere.

رنگی -- *rangī*, one colouredness. Sincerity, faithfulness, truth. Khāqānī says:—

لاف يك رنگی مزن تا از صفت چون آینه از درون سو تیرگی داری و بیرون سو صفا

رو -- *rū*, one face. Unanimous, sincere, pure.

bi yak rūza muhtāj kardan, to make one needy for a day. To make one in want of a day's dinner—an exaggeration of poverty. Zulālī says in *Sulaymān Nāma* (Bahār):—

نظامی برو بوم تاداج کرد سخن را به يك روزه محتاج کرد

rū kardan, to make one-faced. (1) To give up an acquaintance, used with the preposition با. Ismā'il Imā (ibid.):—

اهل نفاق بودن بدتر ز کینه جوئیست يك زو کم به هرکس با من کند دوروی

and Muḥsin Ta'thīr says (ibid.):—

آسیای هرکه از بی آبروی دائر است می تواند چون فلک با عالمی يك رو کند

rū nishīn, sitting facing sideways. Indifferent. Ashraf (ibid.):—

بت يك رو نشینی باز امشب در آرامم به يك پهلو افتاده

يك

روى - - *rūī*, one-facedness. Unanimity, singleness, simplicity, sincerity.

رويه - - *rūya*, of one face. (1) Clear. (2) Open, manifest. (3) Consenting, agreeing. (4) Suddenly, all at once. *Mukhtārī* says (ibid.):—

ای مهر تو بی حاصل يك رويه زمین مگسل کز مهر تو هست این دل آتش کده بر زین

ره - - *rah*, one way, one road. (1) At once. (2) At one glance, at first look. (3) Sincere. (4) Pure.

زخم - - *zakhm*, one wound. (1) The title of *Sām Narīmān*, because he killed a dragon at a single blow. *Firdawsī* (Jha.).

بشد سام يك زخم و بنشست زال می و مجلس آراست بفراشت یال

زدن - - *zadan*, to strike one. To twinkle once.

سر - - *sar*, one head. (1) Subject to one chief. (2) Together, in one body, at one stroke. (3) From beginning to end. (4) Suddenly. (5) Alone.

سراسر - - *sarāsar*, one whole. *Bahār* and *ARaj.* regard this as synonymous with *يك سر* (supra). *Bahār* quotes *Bāqir*:—

آن جوهرم که می شکنند از برای سر باور کنی اگر ببری يك سراسرم

and *Mukhlis Kāshī*:—

وسعت ملک جنون هم يك سراسر بیش نیست منتهای منزل چاک گریبان دامن است

But it seems highly improbable that *يك سر* should also mean "subject to one chief" as in *يك سر* (1)

سر رفتن - - *sar raftan*, to go one-headed or ahead. Not to stop on the way.

سر و گردن بلند افتادن از چیزی - - *sar wa gardan buland uftādan az chizi*, to fall one head and neck above anything (compare the English idiom 'to be head and shoulders above one'). To be higher than a thing. (2) To be greater than another. (3) To grow abundantly.

Ṣā'ib (ibid.):—

ز ابرو يك سرو گردن بلند افتاد مژگانش کمان پرزور چون باشد خدنگ او دسا باشد

Munīr says (ibid.):—

قدت ز سرو يك سر و گردن بلند بود شمشاد سایه پرور نخل جوان تست

يك

Zahīr of Fāryāb says :—

ازان زمان که من اورا مثل زدم به سپهر سپهر يك سر و گردن ز فخر بالیده

سو - - *sara*, one-headed. (1) A solitary person. (2) Two friends having the same sentiments. (3) At one time, all at once. (4) From beginning to end. Cf. يك سر .

سوار - - *suwār*, one horseman. (1) One who rides along fearing nothing, a knight-errant. (2) Alone.

سواده - - *suwāra*, a single horseman. (1) The sun. (2) A brave and valiant rider. Šā'ib says (Bahār):—

پیاده وار مکرر سپهر سر کش را فکنده در جلو خویش يك سواره دل

سو کردن - - *sū kardan*, to put on a side. (1) To decide, to deliver judgment. Muṣṭafā Mīrzā, grandson of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafawī, says (ibid.):—

هر چه بادا باد حرفی چند می گوئیم باز کار خود در عاشقی این بار يك سو می گیم

سو گرفتن - - *sū giriftan*, to take to a side. To avoid, to keep oneself away from a thing.

شاخ کردن - - *shākh kardan*, to cut one. To disgrace one.

شبه - - *shaba*, of one night. (1) A kind of fine white linen, embroidered with gold thread. (2) A kind of very tender garment, made of silk, worn by the bride and the bridegroom on the marriage-night. Bahār thinks it is a woman's head-sheet, made of grass, very tender, and not lasting more than one night. Ashraf says (Bahār):—

چو خورشید خاور نهان ساخت چهر به زیور در آمد عروس سپهر

فزون گشت از کوکبش کوکبه به سر کرده از ماه نو يك شبه

ماه يك شبه *māh-i yak shaba*, the moon of one night. (1) A ruby. (2) The eye-brows of a beloved.

شکم سیر خوردن - - *shikam sīr khurdan*, to eat one stomach-full. To satiate one's hunger at one time. Ṭāhīr Wahīd (Bahār):—

فلکش بر دهی نه کرد امیر که خورد يك شکم چقدر سیر

صد ذات (يك صدی ذات), one hundred personnel. Formerly, a rank in the army. One of this rank received two lakhs of *dām* (five thousand rupees).

يك

طرف افتادن - *ṭaraf uftādan*, to fall aside. (1) To turn away. (2) To face. *Ṣā'ib* says:—

با بزرگان يك طرف افتادن از عقل است دور محاسب بیجا کمر بسته است در ایزای خم

q.v. يك طرف افتادن Same as *ṭaraf shudan*. - طرف شدن

q.v. يك پهلو - *qarār*. Same as قرار

قلم - *qalam*, one pen. (1) Consistent (a writer). (2) Together, at one stroke, at once. (3) All, total. (4) Completely. *Mufid Balkhī* says (*Bahār*):

عالم به يك قلم شده در چشم من سیاه نا زیر مشق خط شده روی چوماه تو

also *Bidil*:—

خامشی باسبب مکتب بیتابی نیست يك قلم ناله نی بود درین بیشه ما

کاسه کردن - *kāsa kardan*, to make one cup. (1) To drink all of something *Athar* says (*BAj.*):—

نگذاشته است حسن تو چیزی برای گل يك کاسه کرده است چو می آب و رنگ را

(2) To mix together. *Ṣā'ib* says:—

همین است پیغام گل های رعنا که يك کاسه کن نوهار و خزان را

and *Ashraf* says (*Bahār*):—

بسر با دختر رزمی برم ایام مستی را دگر يك کاسه کردم مستی و شاهد پرستی را

(20). See *یک بادام* - کف زمین

به يك کنار نهادن *bi yak kinār nihādan*, to put aside. To remove, to keep afar. *Ẓuhūrī* says (*Bahār*):—

نهاده است ظهوری هوای بوس و کنار به يك کنار سوگنداست

گره - *girah*, one knot. (1) Like, resembling, comparable to. (2) United, agreeable.

gaz rūy kār dārad, (it) has a yard of façade. Used of the condition of a person which though apparently good, is in reality not so. The metaphor has been derived from gambling.

(21). See *یک بادام* - گل جا

(22). See *یک بادام* - لب نان

يك

لخت - *lakht*, one piece. (1) Of one key. (2) Most powerful. (3) An emperor, a commander-in-chief. (4) All at once. (5) Like, similar, resembling. (6) Agreeable, true. (7) Anything which remains true to its condition. Kalīm says (Bahār): — يك لخم و در كوى دو رنگيم وطن نيست and Ismā'il Imā says (ibid.): —

سخن شنو نبود آدمى كه يك لخت است حكايى است كه ديوار گوش مى دارد

(23) يك بادام See - مژه خواب

(24) يك بادام See - مژه شكستن

مشت - *musht*, one handful. (1) A companion. (2) Two friends.

مصلب - *muṣallab*, single crossed. A coin, inscribed with the sign of the cross.

نشست - *niṣḥast*, one sitting. (1) A companion, a friend. (2) One who sits or converses with another. (3) Two men united in any business.

نفس - *nafas*, one breath. (1) Two divers who continue to hold their breaths up to the same moment, so that when the breath of one outside the river exhausts, they may pull out the one inside it, lest he dies. (2) One word. (3) A friend, a boon companion. The idiom *نفس زدن nafas zadan* signifies : to say something, to utter a word.

نورد - *naward*, one course. (1) One way, road, manner. (2) One affinity, connection, relation.

نیم نهادن - *nīm nihādan*, to place one-half. To put aside. Āṣafī says (BAj.): —

تا بستر راحت ز تو يك نیم نهادم بالین اجل را سر تسلیم نهادم

وا نیم ساز - *wa nīm-i sāz*, one and a half of the instrument. A term or property pertaining to musical instruments. A kind of music.

يكه تاز - *yakka tāz*, one runner. (1) A combatant who charges the enemy alone, and does not wait for help. Fawqī Yazdī: —

آن سوار يکه تازم در بيابان جنون کفتاب و مه کنندم آرزوى شاطرى

(2) One who is out of breath after running. Bahār: —

يكه تازان است پا بر جان زده يك سواره بر سر مردان زده

دو

سوار — *yakka suwār*, one rider. One who is unequalled in the army, a hero. Sa'dī (Bahār) :—

اگر پای بندی رضا پیش گیر دگر يك سواره سر خویش گیر

Mukhlis Kāshī has (Bahār) :—

مموده نام نکوی تو عالمی تسخیر اگر چه غیر نگین يك سوار نیست ترا

اقبال يك هفته، *Iqbāl-i yak hafta*, prosperity of one week. Transient wealth, passing prosperity. Khāqānī :—

بدین اقبال يك هفته که بفزاید مشو غره
که خود ماه دوهفته است آن که افزونی ست نقصانش

yakī (yaka) khurdan, to suffer oneness. To remain perplexed and bewildered all of a sudden on hearing or seeing something strange or wonderful. Ta'thīr (Bahār) :—

مه سراسیمه شد آن دم که گل روی تو دید يکه خورده است الف تا قد دل جوی تو دید

Also 'Urfī (BAj.) :—

دوشم ز لب جانان میل دوسه بوسی شد آواز رقیب آمد از بیم یکی خوردم

(In the second hem. Bahār reads دور for بیم).

دو

dū, two. Same as دو عالم q.v. Also see پنج infra.

ātash, two fires. (1) The lips of a mistress. (2) Wine.

āsīyā, two mills. The heaven and the earth. Sa'dī (ARaj.) :—

مابین آسمان و زمین جای عیش نیست يك دانه چون جهد به میان دو آسیا

asba, of two horses. (1) A post-boy. (2) A messenger. (3) A soldier who has two horses round him. (4) Quick, expeditious. The compound is used, as a verb, with شدن، راندن، تاختن، شتافتن. Ša'ib has (Bahār) :—

غبار قافله عمر چون نمایان نیست دو اسبه تازی لیل و نهار را دریاب

دو

Khāqānī says :—

دانه از رجه دو اسبه تا مناره يك سره از سم گوردان دل شیران هراسان دیده‌اند

and (ARaj.) :—

زان که دو اسبه رسید موکب فصل ربیع دهر خرف بازیافت قوت یوم الشباب

Nizāmī has (Bahār) :—

به پر خاش زنگی شتابان شوند دو اسبه به سوی بیابان شوند

آمدن — — *āmadan*, two comings. (1) To make one ashamed. Ashraf disparages a horse (ChirH.) :—

برو از بس کنایت‌ها که خواندند خران از طعن‌اش آخر دو آمدند

(2) To be ashamed. (3) To run.

بارو — — *bārū*, two ramparts. Name of a game.

باز — — *bāz*, two hawks. A child's kite, so called from its similarity to a high soaring hawk (باز), the tail of the kite completing the simile.

بالا — — *bālā*, two statures. Double, excessive, generally used with reference to intoxication and drunkenness (نشه و مستی). Bāqir Kāshī has (Bahār) :—

می رسد از پی تسخیر دلم بادشهی شه مژگان سپی شوخ دوبالا نگهی

As a verb, it is used with گشتن and کشیدن, کردن, شدن, رفتن, تافتن. Bāqir Kāshī says (Bahār) :—

يك طرف جام شراب و يك طرف روی نگار ظرف ما کیف دوبالا بر نتابد بیش ازین

and Tālib Āmulī (ibid.) :—

بر بلبل از فراق گل و گلستان چه رفت بر من ز بهر دوست دوبالای آن رود

Jāmī Bīkhud says (ibid.) :—

می‌کند گلشن دوبالا نشه بیتابیم ناله بلبل زند مضراب قانون مرا

butī, of two images. A coin (اشرفی) on both sides of which an image is stamped.

bi-dū, two against (by) two. (1) The meeting face to face of two men without a third in between them ; together, without a third. (2) The lover and the beloved, as no third person is tolerable. Sayfī has (Bahār) :—

که قرار به آن مه چو دو برو باشم جز این مراد نه دارم که دو بدو باشم

دو

برا - - *burā*, a double-cutter. In Zand and Pāzand idiom it signifies a sword.

برادران - - *birādarān*, two brothers. (1) Two bright stars in the Lesser Bear, in Arabic called *فردان* *Farqadān*. (2) A rapacious bird, smaller than the eagle, so called because when one of them attacks a victim and is overpowered, the other comes to its rescue. Some take it to be the *غلیواج* *Ghaliwāj*. Rsh. says that the author of the *Şihāh* calls it *ده برادران* (ten brothers) which is not correct. It is to be noted that BAJ. and other dictionaries say 'it is a bird' (مرغیست), but while explaining it further, they say that when one attacks any victim, if it is overpowered, the other comes to its rescue. It seems they fly in pairs, hence the name

برجی - - *burjī*, of two castles. (1) A secret visit of one woman to another. (2) A pederast, a debauchee. *Shifā'ī* condemns (*Bahār*):—

ای مخترع کوفته خاصه و خرجی خرجی ز تو و خاصه زیاران دوبرجی

برهم زدن - - *barham zadan*, to embroil two. To cause ill-feeling between two persons by slander and detraction. *Shafī' Athar* says (*Bahār*):—

شیوه صلح و صفا کار دو برهم زن نیست هم چو مقراض نیابد ز سخن چین اصلاح

بعد - - *bu'd*, two distances, dimensions, i. e., length and breadth.

بل - - *bal*, of two sides. Unfaithful, untrue, insincere. Nāṣir *Khusraw* has (*ARaj.*):—

تن دو بل بیوفاست ای خواجه چندین مطلب مراد این دو بل

بیتی - - *baytī*, of two houses. (1) A rank, the owner of which receives eighty thousand *dāms* (two thousand rupees). (2) A quartette, a form of Persian verse consisting of four hemistiches—two verses—of which the first, the second and the fourth rhyme together. Also known under the Arabic name *rubā'ī* (رباعی).

بیتی خواندن - - *baytī khwāndan*, to read two verses. (1) To read. (2) To sing.

بیننده - - *bīninda*, a double-seer. (1) The two eyes. (2) A polytheist.

پا - - *pā*, two feet. A biped; a small, an oak-gall insect found chiefly on oak trees, and which imparts to cloth a beautiful red colour, and is also used in medicine.

دو

از دو پای نشستن *az dū pāy nishastan*, to sit on two legs. To sit properly. Anwarī says (AsLugh):—

حواس ظاهر و باطن که میهان داند یکی ز جمله هر دو گروه بتواند
که پیش خدمت او از دو پای بنشیند زد دل برآرد و بر جای جانش بنشاند

pādshāh-i jabbār, the two mighty Kings. Night and day.

— Same as above. پادشاه قهار

pakhcha, of two parts. (1) A clew of thread. (2) A bird. پنجه

parwāna, two moths. Same as جبار. — پروانه

palkā, having two eye-lids. (1) A kind of pigeon. (2) A kind of stone for a ring. — پلکا

pūst, two skins. (1) Two (leaves) pasted. (2) Together. پوست

piyāza, double onion. (1) A dish without gravy. (2) A rich fricassee made with butter, turmeric, onions, garlicks and various spices. پیازه

pīr-i naḥs, two inauspicious old ones. The two planets, Saturn and Mars. Says *Khāqānī*:—

آن دو پیر نحس رحلت کرده‌اند از بیم او تا که مشرف اوست اجرام فلک را از فلک

paykar, two bodies, two-bodied. (In Pahlawī, *dū patkar*). (1) The third of the twelve signs of the zodiac, called Gemini, because the shape of the zodiac is like two naked boys clasping each other from behind. *Kamāl Ismā'īl* says (Jah.).

ز شاخ درخت آن چنان می‌درخشند چو پروین ز برج دو پیکر شگوفه

Badr-i Chāch says:—

هست یرانِ معرکه تیر تو تیغ آسمان زان که به هر کجا رسد منزل او دو پیکراست

(2) A two-edged axe.

tā (also used as *dū tāh*, دو تاه, *dū tū*, دو تو, and *dū tah*), two-fold, double. (1) Lean and thin. (2) A fine cloth تا

(2) دو تائی: *tār*, two strings. An instrument of music. See تار

دو

tā shudan-i ḥarf, becoming two-fold of a letter. The changing of a letter : disagreement in word and deed. Mukhlis Kāshī says (Bahār) :—

گفتم زیار درد تو عمری به سربرم پشتم ز غم دوتاشد و حرفم دو تانشد

and Tanhā says (ARaj.) :—

زاهد ترا سلوک به حق رهنا نه شد خودداریت ز رفتن مسجد دوتانشد

tā kardan-i ḥarf, to speak two-fold. To deny one's own words.

tā ka'batayn, two dice. (1) Night and day. (2) Sun and moon.

tā'ī, two-fold one. (1) The couplets of the master-poets go to show that it means an article of underwear. Shāh of Kabūd Jāma says (ARaj.) :—

گر کسی بودی که پیشم چار تائی برزدی این دوتائی در بر من هر زمان یکتاستی

Sanā'ī has (ibid.) :—

یکتا دوتا کردم در مدحت و در خدمت یابم اگر از جود تو دستار دوتای

(2) A two-stringed harp. Cf. دو تار (above).

tahī, two-ply. Clothes that are lined. Clothes whose linings are separate, not sewn together. Sayyid Ḥusayn Khālīsh, who came to India from Iran, probably keeping the climate of the country in view, said (Bahār) :—

آه سرد که ترا کرد درفتت له باز دوتهی پوش برنک کل رعنا شده

tīgha bāz, a wielder of two swords. (1) A valiant, brave warrior, seeking a fight. (2) A swordsman who plays with two swords, one in each hand. Ṣā'ib has (ibid.) :—

ای صبح آه سرد تو از انتظار کیست زخم دوتیغه باز تو از ذوالفقار کیست

Ṭālib Āmulī says (MusSh.) :—

گزیده ناوک مقراضه چهار برش که با دوشاخه پیکان چو ذوالفقار افتاد
به سینۀ صف اعدا که خیل موداند دوتیغه باز چو نوک زبان مار افتاد

دو

زخم دو تیغه باز *zakhm-i dū tīgha bāz*, the wound of a two-sword wielder, is a metaphor which signifies doing two tasks, in general, and pederasty, in particular. Hence also is derived دو تیغه بازی *dū tīgha bāzī*. It is a practice in Afghanistan that the soldiers play with two swords, one in each hand. Metaphorically it means the doing of two works in general. Also implies pederasty. Ta'thīr says (ChirH.) :—

زان هر دو زمین به سرفرازی تا چرخ کند دو تیغه بازی

In the same way دو تیغه تاختن *dū tīgha tākhtan*, signifies to conspire with both the parties.

جا - - *jā*, two positions, doubly-positioned. A squint-eyed person.

جبار - - *jabbār*, two tyrants. (1) Night and day. (2) Devil and passion.

جگرتاب - - *jigar tāb*, roaster of two livers. Time, whom the poets in general take to be a great oppressor and a merciless tyrant. The numerator two only heightens the effect of the particular practice mentioned in the compound.

جنیت - - *janībat*, two led-horses. Night and day.

چار - - *chār* (as also چهار *chahār*), two-four. A sudden and unexpected meeting or encounter, generally used with reference to enemies. Bīdīl says :

عرصه تنوخی ما گوشه ناپیدائی ست هر که دو تافت ز آئینه دو چار است اینجا

Gh. thinks that to write it with a واو (دو و چار) is wrong, whereas BQ. is of opinion that the second half (چهار, چار) of the compound may sometimes be omitted. A number of verbal compounds are formed by adding a verb at the end of this compound. They are :

چار افتادن - - *chār uftādan*, to fall two-four. To meet suddenly and unexpectedly. Tughrā says (Bahār) :—

چنان مسم که شمع از شخص و شخص از سایه نشناسم

اگر ناگه دو چار اقم شبی در کشت مهتابت

چار خوردن - - *chār khurdan*, to suffer two-four. To encounter a person unexpectedly. 'Aṭṭār says (Jah.) :—

کدام صدراجل دیده که با او هم اجل بخورد دو چاری درین سپنج سرای

چار زدن - - *chār zadan*, to strike two-four. (1) To meet a person unexpectedly. (2) To converse. (3) To dispute. (4) To make a slight impression.

دو

چار شدن - - *chār shudan*, to become two-four. To meet a person suddenly, without expectation. Farrukhī says (Jah.) :—

هر که با توبه جنگ شد دوچار باظفر نزد او یکیست حرب

چار کردن - - *chār kardan*, as above. Sayyid Ḥusayn Khālīṣ says (Bahār) :

مرا کسی که دوچار تو کرد در ره عشق خدا کند که ترا هم به من دوچار کند

چارگشتن - - *chār gashtan*, Ditto. Ṭughrā says (Bahār) :—

قدح چون نگردد به عشرت دوچار که صد بوسه می گیرد از لعل یار

چشم چار شدن - - *chashm chār shudan*, quadruplication of two eyes. To meet suddenly and unexpectedly.

چشمه - - *chashma*, two streams. (1) Sun and moon. (2) Night and day. (3) The pupils of the eyes. In this sense, it is rather a pun on the word چشم *chashm*.

چشمه روان - - *chashma-i rawān*, two flowing streams. (1) Two weeping eyes. (2) The breasts of a woman in milk. Sanā'ī has (ARaj.) :—

بعد ازان الف داد با پستان روز و شب پیش تو دو چشمه روان

چله - - *chilla*, two selvages. A roof sloping two ways.

حجره خواب - - *hujra* (also حجره *hujla*)-i *khwāb*, two sleeping chambers. The two eyes. Khāqānī.

بهشت بهو بهشت اندرین سه غرفه مغز به هفت حجره نور اندرین دو حجره خواب

حرف - - *ḥarf*, two letters. The word کن *Kun* (be thou), as used to signify God's command to matter when He intended to create the universe.

حرف بی نوا - - *ḥarf-i bī nawā*, two indigent letters ; and

حرف بی هوا - - *ḥarf-i bī hawā*, two lustless letters. Both these epithets are enigmatic and have a mystic sense. They contain an allusion, in the first, to the formula *kun* (کن)—for which see دو حرف — and in the second to the pronoun for the Great Name, that is, *Hū* (= *huwa*, هو), He, Allah. The word *kun* is composed of k and n (کن) the total value of the letters of which is $20 + 50 = 70$, which written in Persian figures

دو

is ٠٧ that is a dot (.) placed before a seven. Geometrically a dot (point) has no magnitude, while mystically it signifies nothingness, non-existence. The figure seventy as written in Persian would thus signify two stretched hands with "nothing" in them. Hence کن is indigent or poor (بی‌نوا) and as the word has two letters they are termed دو حرف بی‌نوا. Now the second epithet, Hū هو. The value of this word—composed of two letters again—is $5+6=11$, which represents two 1's, each of which stands for and expresses the idea of the Personal Unity (وحدت ذاتی) and Attributive Unity (وحدت صفاتی) of Allah. Standing alone, these 1's denote a total and unqualified lack of all sorts of desire, craving and lust (بی‌هوا). Hence the epithet دو حرف بی‌هوا.

Another interesting but simpler explanation is (ARaj.): کن is the key of the treasure-trove of the creation of all possibly existent things (ممکنات). But these are, as it were, an embodiment of deficiency, want, detriment, mortality, corruption, and destitution. Thus کن quite easily becomes دو حرف بی‌نوا for they possess really nothing. Likewise هو indicates the light, effulgence and the beatitude of one with whom no error, fault, ruin, misguidance, desire or lust can prevail. هو would thus easily be characterised as دو حرف بی‌هوا.

حورلقا - - *hūr liqā*, two hourie-faced ones. The understanding and the soul. *Khāqānī* says:—

اسیر طبع مخالف مدار جان و خرد زبون چار زبانی مکن دو حورلقا

khātūn, two ladies. (1) The pupils of the eyes. (2) The sun and the moon. *Khāqānī* says:—

بدین دو خادم چالاک رومی و حبشی درم خریدہ دو خاتون خرگہ سنجاب

Under this category also falls:—

khātūn-i bīnīsh, two ladies of vision. (1) The pupils of the eyes. *Khāqānī* says (*Bahār*):—

به روزاز پی این دو خاتون بینش یکی زال آئنه گردان نماید

khātūn-i khargah-i sanjāb, two ladies of the court of ermine. Same as دو خاتون above.

دو

دومی -- *khādim-i Ḥabashī wa Rūmī*, two Negro and Roman slaves. (1) Night and day. See دو خاتون. (2) White and black. (3) The face and hair. As Lugh. finds no proofs of this (3rd) meaning. For a proof of the first meaning see دو خاتون.

خطملون -- *khatt* (also *khayt* خط)-i *mulawwan*, two coloured lines. (1) The twilight or false dawn and break of day. (2) Night and day.

نجه -- *khama*, of two bends. A hookah-pipe having two bends in its entire length. The double bend has the advantage of sending out a cool draft of smoke, which is cooled during its long course through the tube.

خواهر -- *khwāhar*, (also خواهران *khwāharān*), two sisters. Name of two stars near the Canopus, in Arabic called اختاسهيل *Ukhtā Suhayl*, the two sisters of the Canopus. One is called شعراى شامى *Shi'rā-i Shāmī*, the Sirius of Syria, and the other شعراى يمانى *Shi'rā-i Yamānī*, the Sirius of Yaman.

داله -- *dāla*, two eagles. The game of tip-cat. A game of boys. The shorter piece of wood is, in Persian, called پل (*pil*), and the longer one is known as جنبه (*janba*).

دامى -- *dāmī*, of two gins. (1) Flowered muslin. (2) The flowers worked with a needle.

دختر -- *dukhtar*, two daughters. Same as دو خواهر q. v.

درى -- *darī*, of two doors. The world.

به هر دو دست چسپیدن , *bi hardū dast chaspīdan*, to cling to a thing with both the hands. (1) To desire a thing earnestly. (2) To busy oneself heart and soul in an affair. Ṣā'ib (Bahār) :—

به هر دو دست به سیب ذقن نمی چسپد به حیرتم که چرا زلف یار با این قرب

and Khālīṣ says (ibid.) :—

نمی باید ز زور می به وقت رعشه ترسیدن به هر دو دست می باید به جام باده چسپیدن

-- *dast zadan*, to strike two hands, to clap. To make merry.

دو

دستی -- *dastī*, of (the length of) two hands. (1) A long sword. (2) A hard-fought battle. (3) A blow on the back with both hands to hasten any one. (4) A robe of honour. (5) A sort of ewer, having two hands. (6) Extreme generosity. (7) (With reference to wine) successively and frequently.

تیغ دو دستی خوردن *tīgh-i dū dastī khurdan*, to take a two-handed sword. To receive a hard blow. To be hit hard. *Rāsikh* says (ARaj.):—

از نگه دو چشم او زخم شکست خورده‌ام رشتۀ بخیه پیش کن زخم دو دسته خورده‌ام

دستی در آویختن *dastī dar āwīkhtan*, to hang with both hands. To show too much familiarity; to lack modesty or restraint. *Wālih Harwī* says (Bahār):—

گو شانه زبان باز کش و باد صبا پای کان زلف به آن روی در آویخت دو دستی

تیغ دو دستی زدن *tīgh-i dū dastī zadan*, to wield the sword with both hands. (1) To brandish the sword with all one's might. To fight valiantly, bravely. *Amīr Khusrav* has (ARaj.):—

ملک به میراث نیابد کسی تا نزند تیغ دودستی بسی

Minūchihri says (ibid.):—

تیغ دو دستی زند بر عدوان خدای همچو پیمبر زده است بر در بیت الحرام

(2) Giving or taking a large quantity. *Mu'izz-i Fiṭrat* (ibid.):—

چسان ز دست نگاهی تو جان تواند برد به فرق دل مژه این تیغ را دودستی زد

See يك دکابی .

تیغ دو دستی زدن *tīgh-i dū dastī gudhāshstan*. Same as گذاشتن q.v. *Nizāmī* says (ibid.):—

دو دستی چنان می‌گذارید تیغ کز و خصم را جان بیاید دروغ

دله -- *dila* (also دل -- *dil*), two-hearted. (1) Wavering, doubtful, in suspense. *Ta'thīr* has (ARaj.):—

آن که در یاد کسی چون دل رعنا دو دل است مفتی عشق برین است که خویش بجل است

Ṣā'ib says (ibid.):—

دو دل شوم چو به زلفش مرا نگاه چو رهروی که رهش برسر دو راه افتد

دو

rukḥ nihādan, to place two rooks. To inflict a defeat upon some one. Evidently the metaphor is drawn from the game of chess. When we place two bishops (رخ) in front of the king in the game of chess, the defeat of the opponent becomes inevitable.

rukḥī, double-faced. A sort of bow.

rishta marwārīd, two threads of pearls. The teeth of a mistress. Badr Chāch says :—

به زیر لعل تو پنهان دو رشته مروارید فراز سرو بلندت دو نرگس مخمور

rang (also *rangī*, two-colouredness), two-coloured. (1) The world or life, as revealed by night and day. (2) Night and day. (3) Capricious ; hypocrite. *Wahshī* says (Bahār) :—

بلبل آن به نه فریب گل رعنا نخودد نه دو روزی است وفاداری یاران دو رنگ

Also see يك لخت .

rū, two-faced. (1) A rose whose one side is yellow and the other white. Rich. and John. say that it is red without and white within, which is not correct. (2) A deceitful villain, a hypocrite. *Farrukhī* says (Bahār) :—

از مجلس ما مرده دو روی برون کن پیش آدمی سرخ و فروکن گل دو روی

(3) A small brass coin.

rūza, of two days (also *rūzī*, (1) Health and soundness of body. *Fakhr Gurgānī* has (Rsh.) :—

دوروزی و درستی مر ترا باد مباد از بخت بد بر جان بیداد

rūza 'umr, two day's life. Very short life—as if lasting only for a couple of days.

rū'ī, two-facedness. (1) Hypocrisy, deceit.

(2) A sort of writing which can be read in two languages, e.g. Persian and Arabic. *Shiblī* gives a fine example of this artifice from Amīr *Khusraw* (*Shi'ru'l 'Ajam*, Account of *Khusraw*) :—

(In Persian) زمانی بپاشی به یاری بشائی رسیدی، بدیدی مرادی به خانی

(In Arabic) زمانی بیاس تباری نسائی رسیدی ندیدی مرادی نجاتی

دو

The celebrated Ḥamīdu'd Dīn coins one *Maqāmat*, (*Maqāma V*) :—

(Persian) شنیدی زمانی به فکری حدیثی همی پند بردار تا به شود

(Arabic) سَیِّدِی زَمَانِی بِفِکْرِی حَدِیْثِی هَمِی بَیْدَ بَرْدَار تَائِهَ سَوْد

زای — — *zāy*, begetting two (sounds). A pipe, flute.

زبان — — *zubān*, double-tongued. (1) Hypocrite. (2) A pen. (3) A snake.

زنگی و رومی — — *zangī wa Rūmī*, two negro and Roman. (1) Night and day. (2) Youth and old age. (3) Good and bad. As Lugh says that the third meaning lacks confirmation.

زیره — — *zīra*, of two cumin-seeds. A kind of rice.

سری — — *sar*, double-headed. (1) A hypocrite. The compound *dū sarī*, is also used in this sense. Shafī' Athar (*Bahār*) :—

دشمن جان ترا عزم بیابان فناست دایم از نیزه زهرش دو سری بر سرماست

(2) A kind of tent.

سرای — — *sarāy*, two inns. This world and the next. Khāqānī :—

یگانه دو سرای و سه وقت و چار ارکان اسیر پنج حس و شش جهات و هفت اختر

سنگ — — *sang*, two stones. The two mountains near Mecca, the *Ṣafā* and the *Marwat*.

سوی — — *sūy*, double-sided. The parting of braided hair.

سِه چنبر — — *sih chanbar*, two (or) three circles. The heavens because they too are round like circumference. Here, two and three denote a small number, not a definite number.

سِه قندیل — — *sih qandīl*, two (or) three candles. The stars.

سِه ویران (ویرانه) ده — — *sih wīrān (wīrāna) diḥ*, two or three desolate villages. (1) The seven climates. (2) The five senses.

شاخ — — *shākh*. See under دوشاخه .

دو

شاخه - - *shākha*, two branched, two horned, bifurcated. (1) A pillory. Bibi Mihri¹ says (Jah.):—

بردند به زندان بت سیمین تن را زین واقعه ماتم است مرد و زن را
افسوس که در کنده بخواد سودن پائی که دو شاخه بود صد گردن را²

(2) A double-pointed arrow. Some poet says (ARaj.):—

پیش پیکان دو شاخش از برای سجده را شیر چون شاخ لوزنان پشت را کردی دوتا³

(3) A kind of beard, pointed two ways. (4) A gold-wrought girdle. To Richardson and Johns. *dū shākh* is exactly synon. with شاخه دو شاخ.

شانه - - *shāna*, two crested one. A double-pointed spear.

شاهین *shāhīn*, two falcons. (1) The handle of a pair of scales.

(2) The constellations called the Eagle (*nasr-i Ṭā'ir*) and the Lyre (*Nasr-i Wāqī*).

شش *shash*, two sixes. A throw of "twelve," compounded by a double throw of "six" in the game of Ludo (*Nard*). This is the highest and the most perfect (کامل) move a player can have.

شش نشستن - *shash nishistan*, to sit 'two-six.' To impress deeply. Wālih Harawī says (Bahār):—

دوشستی باین رسائی نه نشست عاشقی را تو و فکر کشتن من ، من و ذوق جان سپاری

چار نفس - - *ṣaḥn*, two courtyards. The heaven and the earth. See

طفل - - *ṭifl*, two boys. Hasan and Husayn, the two sons of 'Alī (son of Abū Ṭālib).

q.v. دو طفل نور - *ṭifl-i pasandīda*, two esteemed boys. Same as

طفل نور - *ṭifl-i nūr*, two boys of light. The pupils of the eyes. *Khāqānī* says:—

این دو طفل نوری اندر مهد چشم بر بزرگ خرده دان خواهم فشاند

1. ARaj. attributes the quatrain to مهستی گنج (Mahastī of Ganja).

2. ARaj. reads the first couplet thus:

شه کنده نهاد سرو سیمین تن را زین واقعه شیون است مرد و زن را

3. Jah. has سبز چون شاخ گرزنان پشت را کردی دوتا for the second hem., clearly misread.

دو

تافل هندو - *ṭifl-i hindū*, two black (or robber) boys. The pupils of the eyes, so called because they are black, and also because in poetic thought they are supposed to snatch away the hearts of the lovers. Khāqānī says:—

تافتد این دو طفل هندو اندر مہد چشم زیر دامن پوشم از درہای جان فرسای من

توطی - *ṭūṭī*, two parrots. The lips of a girl (sweetheart). The redness of the bird's beak is compared to the ruddy lips of damsels.

عالم بہم زدن - *‘ālam baham zadan* (also *barham zadan*), to strike the two worlds one against the other. To give up the world and worldliness. *Ṭāhīr Waḥīd (Bahār)*:—

چنان کز سنگ و آہن آتش سوزان شود پیدا زنی گر ہر دو عالم را بہم جانان شود پیدا

علوی - *‘ulwī*, two exalted ones. The planets Saturn (زحل) and Jupiter (مشتری).

عیار - *‘ayyār*, two tricksters. Night and day. The epithet is further supplemented by *ṭarrār* طراد into دو عیار طراد: two trickily imposters.

دو و نیم - *dū wa nīm*, two and a half, to keep two draughts remaining. (1) Not to be satisfied even when the object of a man is attained. The story runs that three men were travelling together. A man brought a cup of cream for them and, as they had no other vessel, it was decided that each of them should drink three draughts and repeat the process till it was finished. But the first man drank the whole of it in one breath and added that he had two and a half draughts still remaining. Hence the proverb. *ChirH.* quotes without mentioning the author:—

لب بر لب یار و دیدہ اش پر خون است پیانہ ہان دو قرت و نیمش باقی است

(2) When a man comes to terms with another but soon after uses indecent words to or about him, this proverb is used.

قرص گرم و سرد - *qurṣ-i garm wa sard*, a hot and a cold loaf. The sun and the moon. Khāqānī says:—

ہین صلاۃ خشک بی پیران تر دامن کہ من ہر دو قرص گرم و سرد آسان آوردہ ام

قوی - *qawli*, double-saying. A lie, false words.

دو

کارد – *kārd* (also *kārda* کرده, or *kārdī* کاردی), two knives, doubly-knifed.
(1) A pair of scissors or shears. (2) A blow struck under the neck upon the chest.

کارد گریبان کاو – *kārd-i garībān kāw*, the two-bladed one which cuts asunder a collar. A pair of scissors with which the tailors make the collar.

کعبتین – *ka'batayn*, two dice. The sun and the moon, likened to two dice, as Time is supposed to be playing with them the great game of *نرد* in affecting the life of creatures for good or evil.

کله دار – *kulah dār*, two crown-wearers. (1) The sun and the moon. So styled as being the two chief rulers of the heavens in our solar system. (2) Day and night.

کمان شدن تیر – *kamān shudan-i tīr*, becoming two bows of an arrow. To hit hard.

کمان کشیدن – *kamān kashīdan*, to draw two bows. To be powerful and strong.

کمانه افتادن تیر – *kamāna uftādan-i tīr*, falling of the arrow two-bowed. To hit hard. Sālik Qazwīnī says (Bahār):—

تازان مژها تیر بلندی بنشانند افتد همه جا تیر نگاهت دو کمانه

کمانه خوردن تیر – *kamāna khurdan-i tīr*, the suffering of two bows caused by the arrow. To hit hard, to pierce deep. Sa'īd Ḥakīm says (Bahār):—

از شوخی ابروان فتاده تیرش دو کمانه خورده بر جان

گانه – *gāna*, two numbers. (1) A Muslim ritual prayer consisting of two genuflexions. Amīr *Khusrāw* praises a weak horse (Jah.):—

بخ ای زاهد دو گانه گذار که دوگان سجده می کنی يك بار

(2) A pair, twins, binary. Tālib Āmulī has (Bahār):—

با گل دو گانه زاده ام از مادر بهار خارم ولی نه ره گذر گلستانیم^۱

گاو – *gāw* (also *gāwiya* گاویه), two bullocks. (1) Night and day. *Khāqānī* makes them *دو گاو پیسه* —

روز و شب دیده دو گاو پیسه در قربان کفش صبح را تیغ و شفق را خون قربان دیده اند

دو

(2) The zodiac sign of Taurus (ثور) and گاو زمین (the energy implanted by the Creator in the heart of the earth, supposed to be a cow, bearing the earth on one horn). A poet has said (ARaj.):— زیر و زبر دو گاو مشتی خرین—

q.v. دوگاو - *gāw-i pīr*, two old bullocks. Same as - گاو پیر

گام - *gāh*, two times. (1) A time in music, so called because it is composed of tunes known in Hindustānī as رام کلی *Rām Kalī*. (2) The two worlds, the two lines, “ گام ” in this compound being used in its double accepted sense of time and space.

گاهواره - *gāhvāra*, two cradles. The heaven and the earth.

گوشال - *gūshmāl*, two chastisements. (1) Troublous times ; days of poverty, oppression or unrest. (2) A serious disaster, calamity.

گوشی - *gūshī*, two corners. (1) A turban with two ends hanging down. (2) An ewer with two handles.

گوهر - *gawhar*, two pearls. The spirit and the understanding. Nāṣir Khusraw says (ARaj):—

بالای نه رواق مقرنس دو گوهراند از کائنات و هرچه دران هست برتراند

lab *rā chār kardan*, making four of two lips. To kiss. Amīr Khusraw says (Bahār):—

دو دیده چار کردن باتو نغز است پس آنگاهی دولب را چار کردن

la' *l*, two rubies. The two lips of a mistress. Khāqānī says:—

در دو لعلش آب و اندر جزع نه آخر بگوی

کین چه بی‌آبست چندین وان چه آبست آن همه

mār, two serpents. Daḥḥāk, because “out of a wound in his shoulder two serpents had grown up.” Daḥḥāk (old Persian Azhidahāka) is said to be the name of an ancient Persian king. He is known to have been a great tyrant, a fact that may account for the Persian belief that he was an Arab.

mār-i *siyāh wa sapīd gazinda*, two black and white stinging snakes. Night and day. So styled because they, always moving, are the cause of man's woes and sorrows.

دو

ماهی - - *māhī*, گوشت دو ماهی *gūsh̄t-i dū māhī*, the flesh of two fish. The flesh of the heavenly sign of the zodiac, Aries, which is likened to a fish, and the flesh of the so-called mythological fish which is supposed to carry the 'cow' on its back (see دوگاژ), and on one horn of the 'cow' rests the world.

مرجان - - *marjān*, two corals. The lips of a mistress. *Khāqānī* says :—

ای نائب عیسی از دو مرجان وی کرده ز آتش آب حیوان

مردہ - - *marda*, A sturdy and strong man.

مرغ - - *murgh*, two birds. (1) Spirit and rationality. (2) Form and matter. See چار نفس

میریخ ذنب فعل - - *mirriḵh-i dhanabfi'l*, two tail-actioned Marses. Two rings of a chain, fetter—the two rings of a fetter put on the legs of cattle or run-aways. As the rings are in a pair and each foot is fettered by the chain, each ring is likened to the planet Mars. The *Dhanab* is also considered to have evil influence. When, however, the double Mars is characterised as possessing the effect (فعل) of *Dhanab*, its evil influence is enhanced. Hence the terrible and deterrent chains. *Khāqānī* says :—

قطب وارم بر سړیک قطعه دارد چار میخ این دو میریخ ذنب فعل زحل سیای من

میریخ زحل سیاه - - *mirriḵh-i zuḥal sīmā'*, two Marses possessing Saturnine countenance. Same as دو میریخ ذنب فعل q.v.

مغز - - *magh̄z* (also مغزه *magh̄za*), two marrows. (1) Almond. (2) A sturdy and strong person. *Wālih Harawī* has (*Bahār*) :—

کردم به درخت نعت پیوند از فکر دو مغزه مصرعی چند

and *Nizāmī* (*ibid.*) :—

مهی کز خودم پای لغزی دهد چو صبحم دماغی دو مغزی دهد

منزل - - *manzil*, two abodes. (1) This world and the next. (2) The world of existence (وجود), and the world of non-existence (عدم).

مو - - *mū*, two hair. (1) A man half grey-headed. (2) A beard of grey and black hair. *Ṭāhir Waḥīd* (*ARaj.*) :—

پیر زال فلک کینه‌ور از بس بد خوشت عمر پیران و جوانان ز شب و روز دو موست

دو

میخ - - *mīkh*, two nails. North Pole and South Pole. In ordinary parlance میخ implies a tent-pin or pole; whence the two Poles are known as دو میخ.

مینای طرب - - *mīna-i ṭarab*, two bottles of bliss. A cup of wine.

نان رنگین - - *nān-i rangīn*, two coloured breads. Same as دو نان فک q.v.

نان فک - - *nān-i falak*, two loaves of the heaven. The sun and the moon. Khāqānī says :—

این دو نان فک از خوانچه دو نان بینند تا نه بیم که دهان از پی خور بکشائید

دو قرص گرم و سرد - - *nān-i garm wa sard*. Same as دو نان گرم و سرد q.v.

دو نان رنگین - - *nān-i mulawwan*. Same as دو نان ملون q.v.

نیم - - *nīm*, two halves. The two feet of the compass.

ویر - - *wīr*, two intellects. (1) A writer, a schoolmaster (2) A teacher of language (having the double sense of intellect).

هاروت کافر - - *hārūt-i kāfir*, two infidel *Haruts*. (1) The fascinating eyes (or looks) of a mistress. (2) The two locks of hair of a beloved.

هفته - - *hafta*, (*dū hafta māh*, the moon of two weeks), of two weeks. The face of a mistress. So called because the face of the beloved is generally compared to a full-moon (of fourteen days, two weeks). Amīr Khusraw in his *Mathnawī* "*Dawal Rānī Khidr Khān*" says :—

دول رانی به قدر هشت ساله دو هفته ماه را بسته کلاله

ماه دو هفته - - *māh-i dū hafta*. Same as دو هفته ماه above. Amīr Khusraw :—

پس از یک هفته آن ماه دو هفته به خدمت آمدی از تاب رفته

Also see يك هفته .

دو طفل هندو - - *hindū*, two robbers. Same as دو طفل هندو q. v. Badr Chāch :—

زهی ترک کمان ابرو که چشمت راست پیوسته سنانها گرد بر گردد دو هندو طفل بازیگر

دو

In another place he uses the epithet to imply the two locks of hair :—

در زلف بتان کم شو آشفته که می دادند سه زیر دو هندوی از طرف مه آویزان

hindū-i chashm, two robbers of the eyes. The pupils of the eyes.

— *yāqūt*, two rubies. Same as دو لعل q. v.

— *yak*, two (or) one. The last breath. *Khāqānī* (Rsh.) :—

من که بدحال و سخت ست دلم جان و دل بر دو یک نه بر خطر است

and (*Bahār*) :—

کم شد دل خاقانی و جان بر دو یک است و ز غدر فلک هلال را هم بشکست

(3) The lowest point in the game of dice.

— *Yūsuf-i Khwāb*, two Josephs of slumber. The pupils of the eyes.

AMINUDDIN KHAN.

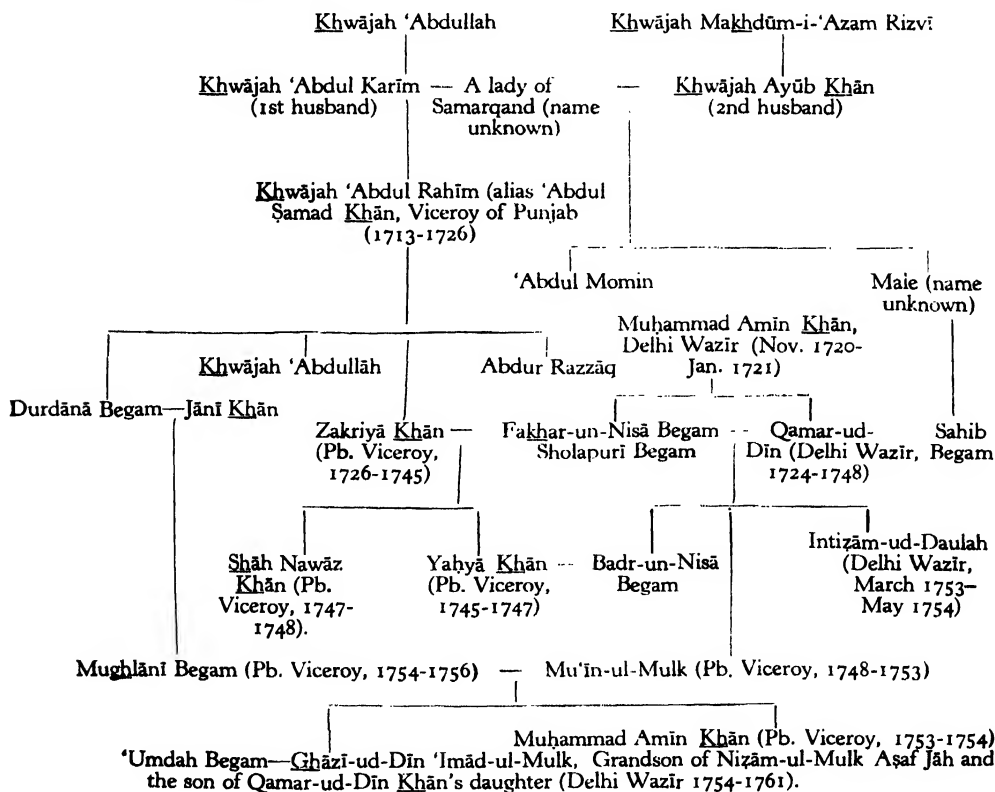
To be continued

MUGHLĀNĪ BEGAM, THE GOVERNOR OF LAHORE

(1754 TO 1756)

I. INTRODUCTION

MUGHLĀNĪ BEGAM was the wife of the famous Punjab Viceroy, Mu'in-ul-Mulk, popularly known as Mīr Mannū, the son of Nawāb Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān, the Wazīr of Delhi (1724-48). She was equally well connected on her mother's side as will be clear from the following table¹ :—



1. 'Imād-i-Sa'adat, 34a-36a; Anand Ram, 304-305; Shāh Yūsuf, 54b-55a; Miftāh-ut-Tawārīkh, 316; Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā, iii. 886.

She was a lady of remarkable address and daring, and played such an important part in the politics of the Punjab from 1753 to 1757 that she was the pivot round which centred all the political affairs during the most critical period in the life of the Delhi Empire. Her diplomacy was vigorous and effective, steady and sturdy, and she readily succeeded in achieving her object. She possessed a powerful personality, and played a domineering role in all her dealings. If she was not implicitly obeyed when coaxing or cajoling, she was terrible in her wrath. Ambitious as she was, she loved power, which sometimes exceeded the bounds of propriety and at last ruined not only her prestige, position, and even property, but also that of her father-in-law and the Delhi Empire. Her story is a tale of woe which befell the Punjab and Delhi alike.

2. DEATH OF MU'IN-UL-MULK (3RD NOVEMBER 1753)

MU'IN-UL-MULK, after his victory over Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī in March 1748, was appointed by the dying Muḥammad Shāh to the Viceroyalty of the Punjab in view of his vigorous character which enabled him to check further inroads of the Afghan invader, and to crush the Sikhs, who had been steadily acquiring power. If Muḥammad Shāh had ever displayed any far-sighted statesmanship, it was in ordering Mu'in's appointment to the Punjab, the frontier province of the Mughal Empire, then liable to foreign peril and internal insecurity.

During the short period of Mu'in's office from 1748 to 1753, Aḥmad Shāh led two invasions, in 1749 and 1751. On these two occasions the Mughal Viceroy fought single-handed, without receiving any assistance whatsoever from his master at Delhi. The second invasion lasted six months, and ultimately Mu'in was defeated. But his pleasing personality, ready wit and frankness of manners had saved him his life and office. Abdālī confirmed him in his post on his behalf and retired to Afghanistan.

He was equally successful in checking the power of the Sikhs. He maintained a continuous campaign against them, and almost brought their lawless activities to an end. However he suddenly died on the 3rd November 1753 in the prime of life, under rather suspicious circumstances. The eye-witness Miskīn, to whom we shall have occasion to refer frequently in these pages, and who, on this occasion, was in attendance upon Mu'in, gives a remarkable description of his death, the revolt of the soldiery and the Begam's winning them over. He says : "Nawāb Šāhib (Mu'in-ul-Mulk) stayed for sometime at the village Tilakpur, on the bank of the river (Ravi), eight kos from Lahore. One day, at this place, in the month of Muḥarram, he mounted a horse to go hunting. A little while before he had sent out Khwājah Mirzā Khān,

with a few other Mughalia Jamadars to repress the Sikhs. On his return from hunting he halted in a fort¹ built by him... "The same afternoon Mu'in-ul-Mulk put his horse to a gallop over an open field to join his troops, who lay encamped at a short distance. All of a sudden he was taken ill. The doctors tried their best to bring about his recovery, but "he died a little after mid-night. The strange thing was that the colour of his body from the face to the chest had turned blue. This sad occurrence caused a heart-rending crying and bewailing in the whole army. At this time the Begam Šāhiba, entrusting the body of the Nawāb to the custody [of some reliable persons], opened the doors of the treasury and kept herself busy for three days and nights in paying the wages of the soldiers.² On the fourth day Bhikārī Khān said that he would take the Nawāb's corpse to Delhi, while the Begam insisted on taking it to Lahore. This caused a quarrel between them. Bhikārī Khān thereupon appointed 500 of his men to guard the corpse and raised the standard of rebellion. The Begam was surprised at his conduct and she summoned all the chiefs before her. Accordingly all the Indian Sardars came and rendered submission to her; but the Mughalia troops had been seduced by Bhikārī Khān to his side. The Begam, therefore, sent for Qāsim Khān, who was ordered to win over the Mughalia troops by any means he could. Qāsim Khān said that he would bring all the captains (of the Mughalias) by promising them favours, but in his absence the corpse was to be guarded. The Begam posted me and my companions to this duty. On our arrival, Bhikārī Khān's guard left the corpse and departed, and we took up our position there. In the meanwhile Qāsim Khān brought all the Mughals to wait upon the Begam; but Khwājah Mirzā remained on the side of Bhikārī Khān with 300 horsemen. The Begam then marched to Lahore (with the corpse) and entered the city."³

1. In the village Awan. 'Alī-ud-Dīn, 112b.

2. "The soldiery rose in revolt against Muḥammad Amīn (Mu'in's son) and the Mughlānī Begam, clamouring for their pay, which was several months in arrears, and they did not allow her even to bury the dead body of the Nawāb for two days. The Begam paid the soldiers from her own treasury three lakhs of rupees, and buried her husband's corpse on the third day at Ghora Nakhas, in the building of Abdul Raḥīm, son-in-law of Abdul Samad Khān." *Khushwaqt Rai*, 88.

3. Miskin, 89-90. cf. Farah Bakhsh, 33b; *Klāzāna-i-Āmīra*, 98; Siyar, iii. 50; *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī*, 89a; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 88; Aḥmad Shāh, 869; *Aḥwāl-i-Ādina Beg*, 54b; *Tārīkh-i-Aḥmad*, 9; *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Afghānān*, 156; Sarkar i. 437. ("He (Mu'in) was buried near Shahid Ganj where the remains of his tomb may still be seen. In the reign of Sher Singh, the Sikhs in a moment of religious frenzy, dismantled the building, dug out the remains of Mir Mannū and scattered them to the winds." *Lahore District Gazetteer*, 1883-84, p. 28).

3. THE BABY-VICEROY APPOINTED TO THE PUNJAB (JANUARY 1754)

THE news of Mu'in's death reached Delhi on the 12th November,¹ and the Emperor Aḥmad Shāh on the 13th appointed his three-year old son Maḥmūd Khān as Viceroy of the two provinces of Lahore and Multan. The robes of honour were conferred on the Prince in the Dīwān-i-Khās, and quite in the fitness of things, the three-year old baby Warden of the North-Western marches was provided with a two-year old deputy in the person of Muḥammad Amīn Khān, son of the late Mu'in-ul-Mulk, for whom a Khil'at and jewels were sent through Mīr Jamīl-ud-Dīn Khān. The actual administration was, however, placed under the control of Mumin Khān, but the real control lay in the hands of the Begam.²

The Punjab had, however, formed part of the Afghan kingdom since 1752, and the Viceroy derived his real power from Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī and not from Aḥmad Shāh of Delhi. The Begam was not satisfied at receiving a formal nomination from Delhi; but, in order to retain her son in office, she looked to the Durrānī Emperor for confirmation. The Deputy, Mumin Khān was also not certain of retaining his office until he had received formal orders from the Afghan king. Both of them therefore offered their submission to Jahān Khān, the Governor of Peshawar, who then lay encamped at Hasan Abdāl, requesting him to communicate with his master in Kandhar. As a result of these negotiations, Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī appointed Muḥammad Amīn Khān Governor of the Punjab, and Mu'min Khān as his Deputy, about the end of January, 1754. This occasion was celebrated with great rejoicing.³

1. The court chronicler of Delhi recorded :—

"Mu'in always waged war with the Sikhs.... He was a valiant hero. His presence in Lahore, the frontier on that side of the country, where there was the permanent problem of expelling Aḥmad Abdālī gave great satisfaction. But there is no remedy against the fate by which such a famous and experienced Viceroy should die in that province leaving it without a chief." *Tārīkh-i-Aḥmad Shāhī*, 257-58.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Aḥmad Shāhī*, 257-58. cf. Sarkar, i. 439.

It was "a plain proof of the miserable state of affairs at Delhi, that in such difficult times children and women were thought capable of being entrusted with places of such high importance." *Baron Hügel's Travels*, 265.

3. *Tārīkh-i-Aḥmad Shāhī*, 282-83; Siyar, iii. 50; *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Afghānān*, 156; Muzaffarī, 89a; *Khazāna-i-'Āmirā*, 98; *Irshād-ul-Mustaqīm*, 295a; *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamgīr Sānī*, 111.

Francklin in his *History of the Reign of Shah Aulum* states :—

"Mohim ool Moolk the subahdar of Lahore, received a fall from his horse in hunting which put an end to his life. His begum, a lady of great spirit, had interest enough amongst the chiefs of the Province to procure their nomination of her to the subahdaree in the place of her deceased husband." p. 5.

4. BHIKĀRĪ KHĀN REVOLTS (JANUARY 1754)

BHIKĀRĪ KHĀN, surnamed Raushan-ud-Daulah, Rustam Jang, was a Turkish General; and was "the dearest friend and most trusted factotum of Mu'in," and centre of all affairs in the province during his regime.¹ He had expected that he would be nominated as the Deputy Governor. Being disappointed in his ambition, and seeing his rival Mumin Khan in power, he was naturally stung to fury. He approached the Delhi Wazir, Intizām-ud-Daulah, the Begam's husband's brother, who was opposed to his sister-in-law. He granted the Deputy Governorship to Bhikārī Khan under his own signature, but the Mughlānī Begam refused to recognise this order.²

He aimed at seizing the government of the Punjab for himself by force; gave up attending the court, began collecting troops, mostly the turbulent Afghans of Kasur, mounted guns on the terrace of his house and openly defied the authority of the Begam.³ In order to show that he wielded the real power, and to obtain wealth, he seized money from people in every possible way. With a view to perpetuate his memory, and probably to win over the favour of Muslims, he built a mosque, called the Golden Mosque, which stands as a monument of him to the present day.⁴

The masterful Begam could not tolerate the refractory attitude of such a powerful court noble, the success of whom would have nipped her ambition in the bud. She cunningly seduced the Mughalia captains of the army to her side by increasing their pay and conferring titles⁵ upon them. She even succeeded in breaking Khwājah Mirzā Khān from Bhikārī Khān's party by appointing him to the charge of the Aminabad district. Then a plot was hatched. Khwājah Mirzā Khān suddenly entered Lahore and arrested Bhikārī Khān. He was closely confined in the palace under the Guard of Khwājah Sa'id Khān.⁶

5. QĀSIM KHĀN'S REVOLT (c. MARCH 1754)

THE utter weakness of the Delhi Empire and the rule of a woman so emboldened the Turki Generals in Lahore that each of them regarded

1. Siyar, iii. 51. "مختار و مدار المهام سرکار معین الملک بود" cf. *Tārīkh-i-Aḥmad Shāhī*, 9; Sarkar i. 439.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Aḥmad Shāhī*, 318-19, 337; Sarkar, ii. 52; *Tārīkh-i-Ālamgīr Sānī*, 111.

3. Miskin, 91.

4. A poet wrote the following verse secretly on the gate of the mosque :

" بنا کرد مسجد بهکاری بشت - زرازنده بگرفت و از مرده خشت "

(" Bhikārī Khān built a mosque, by seizing money from the living and bricks from the dead.") The Nawāb read the verse, fell into a rage, and ordered the execution of the poet, on whom no search could lay hands. Sohan Lal, i. 139.

5. Miskin, 91.

6. Miskin, 91-92; Ghulām Ali, 26; Siyar, iii. 61; Husain Shāhī, 34; *Khazāna-i-Āmirā*, 99; Muzaffari, 89a; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 89; *Tārīkh-i-Āli*, 131.

himself capable of carving out a principality, and maintaining it with the help of his tribesmen from Central Asia and the Sikh soldiers of the Punjab. "They felt that their own rule would be worthier and more conducive to the safety and happiness of their retainers and subjects than the anarchy which prevailed in Lahore from Mughlānī Begam's follies and vices."¹

Bhikārī Khān's revolt was followed by that of Qāsim Khān, a Turk, who had enlisted himself as a soldier in the service of Mu'īn. He rose to the position of a Jamadar, and was the first to render valuable service to the Mughlānī Begam against Bhikārī Khān. Consequently, he was appointed by her to the faujdari of Patti parganah in Lahore district. Qāsim Khān, who was lovingly called her son by the Mughlānī Begam was provided with some pieces of cannon, 300 *jizairchis* who were Badakhshanis and had just arrived in the Punjab to seek their livelihood, 100 Turki cavalry, a few thousand horse and foot and several thousand rupees in cash at the time of his appointment.²

Qāsim Khān also secured permission from the Begam to take Tahmāsp Khān Miskīn in his train. Qāsim Khān made the first day's halt at Kot Lakhpāt, two kos from Lahore, where Miskīn joined him the next day. Just at this place began the Faujdar's encounters with the Sikhs who had been rising to power for sometime past.³

"After a few days Qāsim Khān placed one of his brothers named 'Alīm Beg Khān at the head of 1,000 horse and foot to lead an attack by way of *chapawal* on a village where the Sikhs had assembled. The Sikhs got ready, and a fight began in which the perseverance of 'Alīm Beg Khān gave way, and finding himself unequal to the task he returned, giving up all his 300 Badakhshani foot soldiers to slaughter. On learning this news, Qāsim Khān mounted and started for the place..... We reached our troops safely that day. The next day I gave a piece of advice to Qāsim Khān but he did not agree and some hot words passed between us. Thereupon I came back to Lahore.

"After a few days he also marched back from this place without achieving anything and having suffered extreme hardships and difficulties. He halted on the bank of the river (Ravi), five kos from Lahore. I went to see him. He said, 'I have won over 8,000 Sikhs by friendly negotiations. I will soon seize Lahore, and then after enlisting more troops will take Delhi and will make myself Padishah.' He offered the Chancellorship to a penniless Khwājah, the fugitive ex-Faujdar of Saharanpur, and the Imperial

1. Sarkar, ii. 52.

2. Miskīn, 93; Sarkar, ii. 52-53.

3. 'Alī-ud-Dīn, 117a.

”کروه سنگهان از سبب سستی عمل یگم صاحب و عزل و نصب نا ثبات سنگهان غلبه گرفته بودند“

Paymaster-Generalship to me, while then I was a lad of fifteen only. I told him that such useless talk did not become him, and that he would repent it in a few days. After five days he left the place and encamped outside the city (Lahore) near Shah Balawal. I again paid him a visit. He had nothing left with him. He uselessly distributed thousands of rupees worth of matchlocks, bows and other arms and materials and gifts to his Sikh allies, while his own troopers clamoured for their pay. They besieged him and insulted him. The same day they cut off his tent ropes, and dragged him to the Begam, who confined him within her palace enclosure and kept him under strict guard."¹

6. MUHAMMAD AMĪN KHĀN DIES (MAY 1754)

THE Begam had succeeded in removing the threat of civil war, but another catastrophe soon befell her. The baby-Governor Muḥammad Amīn Khān died early in May, displaying the same symptoms of poisoning as his father.² The Begam at once proclaimed herself head of the government of the province. Then she despatched her agents to Kandhar as well as to Delhi to procure formal recognition of her Governorship. Her only probable opponent to this appointment was 'Imād-ul-Mulk, the Delhi Wazīr to whom her daughter had been betrothed by Mu'in. Her messengers reached there at the time when the Emperor Aḥmad Shāh was busy in his struggle against 'Imād-ul-Mulk, and so he could not pay any attention to the Punjab affairs. His successor 'Ālamgīr II appointed Mumin Khān as Governor of the Punjab on the 25th October 1754, but his authority was negated by the Begam, in whose hands lay all the strings of power.³

7. MISGOVERNMENT OF THE BEGAM

MUGHLĀNĪ BEGAM securely established herself in the seat of the provincial government for the time being; but those were not the times when a female Viceroy could display much activity in controlling the affairs of the administration. The reasons were that the Turkish nobles could not bear the idea of a woman's rule;⁴ and in the second place the whole province was in a state of utter chaos and confusion. Eunuchs

1. Miskīn, 94-96.

2. "Many people believed that Bhikārī Khān poisoned the innocent (child) through the eunuch Zam-murad who had access to him." Miskīn, 97-98. (This news reached Delhi on the 2nd June 1754. *Delhi Chronicle*, 92).

3. Miskīn, 93-97; *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamgīr Sānī*, 111.

4. *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, i. 360.

Even her great ally and maternal uncle hesitated to accept her authority

were the only medium through whom Mughlānī Begam conducted the state affairs, and therefore it became to all intents and purposes eunuchs' rule at Lahore.¹ The Dīwān, Bakhshī, and other high officials first went in the morning to Mumin Khān to offer their salaams, and then all, including the Deputy, proceeded to the *deorhi* (portico) of the Begam's palace and received her orders through eunuchs. Three eunuchs—Mian Khushfaham, Mian Arjmand and Mian Maḥabbat—took the lead in these discussions, and became her chief confidants in all affairs great and small. Matters were made worse by the fact that these eunuchs seldom agreed among themselves, and constantly quarrelled.²

The result was that the administration fell into disorder, and disturbances raised their head everywhere.

The government of the country had visibly broken up. Multan was under a separate Governor of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī. The four mahals of Gujrat, Aurangabad, Pasrur and Sialkot were ruled over by Rustam Khān directly appointed by the Durrānī. The northern districts of Amritsar, Batala, Kalanaur and Pathankot were the strongholds of the Sikhs. Ādīna Beg Khān was supreme in the Jullundur Doab and he acknowledged no authority of the Lahore government. The country between the Sutlej and the Jumna was under the Delhi Emperor. The only districts which owed allegiance to the Lahore Governor were situated in its close neighbourhood, and these were about to be occupied by various Mughalia captains.³

8. REVOLT OF KHWĀJAH MIRZĀ KHĀN (c. DECEMBER 1754)

KHWĀJAH MIRZĀ KHĀN, an Uzbek chief, had possessed the complete confidence of his late master Mu'in-ul-Mulk and was often given independent charge of expeditions against the Sikhs. He commanded a personal contingent of 300 Uzbaks, besides many others. On Mu'in's death he had joined the party of Bhikārī Khān, but was soon enticed away by the imperious Begam, who had conferred upon him the faujdari of Aminabad with the title of Khān. Here the Khwājah asserted his personality, crushed all opposition, "chastised the Sikhs in several engagements"⁴ and established peace and order in the region in his charge.

The captive Bhikārī Khān entered into communication with Khwājah Muḥammad Sa'id Khān and decided that "as a fissure had appeared in

1. Miskin, 93.

2. Ibid., 98. "Owing to the widow regent's simplicity each officer represented affairs to her in a different way. Eunuchs and slaves ruled the State. The peasants were in a more ruinous condition than before. The administration fell into disorder and decay and the number of the Sikhs increased in consequence." Siyar, iii. 51; Sarkar, i. 440.

3. Khushwaqt Rai, 89. About the Begam's authority in the Punjab, Francklin remarks: "Lahore, the key of Hindostan, was governed by a woman." *History of the Reign of Shāh Aulm*, p. 5.

4. Miskin, 102.

the family honour of the late Nawāb." the best course for them was to call Khawājah Mirzā Khān to take over charge of the administration of the province.

Consequently, he came to Lahore, won over the Begam's soldiers already corrupted by Khawājah Sa'id, confined her in another house and emptied her palace of all cash, jewels, ornaments, clothes and other things.¹ On the following morning the *Purbia* foot-soldiers, about seven or eight thousand in number, attacked the Mirzā's troops, but were repulsed after some struggle. The Mughlānī Begam was then removed from her official residence and confined in her mother's house.² Khawājah Mirzā utterly failed in effectively controlling the administration, in securing sufficient revenues, and in checking the forces of disruption among his fellow tribesmen, and consequently the local chiefs and rebels became quite independent in their own spheres of activity.³ He, however, took effective measures in punishing the Sikhs. His brother Khawājah Qāzī with his 6,000 troops was despatched after them and defeated them.⁴

9. BHIKĀRĪ KHĀN IS PUT TO DEATH (APRIL 1755)

THE Mughlānī Begam, finding herself ousted from authority and a captive, burned with rage against Khawājah Mirzā and Bhikāri Khān, the real instruments of her ruin. She, therefore, cleverly managed to depute her ambassador to the court of Kandhar. Khawājah 'Abdullah Khān, her mother's brother and the younger son of the former Viceroy 'Abdul Samad Khān and the younger brother of the late Nawāb Zakariyā Khān went to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī's court, complained against the Mughalia nobles who had been responsible for all the misrule, tumult

1. Miskīn, 103.

He then brought the Begam to her palace and appointed his own soldiers at the gate. "At that time I, Miskīn, and Muḥammad 'Āqil dressed in a coat of arms, went to the portico of the Begam and conveyed an oral message through eunuchs that Khawājah Mirzā and Bhikāri Khān were sitting together, and if they were ordered they could kill both of them instantly with one stroke." But they were forbidden to carry out such a plan.

2. Ibid., 104.

Khawājah Mirzā Khān declared himself Nawāb (Subahdar), put a studded aigrette on his head and granted titles of Khān and Khil'ats to his comrades, the Mughal captains. 'Ashūr 'Alī Khān and even Bhikāri Khān came to offer salaams to Khawājah Mirzā after eight days. The other Mughalia sardars, such as Bālā Bāsh Khān, Farmān Beg Khān, Ibrāhīm Qulī Khān, Ismā'il Khān and others, who had been his equals in rank and position, and quite independent of each other, caring nothing for anybody, also came to pay their respects and produced all the documents before him for orders and signatures. After a few days their mutual jealousy and enmity began to reappear. In spite of their repeated promises of friendship and unity at dinners and entertainments of the dancing girls, they soon gave way to disagreement."

3. Cf. Sarkar, ii, 56.

4. Miskīn (who was present in these campaigns), 105.

and disorder in the Punjab since Mu'in's death, and obtained an order on Amān Khān, brother of Jahān Khān, the Durrānī Governor of Peshawar, to march to Lahore at the head of 10,000 troops and restore the Begam to authority. Khawājah Mirzā was easily overpowered and imprisoned with most of his nobles. Lahore was given over to plunder and was thoroughly sacked.¹ Then the Begam was installed on the Gaddi and Khawājah 'Abdullah was appointed her deputy. Bhikārī Khān was made over to the Mughlānī Begam. He was severely beaten with shoes and cudgels and the eunuchs striking him blow after blow cried out : " The blood of the two (Mu'in and Amīn) is on you. This is your due recompense for it."² Thus he was killed³ and his corpse was thrown outside the city into a ditch.⁴

10. KHWĀJAH 'ABDULLAH OUSTS THE BEGAM (c. JULY 1755)

AMĀN KHĀN had carried away the turbulent Mughalia nobles, including Khawājah Mirzā, to Kandhar. Khawājah 'Abdullah, finding no rival in Lahore, employed 15 to 20 thousand horse and foot and assumed an independent attitude. The Begam could not be thwarted so easily and she seduced 'Abdullah's soldiery on promise of rewards and higher pay. 'Abdullah, however, with the help of Mīr Mumin and the Durrānī agent Hādī Khān, succeeded in confining the Begam to her mother's house and thus became the undisputed master of Lahore. He badly needed funds to keep his soldiery satisfied. The treasury did not bring him much and therefore he resorted to tyranny and oppression of all sorts in exacting money from the people.⁵ " Closing the gates of the city, he plundered much from the inhabitants of Lahore both Hindus and Muslims, on the plea of their having been associates of Bhikārī Khān, and slew many people. Vast numbers were ruined. Grain and other commodities became very dear."⁶

1. Miskīn, 107. About forty lakhs of rupees were obtained in this way. Khushwaqt Rai, 89.

2. Miskīn, 107.

3. James Browne in his *History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs* on p. 18 writes :—

" In the year of the Hegira 1165, Moin-ul-Mullock died, and his widow appointed one Beckery Khān to manage the government of her deceased husband, as Naib (or deputy) on her part ; but having detected him in a design to seize on her person, and usurp the government himself, she caused him to be strangled."

4. Miskīn, 106-108 ; *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamgīr Sānī*, 112 ; *Khazāna-i-'Āmīra*, 99 ; Siyar, iii. 51 ; Ghulām Ali (Bhikārī Khān's son and the author of *Shah 'Ālam Nāmāh*), 26 ; *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī*, 89a ; Khushwaqt Rai 89 ; *Tārīkh-i-Aḥmad*, 9 ; *Tārīkh-i-Ālī*, 131 ; Sohan Lal, in i. 139 ; Ali-ud-Dīn, 113a ; Sarkar, ii. 56-57.

5. Miskīn, 109-110 ; *Khazāna-i-'Āmīra*, 99 ; *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī*, 89a ; Sohan Lal, i. 139-40 ; Sarkar, ii. 57-58.

6. *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamgīr Sānī*, 112.

11. ĀDĪNA BEG KHĀN CAPTURES LAHORE (c. SEPTEMBER 1755)

IN the meantime Ādīna Beg Khān, the Governor of the Jullundur Doab, had firmly established himself in that territory, and owned allegiance neither to Lahore Government under which he was politically placed, nor to the Delhi Sovereign. He had recently (April 1755) defeated Qutb Shāh Rohilla who had revolted against the Delhi Emperor and had seized upon the Sirhind province, and thus Ādīna Beg had become the supreme master of the country situated between the Beas and the Jumna, known as the Jullundur Doab and the Sirhind Sarkar.¹ Lahore also offered a favourable opportunity and Ādīna Beg was not the man to let slip such a chance. The provincial capital was in the throes of revolution. Khwājah 'Abdullah's rule was hated by all. So Ādīna Beg led his army against Lahore. Khwājah 'Abdulla fled away to Sind without offering any resistance. Ādīna Beg captured the capital, appointed Sādiq Beg Khān his deputy, and himself came back to Jullundur.

12. MUGHLĀNĪ BEGAM IS MADE CAPTIVE BY THE DELHI WAZĪR (MARCH 1756)

MUGHLĀNĪ BEGAM could not bear the loss of her political power. She was very resourceful. Feeling the need for immediate assistance she turned her attention to the all-powerful Delhi Wazīr 'Imād-ul-Mulk, who had been betrothed to her daughter in Mu'in's lifetime. She wrote to him :—"Ahmad Shāh Durrānī helped me from Kandhar, whenever I was oppressed, I have again fallen into misfortune. Please come and help me. Otherwise at least send a force in any way you can, and summon my daughter who is betrothed to you."²

'Imād-ul-Mulk welcomed this opportunity of having an occasion to interfere in Punjab affairs and settle matters in his own way. He knew that the Begam was mismanaging affairs. The Wazīr was facing financial break-down, and badly needed money which he thought might be procurable from Lahore. He also wanted to regain that last province for the empire, although he did not care much for the Begam's daughter, as he was already married to the greatest beauty of the day, Gannā Begam.

The Wazīr did not like to rouse alarm, and pretending to go on a hunting expedition in the jungle of Hansi and Hisar left Delhi in the company of Prince 'Alī Gauhar on the 15th January 1756. He reached

1. For details cf. *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamgīr Sānī*, 76-88; *Delhi Chronicle*, 122; *Chahar Gulzar Shujai*, 461a; *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī*, 98b-99a; *Aḥwāl-i-Ādīna Beg Khān*, 56b-57a.

2. *Miskīn*, 113-114.

Sirhind on the 7th February 1756 where his further progress was stopped by Ādīna Beg Khān who wrote to him :—" Please stay at Sirhind. Send a eunuch with two or three thousand troops to me. I will add my own contingent to them, and will secure you possession of Lahore easily by a stratagem. There is a large army in Lahore. If you go there, it may cause tumult and a rising."¹

Accordingly, 'Imād-ul-Mulk sent the eunuch Nasīm Khān at the head of a few thousand troops, and himself stayed at Machhiwara on the bank of the Sutlej. " Ādīna Beg Khān despatched Sādiq Beg Khān with 10,000 troops of his own to help the Wazīr and all these soldiers combined arrived at Lahore in a few days, and were housed at Shah Ganj. From here they rode out in full splendour and pomp to the Begam's residence to offer their salaams. On returning they paid a visit of courtesy to Khawājah 'Abdullah Khān, brother of Khān Bāhadur and son of 'Abdul Samad Khān. The Khawājah, in accordance with court etiquette, conferred upon Sādiq Beg Khān, the leader of the expedition, a *khil'at* and afterwards came to the (camp of the) troops.

He guessed that in a day or two he would be captured, and being frightened left the city the same night and fled to the Jammu hills."²

On the following day Mughlānī Begam triumphantly occupied her official residence and took the reins of government into her hands once more. The Wazīr's letter was then delivered to her in which he had requested her to send him her daughter. The Begam was pleased with the request. She took nearly a month in making preparations for the departure of her daughter 'Umda Begam, "the pearl of unrivalled beauty and accomplishments,"³ and sent her with a suitable dowry in jewels and cash accompanied by a full household of eunuchs, tents and other necessary requisites at the head of an escort of 3,000 troops. The bride arrived at the camp of the Wazīr on the 4th March 1756.⁴

The next step the Wazīr took was to despatch Sayyid Jamīl-ud-Dīn Khān and others to Ādīna Beg in order to fetch the Begam also to his camp.

These officers strengthened by Ādīna's troops covered the distance of 120 miles in one day and night, hardly stopping to take breath, and reached Lahore at daybreak when the Mughlānī Begam was fast asleep, unsuspecting of what lay in store for her. They sent eunuchs to wake her and putting her in a close chair they carried her to their camp outside Lahore and confiscated all her treasure and property. She reached the Wazīr's camp on the 28th March 1756. The Wazīr came to receive her. Hurt by the treatment she had received, she let loose

1. Miskin, 114; cf. *Delhi Chronicle*, 130; *Khazāna-i-Āmīra*, 52; *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī*, 98b; *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, iii. 890.

2. Miskin, 114; cf. *Tārīkh-i-Ālamgīr Sānī*, 151.

3. Sohan Lal, i. 140.

4. Miskin, 114-116 and 119; *Tārīkh-i-Ālamgīr Sānī*, 130-31; *Shākir*, 79-80; *Siyar*, iii. 53; *Delhi Chronicle*, 131; *Sarkar*, ii. 60.

her tongue and in a loud voice reviled and abused the Wazīr, saying: "This conduct of yours will bring distress upon the realm, destruction to Shahjahanabad and disgrace to the nobles and the state. Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī will soon avenge this disgraceful act and punish you." The Wazīr then gave the government of Lahore and Multan to Ādīna Beg Khān in return for a tribute of thirty lakhs a year, appointed Sayyid Jamīl-ud-Dīn Khān as Ādīna's assistant and returned to the imperial capital on the 9th May 1756.¹

13. KHWĀJAH 'ABDULLAH INSTALLED IN LAHORE (4TH OCTOBER 1756)

SAYYID JAMĪL-UD-DĪN was assigned 5,000 troops by Ādīna Beg Khān on paper but the actual muster was much lower. The Sayyid though limited to such a small contingent and an empty treasure tried his best to establish peace and order in the country.² "He sought to lower the unfairly enhanced price of grain by publicly flogging the headman of the markets."³ He was a man of courage and spirit. "Once or twice I saw with my own eyes," says Miskīn, "that he went on a hunting expedition towards the village of Sharaqpur where ten or fifteen thousand Sikhs appeared and fell on him. He commanded only about one thousand horse and foot. With this small number he stuck to his ground and repelled the Sikhs."⁴

His rule, however, was short-lived. Khwājah 'Abdullah Khān went from Jammu to Kandhar and came back with a strong force of Abdālī's troops under Jangbāz Khān who also brought with him Khwājah Mirzā and other Mughalia Jamadars, retained as captives in the Durrānī court.⁵ "Ādīna Beg Khān, Faujdar of the Doab had entered into an agreement with Sayyid Jamīl-ud-Dīn Khān that in case of an emergency he would supply him with 10 or 15 thousand troops and their pay. At the time of the approach of the Durrānī troops the Sayyid sought help from the Khān who replied that in view of the large Durrānī army it was advisable for him to come to the Doab, where both of them would act with mutual consultation. The Nawāb followed his advice and left the place. I, Miskīn, also left all my goods and property in Lahore and taking women only accompanied him."⁶

1. Miskīn, 120-24; *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamgīr Sānī*, 131; *Delhi Chronicle*, 131-32; *Khazāna-i-'Āmīra*, 52; *Ma'āsir*, iii. 890-91; *Siyar*, iii. 53; *Muzaffarī*, 98b; *Ghulam 'Alī*, 26-27; *Shiv Parshad*, 33b; *Shākir*, 79-80; *Ibrat Miqāl*, ii. 71a-b; *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-i-Afghānān*, 156; *Bakhtmal*, 76; *Sohan Lal*, i. 139-40; *Gulistān-i-Raḥmat*, 51; *'Alī-ud-Dīn*, 113a-114a; *Sarkar*, ii. 60-61.

2. Cf. *Bakhtmal*, 76; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 90; *Sohan Lal*, i. 140.

3. *Sarkar*, ii. 61.

4. *Miskīn*, 124.

5. *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamgīr Sānī*, 151-52.

6. *Miskīn*, 125.

All the citizens of Lahore fled with or without porters in company with Jamīl and a great calamity befell the city.¹ The invaders entered Lahore on the 4th October 1756. Khwājah 'Abdullah Khān was given charge of the province with Khwājah Mirzā as his assistant. The city was thoroughly plundered and laid waste by the Afghans.² But the new chiefs were not allowed to enjoy undisturbed possession of the Lahore province. They were constantly harassed by the Sikhs, and regular expeditions were sent after them under the leadership of Khwājah Mirzā. When Miskīn came back from Jullundur to Lahore to take his goods and property he found Khwājah Mirzā out on one of such expeditions to Aminabad.³

14. AḤMAD SHĀH DURRĀNĪ IS INVITED TO INVADE INDIA

CONSTANT reports of the utter wretchedness of the Delhi government were reaching Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī and from many high authorities he received invitations to invade India. The Mughlānī Begam, who had been ousted from her authority in the Punjab by the Delhi Wazīr, wrote to him through Jahān Khān, his Governor of Peshawar : " I am ruined by the treachery of Mīr Mumin Khān, Ādīna Beg Khān and Sayyid Jamīl-ud-Dīn Khān. Goods and cash worth crores of rupees lie buried to my knowledge in the palace of my late father-in-law (Wazīr Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān), besides heaps of gold and silver stored between the ceilings. A perfect disagreement exists between the Emperor 'Ālamgīr II and his Wazīrs and nobles. If you invade India this time, the Indian Empire with all its riches will fall into your hands without your incurring any expenditure."⁴

At the same time Najīb-ud-Daulah who had been besieged by the Marathas in his fort of Sukartal wrote to him : " I too am an Afghan, and you ought to preserve the honour of Afghans in this country. I have gathered round myself 25,000 Afghans. I have prepared the other Afghans of Gangapār (Trans-Ganges), who number 40,000, to enter into your service. You may come here without any misgivings. 'Imād-ul-Mulk has not the strength to oppose you. I am his greatest ally. If I am obedient to you there is none other left here (to help him)."⁵

Besides, 'Ālamgīr II who was raised to the throne only as an instrument of 'Imād-ul-Mulk's ambition, was kept by him in utter dependence, being surrounded by the Wazīr's creatures. He was not allowed to stir out without his leave. In order to extricate himself from such confine-

1. *Tārīkh-i-Ālamgīr Sānī*, 152.

2. Sarkar, ii. 63.

3. Miskīn, 126.

4. 'Alī-ud-Dīn, 114b.

5. Nūr-ud-Dīn, 14b.

ment, he too took advantage of 'Imād's absence from the capital and wrote privately to the Durrānī to come to his assistance.¹

Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī readily embraced the occasion that promised him such evident advantages. He sent his envoy Qalandar Beg Khān in advance to the court of Delhi, demanding satisfaction against the Wazīr's conduct in encroaching upon his province of Lahore. This envoy was granted audience on the 31st October and the 23rd November and he ultimately left Delhi on the 9th December without achieving anything.²

The Abdālī King himself left Kandhar early in autumn and arrived at Peshawar early in November. From here he despatched his advance guard ahead of him under Timūr Shāh, his son, and Jahān Khān his Commander-in-chief. The vanguard crossed the Indus, halted at Hasan Abdal and collected provisions for the main army in the city of Gujrat. These troops then marched in pursuit of Ādīna Beg Khān and plundered the districts of Aminabad, and Batala. Ādīna Beg fled and took refuge in the Siwalik hills, north of Hoshiarpur.

15. BEGAM'S DOINGS DURING THE ABDĀLĪ'S INVASION (JANUARY-APRIL 1757)

IN the course of all his previous incursions the Durrānī had experienced active opposition from the Punjab Subahdar and the efforts of the Delhi court in checking his advance. On this occasion, however, the empire had gone to such rack and ruin that no one tried to impede his march and not a single Indian soldier came forward to oppose him, till he easily found himself in the imperial capital where everybody lay at his mercy. "The Wazīr, who wielded the empire without a sharer in his power, took no step to meet the danger; he refused to go to Sirhind to oppose the invasion, but consulted darvishes how to overcome the enemy through their prayers without fighting."³ The only measure that he took was to send Mughlānī Begam from Delhi to meet the Durrānī and pacify his anger.⁴ She started at the head of about 400 horse including Miskīn and met the invader at Karnal. He, however, pursued his onward march taking the Begam with him.⁵

Āghā 'Alī Razā Khān had been sent as an envoy to Abdālī with gifts worth two lakhs of rupees to dissuade him from coming to Delhi on the 20th December. He came back from the Durrānī camp on the 14th January 1757 "with the doleful message that the Afghan invader had demanded two crores of rupees in cash, the hand of the Emperor's daughter, and all the territory from Sirhind westwards, as the condition

1. Franklin's *Shah Aulum*, 4-5.

2. *Delhi Chronicle*, 135; *Tārīkh-i-Ālamgīr Sānī*, 152.

3. Sarkar, ii. 86.

4. Miskīn, 131-37; cf. *Khair-ud-Dīn*, 42.

5. *Tārīkh-i-Ālamgīr Sānī*. 161.

of his going back, and that he had severely censured the Delhi Government for provoking his invasion when they could not fight but were bent on making terms."¹

Najib joined the invader at Narela on the 16th January and 'Imād presented himself in the Abdālī camp on the 19th. The Abdālī granted him audience on the 20th and severely reprimanded him asking how the first officer of the Empire of Hindustan could make abject submission without striking even one blow to save the nation's credit.² Afterwards he was taken in the Shāh's train as a captive.

Abdālī entered Delhi on the 28th January 1757. From that day his troops commenced plundering and sacking the city mercilessly. After torturing some noblemen reputed to be very rich the Shāh charged a regular levy from every inhabitant of Delhi and his army ravaged the whole country-side up to Agra. On the 20th February, Mughlānī Begam presented Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī with costly jewels placed in several trays as her personal offering. The Afghan King was greatly delighted, and out of high glee he cried out : " Hitherto I had styled you my daughter ; but from today I shall call you my son and give you the title of Sultān Mirzā." He immediately conferred upon her his own tiara (*kulah*), aigrette, cloak and other vestments that he was then wearing.³

Finding the Durrānī so pleased with her, she requested him to restore his favour to 'Imād-ul-Mulk, and to reinstate him in the office of the Wazīr. The Abdālī replied : " I can confer the Wazīrship on him, but I understand that he has not yet married your daughter." The Begam informed him that the ceremony was going to be performed that night. Consequently Aḥmad Shāh ordered Shāh Valī Khān and Jahān Khān to make preparations for the occasion, and in the night (20-21 February) married 'Imād to Umda Begam in his own presence. He gave as gift two lakhs of rupees, two elephants, and four horses, and bestowed the title of Farzand Khān on 'Imād. He handed over Gannā Begam, 'Imād's first wife, to Mughlānī Begam to be treated as a bond-maid. 'Imād was then installed in the office of the Wazīr.⁴

On the 22nd February Aḥmad Shāh left for Muttra and Agra to carry on a campaign in the territory of Raja Surajmal Jat, and Mughlānī Begam along with Miskīn accompanied him. In the course of this campaign, the Abdālī grew more kind to the Begam, and granted her the Jullundur Doab, Jammu, and Kashmir as her fief. She sent her agents to these places, appointed Khwājah Ibrāhīm Khān to the Governorship of Kashmir, confirmed Raja Ranjit Dev in the possession of Jammu, and invited Ādina Beg Khān to administer the Jullundur Doab as her deputy.⁵

1. Sarkar, ii. 88-89.

2. Sarkar, ii. 93. For details of this interview see *Indian Antiquary*, 1907, p. 45.

3. Miskīn, 138.

4. Miskīn, 139 ; *Indian Antiquary*, 1907, pp. 46-49. *Waqā'-i-Shah 'Ālam Sānī*, p. 110.

5. Miskīn, 139.

16. THE BEGAM'S APPOINTMENT IN THE PUNJAB
CANCELLED

MUGHLĀNĪ BEGAM, however, soon came to know that a hoax had been played upon her, and that the whole country west of the Jumna had been placed under the charge of Abdālī's son Timūr Shāh.

She had deputed Miskīn to take the *khil'at* for Ādīna Beg Khān who lay concealed in the Siwalik hills. Miskīn presented the robe of honour and was staying with him when Ādīna Beg received an order from Timūr Shāh and a letter from Jahān Khān saying :—"Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī intended to go to the Deccan first, but afterwards he gave up this idea and conferred on us this country as far as the boundary of Sirhind (May 1757). Come and wait upon us. In case of non-compliance the whole country of the Doab will be laid waste and crushed under the hoofs of our cavalry and you will be pursued into the hills."¹

Ādīna Beg Khān was in a predicament. He preferred the Begam's suzerainty to the overlordship of Timūr and Jahān Khān. He consulted Miskīn who advised him to postpone replying to the Prince till he received a definite communication from the Begam. Miskīn was selected to undertake this duty and he started for Kandhar where the Begam was supposed to have gone in the invader's train. He left the place, arrived at Adinanagar in three days and the next day by boat crossed the Ravi, which flowed eight kos from there. At the ford he came across an old acquaintance who informed him that the Begam had returned from Abdālī's camp, was at Sialkot a few days before and must have arrived at Lahore by then. Consequently, Miskīn reached Lahore in four days.²

There he came to know that Abdālī had cancelled his grant of fiefs to the Begam. He had, however, offered her an annual allowance of Rs. 30,000 with residence in Lahore. She refused this and insisted on the Jagir already given to her. The Durrānī said : "Now that your brother Timūr Shāh is the Viceroy there what will you do with the provinces?" He asked Shāh Valī Khān and Jahān Khān to persuade her, but she would not agree and accompanied him up to the bank of the Jhelum, imploring him in vain for the gift of the territories first promised. She had to come back to Lahore disappointed and lived in Sarai Hakim which had only two rooms, the rest being in ruins.³

17. THE BEGAM IS MALTREATED BY JAHĀN KHĀN

ON receiving no answer from Ādīna Beg Khān, Jahān Khān marched into the Doab and gave over many towns and cities to plunder and pillage.⁴ Ādīna Beg Khān then agreed to undertake the administration

1. Miskīn, 145.

2. Ibid., 145-46.

3. Ibid., 147-48.

of the Doab under Timūr Shāh provided that he was exempted from attending his court in Lahore.¹ Timūr Shāh, sensible of his own inexperience in the government and revenue matters, and convinced of Ādina Beg Khān's skill in administration and local knowledge resolved to avail himself of that man's abilities. He wrote to him several civil letters, endeavouring to soothe his mind. At last he sent him the patent as well as the *khil'at* for the Governorship of the Doab in return for an annual tribute of 36 lakhs of rupees, exempting him from personal attendance at his court.² For surety of Ādina Beg's conduct and the punctual payment of the tribute, his agent Dilarām was kept in Lahore in constant attendance at the court.³

After a couple of months a quarrel arose between Jahān Khān and Ādina Beg Khān about the payment of the tribute. It seems that Jahān Khān was bent upon finding an excuse to call Ādina Beg to Lahore. Ādina Beg had been in office as the Afghan deputy for only two months when Jahān Khān started making demands for the tribute. Ādina Beg naturally insisted on paying it after the expiry of the year. Jahān Khān sent some bailiffs demanding Ādina Beg's immediate presence in Lahore. The latter mistrusted the Afghan General and flatly refused to come. Jahān Khān at once imprisoned his agent Dilarām and demanded six lakhs of rupees. Mughlānī Begam tried to secure the agent's liberty and ultimately succeeded in her object by standing surety for the payment of the revenues. She also wrote to Ādina Beg Khān for immediate remittance and on receiving no reply from him sent him some of her own jewels to be pawned to procure money. About this time Dilarām who was daily oppressed by the Afghan General also came to the Begam, saying: "They will kill me; I shall do whatever you advise me." The Begam took pity on him and asked him to flee from Lahore the same night, to get the money from Ādina Beg, without delay and to return immediately. Jahān Khān was furiously enraged on learning about Dilarām's escape, sent for the Begam in his own house, took a stick and is said to have beaten her severely. She was not spared till she offered him her own jewels worth six lakhs of rupees. Two hundred troopers besieged her house and took away everything they could lay their hands on, including Miskīn's property and clothes. She was confined in a small room and unspeakable oppression was done to her.⁴

18. THE BEGAM STAYS AT BATALA (JUNE-SEPTEMBER 1758)

Jahān Khān then marched into the Jullundur Doab, drove Ādina Beg Khān into mountains and seized his territory. Ādina Beg was

1. Miskīn, 165. "باين شرط كه ملازمت حضور نخواهد آمد و بذات خود رجوع نخواهد گشت"

2. Ibid., 147.

3. Miskīn 165, *Khazāna-i-Āmīra*, 100; Siyar, iii. 63 *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffarī*, 102a; Ahmad Shāh, 872; *Irshād-ul-Mustaqīm*, 295a and 317a.

4. Miskīn, 168-171.

not to be cowed down so easily. He soon won over Marathas and Sikhs and with their assistance expelled the Afghans from Lahore on the 9th April 1758. On the approach of the Marathas Jahān Khān transferred his camp to Shahdara on the opposite bank of the Ravi, taking Mughlānī Begam and her maiden daughter with him. When the Maratha and Sikh forces reached Lahore, Miskīn quietly managed to bring the Begam and her daughter back to Lahore in a covered conveyance (٢٠) and admitted them into their residential quarters.¹

After the withdrawal of the Afghans the Marathas appointed Ādina Beg Khān Viceroy of the Punjab for an annual tribute of 75 lakhs of Rupees. Ādina Beg did not like to stay in Lahore, and preferred to set up his headquarters at Batala. He left his son-in-law Khwāja Mirzā Khān in charge of the provincial capital, who felt afraid of Mughlānī Begam's intrigues,² and requested Ādina Beg Khān to take her with him. Ādina Beg Khān accordingly provided the Begam with a few thousand rupees, and she moved to Batala.³

19. MUGHLĀNĪ BEGAM SETTLES AT JAMMU (OCTOBER 1758)

ONE of the redeeming features of this period of constant upheaval and chaos was the peace that prevailed in the city of Jammu, the capital of Raja Ranjit Dev, a ruler noted for justice and impartiality. In those days the centres of population had shifted from the plains of the Punjab to the submontane region for reasons of safety and security. Ranjit Dev encouraged people of all sorts to settle in Jammu from every part of the Punjab. He also granted special concessions and allowances to the courtiers and nobles of Delhi and Lahore fallen under misfortune, and extended to them various favours.⁴

1. Miskīn, 176.

2. Ibid., 179.

3. Ibid., 180.

4. Buti Shāh, 34b-35b; 'Alī-ud-Dīn, 51a. (George Forster who visited Jammu in 1783 remarks :—

"Runzeid Deve, the father of the present chief of Jumbo, who deservedly acquired the character of a just and wise ruler, largely contributed to the wealth and importance of Jumbo. Perceiving the benefits which would arise from the residence of Mahometan merchants, he held out to them many encouragements, and observed towards them a disinterested and an honourable conduct. Negative virtues only are expected from an Asiatic people and under such a sanction his subjects might deem themselves fortunate; but the chief of Jumbo went farther than the forbearance of injuries; he avowedly protected and indulged his people, particularly the Mahometans, to whom he allotted a certain quarter of the town, which was thence denominated Moghulpour; and that no reserve might appear in his treatment of them, a mosque was erected in the new colony; a liberality of disposition the more conspicuous, and conferring the greater honour on his memory, as it is the only instance of the like toleration in this part of India, and as the Kashmirians, who chiefly composed his Mahometan subjects, have been since their conversion, rigorous persecutors of the Hindoos. He was so desirous also of acquiring their confidence and esteem, that when he rode through their quarter during the time of prayer he never failed to stop his horse until the priest had concluded his ritual exclamations." *Journey from Bengal to England*, Vol. i., pp. 283-84).

The Begam went to Batala about the end of May, and Ādina Beg Khān died there on the 15th of September 1758. The Begam was at a loss what to do, and eventually decided to settle at Jammu. When she came near the town, Raja Ranjit Dev came out to a distance of five miles to receive her. On seeing her he alighted from his horse, paid respects to the Begam, and offered her a suitable dwelling place and some allowance and lands by way of maintenance.¹

The Begam had been granted the district of Sialkot as Jagir by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, and the Governor of Chahar Mahal used to pay her the revenues of the place. The death of Ādina Beg Khān threw the province into utter disorder and the Begam to assure herself of the revenue appointed Miskīn as her agent in Sialkot. Miskīn found it extremely difficult to manage the district as the Sikhs were rising everywhere. He was ultimately captured and driven away by them, probably in October 1760. The incident is so interesting that we reproduce here a full translation of the author's narrative with a view to give an idea of the lawlessness that prevailed in the Punjab at that time. Miskīn says :—

“ In the meanwhile the Governor of Chahar Mahal with 150 horse and foot came out of his city (Sialkot) to fight the Sikhs. On hearing this, after a short while, I also mounted and galloping off joined him at a distance of two kos.....When we had covered six kos (we saw that) the village was invested by nearly 4,000 Sikhs. When they saw us from a distance they left the village and rushed towards us. There was a fort in ruins nearby. All of us took shelter in it. The fight commenced. They committed violence on the village from the time of afternoon prayer till midnight.

“ We spent the night with the greatest anxiety and irresolution. When the day dawned I saw that Sikhs and zamindars were running in crowds to fight us, and our men were driven back every moment. They very loudly shouted : ‘ Hand over Rustam Khān, Governor of Chahar Mahal to us ! ’ We continued showering bullets on them for about an hour and a half, and afterwards our supply of ammunition ran short. The Sikhs growing bolder came just below the fort. In this state of helplessness we threw on them from the top of the fort clods of earth, pieces of stone, broken earthen vessels, and pieces of wood, in short, on whatever we could lay our hands. We kept them back with bravery and courage till noon, and did not allow them to approach us. At last the Sikhs climbed up the tower and began to break the walls.

“ At this Rustam Khān, I and six other men, tied pieces of cloth round our waists and brandishing swords came out of the door. By chance my foot slipped near the gate, and I fell down. The Sikhs at once captured me on the spot, and a few paces ahead they took Rustam Khān also captive. One of our companions named Alahvardi

Beg was slain. By that time the number of Sikhs and zamindars had swelled to 20,000. They brought us to the village where they were originally fighting. At nightfall they demanded one lakh of rupees from me (by way of ransom). The discussion was prolonged till midnight, and ultimately the bargain was struck at Rs. 6,000. It was settled that I should go to my village the next day, give them an order on (some banker of) Jammu, and on receiving the money they would leave me safely in Jammu.

"Consequently, early next morning two or three Sikhs started for my place. About 100 other Sikhs were also going in that direction. They took me on horseback for two or three kos, and afterwards they forced me to walk. When I had gone seven kos my feet were aching, and I was feeling exhausted. Then I caught sight of Pasrur city from a distance of two or three kos. At that time the Sikh on my horse invoked the name of his Guru and said: 'O Guru! whosoever utters your name in the morning, is never disappointed in any undertaking.' On hearing this prayer I fell aweeping. I also remembered God and said: 'O most high protector! I am your humble creature. Help me now and liberate me from the hands of the Sikhs.' I was uttering this prayer when my gaze lighted on a towering fort on the way. The zamindar of that place fell upon the Sikhs with 40 or 50 armed soldiers (barqandaz), defeated them, and carried off all their plundered goods and baggage. He also brought us in his fort. At the time of the evening prayer that Sikh who was driving us sent the zamindar of the fort word that the Mughal whom he had seized was to be ransomed by the chief of the Sikhs for Rs. 6,000, and that he was responsible for that sum. On hearing this we were placed in a tower under strict vigilance."¹

Miskīn remained in captivity for ten days, but the zamindar of the fort took him for an ordinary Mughal soldier, and finally liberated him on receiving only Rs. 200 from him. Rustam Khān was, however, subjected to greater misery, and ultimately released on the extortion of Rs. 22,000.²

20. MUGHLĀNĪ BEGAM RETIRES TO SANBA AND MARRIES A EUNUCH

AFTER his discomfiture by the Sikhs Miskīn came to Jammu. In his absence the Begam had appointed another eunuch named Abū Turāb Khān Kokah as her personal attendant. Miskīn found everybody wagging his tongue telling tales of the Begam's loose life with her old

1. Miskīn, 218-21.

2. Ibid., 222-24.

eunuch Shahbāz.¹ The scandal flared up sky-high, and the Begam found it impossible to continue to live at that place. Consequently, she retired to another hill called Sanba, which was not under the jurisdiction of Ranjit Dev. She left Miskīn behind to wind up her business at Jammu. Miskīn stayed there for seventeen days, and then joined the Begam. He found that his own family and all other ladies who had always lived with the Begam had been left at a place called Parmandal, while the Begam was living all alone with Shahbāz. Miskīn presented himself before the Begam who informed him that she had married Shahbāz. Miskīn felt disappointed, left her there and secured service under Zain Khān, the Governor of Sirhind.²

HARI RAM GUPTA.

1. Miskīn, 230.

2. Ibid., 231.

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TĀJ RĒZAH.

TĀJ-RĒZAH, a poet of the seventh century A.H. who flourished at the court of Sultan Shamsuddīn Iltutmish (607-633 A.H.=1210-1235 A.C.) occupies an important place among the poets of that period and the historical and biographical works of the age recognize him as a man of outstanding merit. He was a distinguished writer and although none of his works have come down to us, a good many of his Qaṣīdahs are still extant.

In several histories we find his name mentioned as one who composed a quatrain, in commemoration of the first Muslim conquest of the Gawalior Fort. Most of the biographical works contain valuable references to his life and poetry.

Among the popular histories, the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, by Nizāmuddīn Ahmed Bakhshī (1001 A.H.=1592 A.C.) is the first to take notice of Tāj-Rēzah, and the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh and the 'Tārīkh-i-Firishtah' follow suit. But books of history are very meagre in their account, nor do the biographies give much help.

Mīr Hasan Sijzī Dehlawī, the well-known poet, commonly called Hasan Dehlawī, is our earliest authority. His compilation, the Fawā'id-ul-Fuwād,¹ gives in chronological order the account of Khawajah Nizāmuddīn Awliyā from 707 A.H.=1307 A.C. to 722 A.H.=1322 A.C. He mentions Tāj Rēzah as one who composed a eulogy for Shams Dabīr when the latter became the Mustaufī of Hindustan under Sultan Ghiyā-suddīn Balban. The author quotes a verse of Tāj-Rēzah.

Maulāna Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shāh Ghaznawī, a famous poet of the reign of Sultan 'Alauddīn Muḥammad Shah Khiljī (695-716 A.H.=1295-1316 A.C.) compiled a concise dictionary of Persian words, entitled Farhang Nāmah.² Herein we find Tāj Rēzah thrice referred to, in each case his verse being quoted in support of certain interpretation of the words. These verses are found in the Kulliyāt-i-Anwarī (Nivalkishore edition).

1. Fawā'id-ul-Fuwād, p. 67.

2. (a) The author of Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī mentions it in the list of works consulted by him.

(b) Tārīkh-i-Firishtah, Vol. I, p. 122 (Nivalkishore), and

(c) Tārīkh-i-Firozshāhī by Ziauddin Baranī, p. 360.

Sayyed Muḥammad bin Sayyed Wahīdud-Dīn Mubārak Kirmānī, the author of *Siyar-ul-Awliyā*, in its 8th chapter "On Desire, Love and Vision" quotes a verse of Tāj Rēzah from a Qasīdah in praise of Sultan Shamsuddīn Iltutmish¹ which is found in the *Kulliyāt-i-Anwarī* (Nival-kishore). In the same work, at another place Tāj Rēzah's verse in praise of Shams Dabīr is quoted.

Muḥammad bin Qiwām of Karī², the author of a lexicon named '*Bahr-ul-Fadāil*' (Circa 837 A.H.=1433 A.C.) refers to the death of Tāj Rēzah along with other poets whose end was very disgraceful.

Hamid bin Faḍl-ul-Allāh, called Darvēsh Jamālī, the author of the *Siyar-ul-Ārifīn*³ records Tāj Rēzah's name in connection with his verse to Shams Dabīr. In another manuscript copy of the same work, Tāj Rēzah is given the nom-de-plume of Sangrezah, which is not mentioned by other writers.

The author of *Akhhbār-ul-Akhyār*,⁴ has also taken notice of him in connection with his verse to Shams Dabīr.

Lachhmī Narāin Shafīq Aurangābādī in a biographical dictionary of the Persian poets of India, called *Gul-i-R'anā* (compiled 1181 A.H.=1767 A.C.) and Riṣā Qulī Khan in the *Majma'-ul-Fuṣṣahā*, an anthology of Persian poets, mention the name of Tāj Rēzah with a short account.

The *Khulāṣa-tul-Ash'ār* by Taqī Kāshī completed in 993 A.H.=1585 A.C., the '*Arāfat-ul-Āshiqīn*' by Taqī Auḥādī Isfahānī, and the *Tuhfat-ul-Kirām*⁵ are later works that mention him.

In those early days there was a constant immigration of scholars both as settlers and fortune seekers from various Islamic countries to India, and as time passed the question of their original home became a mystery, unless they had themselves made a reference to it or some contemporary writer had left records of them. In the present case all difficulties are solved by Tāj himself, when he says :⁶

مولد و منشاء مبین در خاک هندوستان مرا نظم و نثرم بین کہ از آب خراسان آمدہ

1. *Siyarul-Awliya*, p. 573.

2. Karī is the name of a town in Ahmadabad District which was famous during the reign of Sultans of Gujrat. The following books mention it *Mirat-i-Iskandari*; *Āin-i-Akbari*; *Firishṭah* and the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* p. 251, and the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrozshāhī* Baranī, p. 518 in one place it is کڑہ and at another کڑھی. But the correct name is کری which was the seat of a parganah. See *Mirat-i-Iskandari*, pp. 35, 334, 338.

3. *Siyarul-Ārifin* MS. p. 63-a.

4. *Akhhbār-ul-Akhyār*, p. 89.

5. "تاج الدین ریزہ مرد حقیر الجنتہ بود لهذا این لقب یافتہ۔ فاضل کامل شاعر نامی است۔ در خدمت سلطان شمس الدین ایلتمش قربت داشتہ۔"

Tuhfat ul Kirām. Vol. II. p. 105. Bombay Edition.

6. *Diwān-i-Anwārī*, Nival., p. 89.

'Regard not my birth and bringing up on Indian soil, but look at my poetry and prose bearing the elegance of Khorāsān.'

This shows that he was born and brought up in India and his parents must have lived in this country for sometime. The poet has made a passing reference to this fact at another place, in a Qaṣīdah which was written for Sultan Raziyyatud-Dīn¹

بودی پدرم بتجلس تو یار سره و حریف محرم

The relations of the poet's family with the royal court, were thus long continued, but this has no connection with his birthplace, unless some definite authority is adduced. It is safe to assume that he was probably not connected with Lahore or Multan, towns which were in those days celebrated literary haunts. To Delhi he comes after sometime in order to make his fortune. In support of this we can quote the poet's verses. For instance in a Qaṣīdah to Nizām-ul-Mulk Qawāmuddīn Muḥammad Abu Sa'd Al-Junaidī, the minister, he says :²

سالها شد بنده را کز لطف هر آزاده در حریم این ممالک حصه حرمان آمده است
خان و مان بگذاشته در سمت شهری رفته کو از علو قدر شاهش چون قدر خان آمده است
خوان جودش زیر چرخ کاسه شکل آراستست
این ثناخوان بے نصیب از جور اخوان آمده است

and at another place in an encomium to Prince Ruknud-dīn Fīroz Shāh (who succeeded Iltutmish in 633 A.H. = 1235 A.C.) he says :³

عندلیب آسا سرای خسروانی میزنم خاصه کاکنوں روئے سوئے بوستان آورده ام
پیل بالا زر فشانده بر پی اسپم فلک رخ چو سوئے حضرت شاه جهان آورده ام

These verses reveal that the poet was a stranger in Delhi. As to his arrival in the royal court, we know that Multan and Uchchah were conquered by Sultan Iltutmish in 625 A.H. = 1227 A.C., and the embassy from Baghdad reached the capital on 22nd Rabi' I 626 A.H. = 1228 A.C. Tāj Rēzah composed a Qaṣīdah for this memorable occasion. This most probably brings us very near to our above deduction, and we can safely assume that he was in the royal court prior to 626 A.H. = 1228 A.C.

The whole subject may be now divided into three important sections :-

- (a) Tāj Rēzah's quatrain at the conquest of the Gwalior fort ;
- (b) A verse from his Qaṣīdah to Shams-ul-Mulk Dabīr ;

1. *Lubāb-ul-Albāb* Vol. 1. Also see my article in the *Oriental College Magazine*, February, 1939, p. 82.

2. *Dīwān-i-Anwarī*, Nival., p. 89.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

(c) His *Qaṣīdahs* in the *Dīwān* or *Kulliyāt* published in the name of the poet *Anwarī*.

The question of the quatrain is very controversial, so much so that one is led to doubt the very authorship of *Tāj Rēzah*. Yet we cannot ignore the evidence in favour of it for the simple reason that the *Tazkirahs* fail to mention it.

Among the historians, *Nizāmuddīn Ahmed Bakhshī* is the first to refer to the quatrain in the reign of *Sultan Iltutmish*. He says : ¹

و در سنه تسع و عشرين و ستايه بعزيمت فتح قلعه گواليار لشکر کشيد مدت يكسال آن قلعه را
محاصره داشت ملك تاج الدين ريزه كه دير مملكت بود در فتح آن قلعه اين رباعي گفت و
بر سنگ دروازه قلعه كنده اند -

آن قلعه كه سلطان سلاطين بگرفت از عون خدا و نصرت دين بگرفت
آن قلعه كالپور و آن حصن حصين در ستايه سنه ثلاثين بگرفت

Badāūnī and *Ferīshṭah* also recount this incident.²

According to Briggs the above quatrain was seen in a stone engraving on the gateway of the fort as late as early in last century.³

The question now arises, did *Tāj Rēzah* accompany the Sultan and was he really the author of this quatrain? Firstly, we have no grounds to suppose that *Tāj Rēzah* was present on the battle-field as we have absolutely no record coming from the pen of some contemporary authority. Secondly, the language of the quatrain, in view of the style employed by *Tāj* in his *Qaṣīdahs*, makes us hesitate to believe that it is his composition.

As regards its inscription on the gate of the fort, we get no proof of its existence. The Director-General of Archaeology in India, made a search for it in 1937 but could not trace it.⁴ Dr. J. Harovitz (late Professor of Arabic, M. A. O. College, Aligarh and Government Epigraphist for Moslem inscriptions) in 1911-12, brought on record that "the inscription was seen by *Bābar* who speaks of it in his memoirs."⁵

There is not the least doubt that *Bābar* in his historic visit to this place had seen all notable buildings including the famous fort but there is no reference to this quatrain. The date 630 A.H. = 1232 A.C. of the conquest of the fort by *Sultan Iltutmish* is certainly recorded⁶ on the fort gate but this does not wholly solve the problem.

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Nivalkishore, p. 29.

2. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Cal. Vol., I, p. 67. and *Firishṭah* Vol. I p. (?).

3. *History of the Rise of the Mohammadan Power in India* Vol. I. p. 211.

4. *Early Persian Poets of India*. p. 155.

5. *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* 1911-12, pp. 24-25.

6. *Tuzuk-i-Bābarī* trans. in Persian by *Khān-i-Khānān Bairam Khān*, p. 224 has "بلاى دروازه"

او نام سلطان محمد الدين ايلتمش كنده نوشته اند تاريخ و سنه ثلثين و ستايه است"

Also see "*Memoirs of Babur*," translated by Beveridge, Vol. III pp. 610-611 and Erskine, Vol. II. pp. 338-340.

But if we regard the word “دیزه” as a later and incorrect addition by some imaginative script in the historical version quoted above, we can easily trace Tāj-ud-Dīn to be a different person, who was Dabīr-i-mamlakat (: Secretary of State of Sultan Rukn-ud-Dīn) and, according to Minhāj Sirāj, died in 634 A.H. = 1236 A.C., in a military expedition led by the Sultan.¹ On the other hand, Tāj Rēzah, as we shall see later on, lived much longer.

Another point is that Tāj Rēzah was an ordinary man, as is evident from his flattering Qaṣīdahs. We also have the evidence of Muḥammad bin Qiṭwām who in his commentary on the *Makhzan-ul-Asrār*, describes the fate of certain poets who fell from royal favour and were thus either hanged or were rotting behind prison walls.² This list includes the names of ‘Ubaid, Mu‘izzī, Khāqānī and Tāj Rēzah about whom he says

“و تاج دیزه را پیش پای پیل انداختند”.

This statement of Muḥammad bin Qiṭwām establishes two points :—

1. That Tāj Rēzah belonged to a class of professional poets;
2. That he died the death of a common rebel; and this amply

supports our view that Tāj Rēzah was not a man of any high status. The oldest record available, i.e., the *Farhang Nāmāh* of Fakhr Qawwās simply calls him “Tāj Dabīr—nicknamed Rēzah,” and the second oldest, *Fawā'id-ul-Fuwād* addresses him as Tāj Rēzah, and almost all the Tazkirah writers are unanimous in this respect. Only in histories, (already noted) is he variously entitled ‘Malik’ and ‘Dabīr-i-Mamlakat.’ But the period in which these histories were compiled obviously shows that he earned these epithets in the reign of the Emperor Jalāl-uddin Akbar, and not earlier. We know that titles of ‘Malik’ and ‘Khawānīn’ were restricted to military officers alone. The *Fawā'id-ul-Fuwād* calls him ‘Khawājah,’ which title was employed for civilians alone.

A thoughtful perusal and consideration of the above argumentative evidence will lead to the conclusion that Tāj was a poet, possibly employed as an ordinary clerk in the court. The author of *Gul-i-Ra'nā*³ brings, in fresh complications by implying that there were two men of this name i.e. تاج دیزه and تاج بره. The statement, however, is without foundation and is obviously the result of a hasty conclusion drawn on seeing written تاج دیزه in one place and تاج بره in another.

Thus as far as the earliest authorities are concerned, we have identified Tāj Rēzah as a poet with little or no part in state affairs, but by no

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī*, pp. 261 and 381. Also Cf. Raverts Vol. I., 635 N. 5.

2. *Sharḥ-i-Makhzan-ul-Asrār*, MS. pp. 61-b, 62-a.

3. *Gul-i-Ra'nā*, MS.

means inferior to contemporary poets, who in this list are—

1. Sadīd-ud-Dīn Muḥammad 'Awfī,¹
2. Ṣadr-ud-dīn Muḥammad Niẓāmī,
3. Minhāj-i-Sirāj-i-Minhāj,²
4. Amīr Rūḥānī,^{3a}
5. Naṣirī,³
6. Shams Dabīr,⁴ and
7. Fakhrul-mulk 'Amīd Tūlakī.

The authors of the '*Arafāt-ul-Āshiqīn* and *Gul-i-Ra'nā* are foremost in classifying him as the most renowned poet of the age. The later says—

تاج الدین از فضلاء و شعراء هندوستان است و از عنادل قدیم العهد این بوستان -

“Tājuddīn is amongst the scholars and poets of Hindustan and an old nightingale of this garden.”

The poems of Tāj Rēzah have been preserved for us in the following works --

1. '*Arafāt-ul-Āshiqīn*,
2. *Khulāsat-ul-aṣḥār*,
3. *Majma'-ul-Fuṣṣḥā*,⁵ and
4. *Kulliyāt-i-Anwārī*.

Tāj Rēzah's authorship of the few Qaṣīdahs found in the *Kulliyāt-i-Anwārī* is supported both by Taqī Aḥadī and Ridā Qulī Khān. A further proof of this will be found in the old MS. of *Farhang Nāmāh* by Fakhr Qawwās,⁶ who in three places in the explanation of words like (نیش), (سور) and (همجنه), cites three verses of this poet, and clearly states his name, saying

و تاج دبیر عرف ریزه گفته . . .

In 626 A.H.=1228 A.C. Sultan Iltutmish established relations with the court of Baghdad. The ruling Caliph was Abu Ja'far Maṣṣūr-al-Mustaṣṣir, who sent an embassy to the Delhi court. According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣirī*⁷ (completed 658 A.H.=1259 A.C.): “At this time emissaries from the Khalīfah's court bearing honours rich and ample, had reached the limits of Nāgawr, and on Monday, 22nd of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 626 A.H., they reached the capital” Great were the festivities and the city was superbly decorated and illuminated. The Sultan was overjoyed to get a caprisoned horse and a robe of

1-4. About their literary career and biographical sketches see the writer's articles in the *Oriental College Magazine*, May 1938, p. 11, November, p. 39, February, p. 72, May, 1939, p. 36, p. 39.

3-a. *Ibid.*, May 1940.

5. *Majma'-ul-Fuṣṣḥā*, Vol. 1, p. 174.

6. *Farhang Nāmāh*, Roto, pp. 19a, 38 and 10.

7. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣirī*, p. 174.

honour.¹ At this auspicious occasion poets vied with each other in bestowing congratulatory verses on the king. Among them Tāj Rēzah also composed a Qaṣīdah. This Qaṣīdah of Tāj Rēzah attributed to him by the author of the *Khulāṣat-ul-ash'ār*, is also found with several others in the *Kulliyāt-i-Anwarī* and one of its line is quoted in the *Siyar-ul-Awliyā*.² Moreover, the Qaṣīdahs that are found in the *Kulliyāt* record the names of Sultan Iltutmish, his sons, daughter, and the minister. Lastly, the poet in these verses claims to be of Indian birth, which is certainly not Anwarī. Dr. Rieu, the compiler of 'The Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, London, probably did not understand this verse:—³

مولد و منشاء مبین در خاک هندوستان مرا نظم و نثرم بین که از آب خراسان آمد

when he wrote, "The poet whose name does not appear says, that he had come to India from Khorasan." The number of the Qaṣīdahs which could be so far traced in the *Kulliyat-i-Anwarī*, are in this order:—

- | | | | |
|---|----|----|-------------------|
| (a) Sultan Iltutmish | .. | .. | One ⁴ |
| (b) Raziyyatuddīn (his daughter). | .. | .. | One ⁵ |
| (c) Ruknuddīn Firōz Shāh, son of Iltutmish | | | |
| (633-634 A.H. = 1235-1236 A.C.) | .. | .. | Four ⁶ |
| (d) Ghiyāthuddīn Muḥammad Shāh, a son | | | |
| of Iltutmish | .. | .. | Two ⁷ |
| (e) Nizām-ul-Mulk Qiwāmuddīn Muḥammad | | | |
| Junaidī the Minister | .. | .. | Two ⁸ |
| (f) In praise of some noble whose name is not | | | |
| mentioned | .. | .. | One ⁹ |

From the authorities quoted, coupled with the conclusions drawn from authoritative facts, it becomes self-evident, that Tāj Rēzah is the author of these verses.

Before we end this article, a short note on the poet's talents and composition may not be out of place. So far as his talents in the

1. Mentioned in the Qaṣīdah to Iltutmish, *Dīwān-i-Anwarī*, Nival., p. 133.

2. *Siyar-ul-Awliyā*, p. 453.

3. Rieu, Vol. II, p. 555.

4. *Kulliyāt-i-Anwarī*, Nival., p. 133.

5. *Ibid.* p. 281.

6. *Ibid.* pp. 82, 84, 135 and 308.

7. *Ibid.* pp. 86, 265.

8. *Ibid.* pp. 89, 137.

9. *Ibid.* p. 116. A verse of this rhyme, metre and subject-matter is found in the *Farhang Nāmah-i-Qawwās*, but the verse itself does not exist in the *Kulliyāt*, which is most probably an oversight of the copyist.

poetical domain are concerned, his ability is unquestioned. But for prose production, we have none of his works before us, although he says :

ع نظم و نثرم بین کہ از آب خراسان آمده است
ع نثر من بر جبهہ نثرہ مجلد کردہ اند

His Qaṣīdahs are sharp and forceful coupled with sublimity of thought and simplicity of expression. His use of certain words, which led the author of the *Farhang Nāmāh* to quote him, are a standing proof of his mastery over the language and his versatility. Touches of sincerity and purity of thought run like a vein through the body of his poems. The poet bore an unblemished character. He stood in need of money but was not devoid of self-respect and must have belonged to a good family. His construction of idioms and phrases is fine and the composition is full of pathos and passion. Lachhmī Narāin states :

”و بصفات ذہن و دقت طبع اِتصاف داشت“¹

1. *Gul-i-Ra'nā*, MS.

AGHA ABDUS SATTAR KHAN.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

AFGHANISTAN

AFGHANISTAN is the country of the youngest and the most virile Muslim nation. For long it has remained a closed page to the outside world, the more so on account of the incessant warfare in the country. The Afghans came into contact with Islam in the very time of the Companions, and rightly or wrongly, many a tomb in the country is attributed to the Companions of the Prophet. If during these long centuries the country has not produced very many savants, the potentiality is there and the energy thus preserved can now be utilised to the best needs of the people. With training they will soon learn the extent of the sources of their subjects of study, and the thoroughness to utilise them.

It augurs well that soon after the *coup d'état* of Bachcha Saqqa, when a restoration followed under Nādir Khān, an Afghan Academy was founded in 1931. Originally it was called *Anjuman-e-Adabi*, but ever since Persian has been replaced as the state-language by Pashtau by order of Zāhir Khān, the Academy has been renamed *Pashtau Tulnah*. During the last decade, much of the work was done in Persian. Now, however, greater attention is being paid to Pashtau to make it a befitting national language of the great Afghan nation.

The *Pashtau Tulnah* is divided into four sections, viz., 1. Translation and Compilation, 2. Literature, History etc., 3. Philology and Grammar of the Pashtau language, 4. Publication and Press.

The writer of these lines had the pleasure of visiting the Academy in Kabul in 1937, and he can testify to the great impression made upon him by the modest yet enthusiastic and hard work of the young members of this only institution of its kind in that country of Firdausi. In India we have fewer opportunities to learn foreign languages other than English, Arabic and Persian. Geographically placed as Afghanistan is, and also thanks to the educational efforts of the Government, Russian, German, French, Arabic, Turkish and Urdu are understood by a large number of the intelligentsia there.

The *Tulnah* publishes a weekly *Zīri* for popularising Pashtau. Besides they publish the learned monthly *Kābul* with an annual almanac of the most interesting reading on Afghanistan and of general interest.

It is interesting to note that already 13,000 words have been recorded by this Academy under the first eight letters of the alphabet, and the work of compiling a comprehensive Pashtau dictionary is going on apace. It is true that more than half of the vocabulary consists of words derived from Arabic, Persian, Urdu and now also European languages. But there is also little doubt, that soon pure Pashtau words will replace many of the Persian and Arabic words as more and more classical Pashtau works are published suggesting equivalents.

Under the young and very energetic director of the literary section, Sarwar Khān Gūyā, Pashtau proverbs are being hunted from every corner of the country, and many a Pashtau *diwān* of classical poets is being printed.

The young director came to Hyderabad last year, and had some inspiring experiences at the Osmania University and its *Translation Bureau*, and the *Dā'iratul-Ma'ārif*.

The nucleus of the Afghan University has been laid, and colleges of medicine and other sciences, more important than mere arts subjects, have been opened in Kabul, with the help mostly of Turkish professors. The medium of instruction has so far remained Persian. The great "school of arts and crafts" is also giving impetus to indigenous industry.

Beside the ever increasing press, the newly inaugurated Kabul broadcasting-station is also to play its rôle in the rejuvenation of this old country. It is interesting that among foreign stations, Delhi is more popular in Afghanistan than Moscow, especially as far as music is concerned.

Among the Indian periodicals, the (معارف) *Ma'ārif* of A'zamgarh is the most popular, and constantly one sees translations from this magazine in the organ of the Afghan Academy.

Urdu is commonly understood in Afghanistan, more especially in Kabul, Jalalabad, and Qandahar.

EGYPT

THE history of modern Egypt begins with Muḥammad 'Alīy Pāshā who was also responsible for the opening of the first veritable Arabic printing press, the famous *Būlāq Press*, in 1822. There is no exaggeration in saying that during these one hundred odd years, we owe almost four-fifths of the publications in the Arabic language to the enterprising publishers of Cairo. Nowhere else has it been possible to publish books in 30 and more volumes (like the البسوط of Sarakhṣīy, and *Tafsīr* of Ṭabariy) at so cheap a price that they are available to every ordinary Arabist.

There are many institutions editing classical or new works in Arabic, at Cairo. Of these the *Dārul Kutub al-Miṣrīyah* (which is a part of the State-Library of Cairo) is perhaps the best-known, whose quality of publication is proverbial. To-day we shall introduce another young

institution, a private concern, yet the envy of many a state-maintained institution of similar kind. We mean the *Bureau of Compilation, Translation and Publication* (لجنة التأليف و الترجمة و النشر).

It was in 1914 that this Bureau was founded by some young scholars of Egypt under the presidentship of Mr. Aḥmad Amīn (now Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Egypt) who continues untiringly to function as such. During these 26 years, the Bureau has published some 33 translations from European languages, edited some 9 classical works, and published some 43 original works in Arabic. Many more works are in hand. Among Indian scholars, some three or four works of Prof. 'Abdul 'Aziz Maiman of 'Aligarh have been published by the Bureau, and one by Dr. Ḥamīdullāh is in the press. The following is the list of its publications as mentioned by the *Oriente Moderno* of January 1940 :—

(a) *Translations* —

1. مرجريت او غادة الكاميليا (La Dame aux Camélias by Alexandre Dumas).
2. النجوم في مسالكها (by James Jeans).
3. قواعد النقد الأدبي (by Lascelles Abercombie).
4. آلام فرتر (Die Leiden des jungen Werthers by J. W. Goethe).
5. رفايل (Raphael by A. Lamartine).
6. فاوست (Faust by J. W. Goethe).
7. الشاهنامة (by Firdausi).
8. هرمن و دوروثيه (Hermann und Dorothea by Goethe).
9. عرض تأريخي للفلسفة و العلم (by Wolf).
10. مبادئ الفلسفة (by Rappaport).
11. علم الأخلاق (by Aristotle).
12. كتاب الأخلاق (by Smiles).
13. الكون والفساد (by Aristotle).
14. علم الطبيعة (by Aristotle).
15. فتح العرب لمصر (The Arab Conquest of Egypt by A. J. Butler).
16. اسباب الحرب العالمية (by Sidney B. Fays).
17. الآراء الحديثة في علم الجغرافيا (by Dudley Stamp).
18. مرشد المتعلم (by John Adams).
19. كتاب علم التاريخ (by F. J. C. Hearnshaw).
20. تاريخ مسئلة مصرية ?

21. النتائج السياسية للحرب الكبرى (by Ramsey Muir).
22. الديمقراطية (by Delisle Burns).
23. علم النفس في الحياة (by Mander).
24. تاريخ الفلسفة في الاسلام (by T. J. de Boer).
25. تس من سليلة دريفيل (Tess of the d'Urbevilles by Thomas Hardy).
26. طلسم (The Talisman by Sir Walter Scott).
27. (ژان : read) جان دارك (Saint Joan by Bernard Shaw).
28. السمفونية الريفية (La Symphonie pastorale by André Gide).
29. الاغنياء والفقراء (by H. G. Wells).
30. قصة المكروب (Microbe Hunters by Paul de Kruif).
31. مختصر تاريخ العرب (A Short History of the Saracens by S. Ameer Ali).
32. من الأدب التثيلي اليوناني (by different authors, consisting of Electra, Ajax, Edipus etc.).
33. حياة دسراييلي (by André Maurois).

(b) Editions —

- ١ - سمط اللآل في شرح أمالي القارى لعبيد الله البكرى
- ٢ - الانتصار في الرد على ابن الراوندى لابن الخياط
- ٣ - كتاب السلوك لمعرفة دول الملوك للمقريزى
- ٤ - نسب عدنان و قحطان للمبرد
- ٥ - الروض المغطار للمقريزى
- ٦ - نقد النثر لقدامى بن جعفر
- ٧ - ديوان إسماعيل صبرى پاشا
- ٨ - الطرائف الأدبية
- ٩ - اخبار أبى تمام لأبى بكر الصولى

(c) Original Compilations —

- ١ - تاريخ الأدب الغربى لأحمد حسين الزيات
- ٢ - تاريخ اللغات السامية لاسرائيل و لفسن
- ٣ - فى الأدب الجاهلى لطف حسين
- ٤ - الحاج شلبى وأفاصيخ أخرى لمحمد تيمور
- ٥ - قصة الفلسفة اليونانية لأحمد أمين وغيره
- ٦ - فلسفة الذرائع (البرجماتزم) ليعقوب فام
- ٧ - كتاب الاخلاق لأحمد أمين
- ٨ - اصول علم النفس لأمين مرسى قنديل
- ٩ - الحرية و الدولة لمحمد عبد البارى
- ١٠ - تاريخ القرن التاسع عشر لحسين حسنى بك
- ١١ - الثورة الفرنسية لحسن جلال
- ١٢ - صلاح الدين الأيوبي و عصره لمحمد فريد
- ١٣ - تاريخ اليهود في بلاد العرب لاسرائيل و لفسن

- ١٤ - جغرافيا الاسلام لأحمد أمين
١٥ - ضحى الاسلام (٣ أجزاء) لأحمد أمين
١٦ - مواقف حاسمه في الاسلام لعبدالله عنان
١٧ - تاريخ العصور الوسطى لمحمد فريد أبي حديد
١٨ - ديوان التحقيق والمحاکمات الكبرى
لعبدالله عنان
١٩ - حياة نابليون لحسن جلال
٢٠ - التصوير في الاسلام عند الفرس (٧٠ تصوير)
لزكي محمد حسن
٢١ - جزيرة العرب في القرن العشرين لحافظ وهبة
٢٢ - الاسلام والحضارة العربية لمحمد كرد علي
٢٣ - علم الآثار لمحمد حمزة وغيره
٢٤ - تاريخ الفلسفة اليونانية ليوسف كرم
٢٥ - موسى بن ميمون لاسرائيل ولفنسن
٢٦ - تاريخ القرآن لأبي عبدالله الزنجاني
٢٧ - البهاء زهير لمصطفى عبدالرازق
٢٨ - قصة الفلسفة الحديثة لأحمد أمين وغيره
٢٩ - مع المتنبي لطف حسين
٣٠ - وحى القلم لمصطفى صادق الرافعي
٣١ - إحياء النحول لبراهيم مصطفى
٣٢ - محاورات أفلاطون لزكي نجيب محمود
٣٣ - سيرة السيد عمر مكرم لمحمد فريد أبي حديد
٣٤ - أمراء البيان لمحمد كرد علي
٣٥ - تاريخ النقد الأدبي عند العرب لطف ابراهيم
٣٦ - التوهم في التصوف لحارث المحاسبي
٣٧ - خلاصة علم النفس لأحمد فؤاد الأهواني
٣٨ - المنطق التوجيهي لأبي العلاء العفيفي
٣٩ - فيض الخاطر لأحمد أمين
٤٠ - الحاكم بأمر الله لعبدالله عنان
٤١ - مصر الاسلامية لعبدالله عنان
٤٢ - حياة ابن خلدون و تراثه لعبدالله عنان
٤٣ - أصول التربية لأمين موسى قنديل

The Bureau also began publishing a weekly *الثقافة* in January 1939. The writer was told, when he visited the Bureau two months afterwards, that the number of subscribers had already reached the enviable figure of 15,000. The journal deals with literary, scientific, historical and other topics of general interest, and in fact is playing a prominent rôle in bettering the taste of the Egyptian reader in particular and Arabic readers in general.

Ceremonial Uniform for the Ulema

At the instance of the Rector of al-Azhar, it has been decided that there should be a uniform for the *ulema* at the time of the royal audience and other ceremonial occasions. For this purpose, the daily *al-Ahrām* reports, violet and azure colours have been chosen for the gowns.

Consuls should correspond in Arabic

According to the daily *al-Ahrām*, the Government of Egypt has asked the foreign consuls to correspond with Egyptian authorities in Arabic. The consul of the U.S.A. was the first to comply with the request. Others are following suit.

Graduates of al-Azhar in the Sorbonne

Under the enlightened rectorship of Shaikh Muṣṭafā al-Marāghīy, the Azhar University of Egypt is sending every year some of its most brilliant alumni after graduation at al-Azhar, to complete their studies at the Sorbonne, Paris, and other European centres of learning. Recently, one such scholar presented successfully at the Sorbonne a thesis on the technical terms of Arabic Grammar.

Greece and al-Azhar

General Petrides, Chairman of the Græco-Egypt League, recently paid a visit to the mosque and the library of al-Azhar. He declared that the Greek government is constructing a mosque in Athens for the use of the Muslims in Greece. He promised to send books in Greek on Islam to the Azhar library, and to persuade parents of Greek Muslims to send their children to al-Azhar for religious studies.

Futūwah (Youth Movement) of Iraq in Egypt

The *Oriente Moderno* of Rome, quoting from *al-Bashīr* of Beirouth, mentions that the Government of Egypt has requested the Government of Iraq to send them the necessary literature on the *Futūwah* movement which has given such good results among the youth of Iraq. It is intended to introduce it into the elementary and superior schools of Egypt.

SYRIA

Mausoleum of Abul 'Alā'

ABOUT two years ago, Prof. 'Abdul 'Azīz Maiman, speaking in a Hyderabad gathering, gave us the interesting news that he had discovered the graves of the Caliph 'Umar-ibn-'Abdal 'Azīz and of Abu'l 'Alā' al-Ma'arrīy. The *al-Bashīr* of Beirouth (cited by *Oriente Moderno*) informs us that the Government of Syria has now built a suitable mausoleum on the grave of that great Arab *litterateur* in the city of Ma'arratun-Nu'mān in North Syria. It is 30 square metres. The mausoleum will also be utilised as a library containing books written by this author as well as books written on him in all the languages of the world.

ANDALUSIA AND MOROCCO

Arabic Broadcasts from Madrid

THE *al-Wahdah al-Maghribīyah* of Tetuān dated 5-1-1940 mentions that H.H. the *Khalifah* (Deputy) of H.M. the Sultan of Morocco, inaugurated the first Arabic broadcast from the Radio station of Majrīt (Madrid) on the 4th January.

Schools in Spanish Morocco

Some time ago the *Ma'had Mawlā'ī al-Ḥasan* celebrated its second anniversary. Now another institute, *Ma'had Mawlā'ī al-Mahdī* has been opened in Tetuān. Both these institutions aim at diffusing modern knowledge among the youth of the country. Egyptian professors are largely employed in them.

ENGLAND

As we write these lines, *Reuter* announces the death at Oxford of the Grand Old Man of Orientalia, D. S. Margoliouth. In him we lose a man whose memory and whose library, magnificent both, were always at the disposal of students and scholars.

HIJAZ

THE family of Mr. Mājid al-Kurdīy has been famous in Mecca for its learning and patronage of science. Their library is probably the biggest private library in the city. The thousands of the MSS. contain also many a *unicum*. The family has now turned to the printing profession. Last year they completed the reprint of the second and the final volume of the classical اخبار مكة *Akḥbār Makkah* by al-Azraqīy which was long out of print. The first volume was published earlier. Many useful footnotes have enhanced the value of this edition. In 1353 H. they published التمهيد في تخریج الفروع على الأصول by al-Asnawīy. The number of their publications now exceeds a dozen. The writer of these lines had the good fortune of visiting their MSS. library last year, and it is a pity that lack of funds prevents them from publishing many works long considered to be lost yet found in this large collection of rarities.

The library in the Mausoleum of Ibn 'Abbās at Ṭā'if was once a very big collection. Last year it was related to me by people on the

spot that all its rare and interesting items were sent to Riyāḍ at the time of the conquest of Ibn Sa'ūd.

TUNIS

TUNIS is not behind many Arab countries as far as the service of Arabic classics is concerned. The إدارة العلوم و المعارف التونسية decided in 1341 H. to found a Bureau for the publication of Arabic MSS. The آداب المعلمين by Imām Muḥammad ibn Suḥnūn (d. 256 H.) is in our hands. This publication announces that أحكام السوق by Yaḥyā ibn 'Umar al-Kinānīy (d. 289 H.) and مسائل السياسة by al-Abyānīy at-Tūnisīy (d. 352 H.) are also in hand.

General Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abdul Wahhāb, the soldier-scholar of Tunis, has edited, beside the above mentioned آداب المعلمين, the كتاب يفعلون by aṣ-Ṣaghānīy (d. 650 H.). He has also edited وصف افريقيه و الأندلس مقتطف من مسالك الابصار لابن فضل الله العمري . شهيرات التونسيات and also published

Arabic knowing scholars will remember his masterly edition of a Jāḥiẓ MS. on the market of Basrah in the organ of the Arabic Academy of Damascus, some years ago. The writer remembers gratefully how last year he spent some happy days in his company and profited from his immense library of Arabic MSS. and other curiosities such as parchments and the handwriting of some 'Abbasid caliphs.

JAPAN

Arabic in Japan

THE *al-Aiyām* of Damascus (cited by *Oriente Moderno*) mentions that the Government of Japan has asked the Government of Iraq to procure for them the services of a professor to teach Arabic in Tokyo.

DECCAN

Sirat Exhibition

DURING the last week of May last, Hyderabad witnessed an exhibition, probably the first of its kind so far, exclusively concerned with the life of the Prophet. The Hyderabad Muslim Youth Conference has regularly been holding every year, for some time, an annual *Mu'tamar Mīlād*, a conference in connexion with the the Prophet's birthday.

This year they enhanced the value of their work by organising an exhibition of *Sīrat*, literature as well as monuments. The Hyderabad State Library, the Osmania University Library, the Jāmi'ah Nizāmiyah Library and other institutions collaborated to make it a success. And when H.E. the Prime Minister, (Sir Akbar Hydari) opened it personally, he was highly pleased with the achievement, and was so much impressed by the value of the work that he suggested converting it into a permanent institution, assuring his own abiding interest in the same.

The organisers of the exhibition have begun to compile a complete bibliography of the *Sīrat* literature in every language. The selection of the card index exhibited bore witness to the effect that there was no exaggeration in the assertion that over a million books have in different languages been written on the subject during the last thirteen centuries.

Apart from the hundreds of printed and hand-written books, representing different periods, different languages, and different aspects of the *Sīrat*,—such as the life of the Prophet, his wars, his educational policy, his government constitution, his system of the administration of justice, his dress, his food, his orations, his letters and treaties and others,—the local specialists made it possible to make the exhibition more popular and more attractive. So, there were exhibited maps of the battle-fields of Badr, Uhud, *Khandaq*, etc. Again, scores of photographs connected with the *Sīrat* aroused the interest of swarms of visitors, photographs of 'Aqabah, Hudaibiyah, the caves of Hirā and Thawr, Tā'if, Badr, Jewish and other pre-Islamic fortresses and monuments in Madinah, etc. Commenting on the *Sīrat* Conference and Exhibition, the *Deccan Times* of Madras, dated 19th May, observes :—

“ The Muslim State founded by the Prophet in the year 1 H. at Madinah, expanded for the next ten years at the rate of 274 sq. miles daily, and the conquest of the million miles in the time of the Prophet was accomplished by killing scarcely 250 soldiers of the enemy and with the loss of one Muslim soldier monthly. This record of bloodless expansion is worth serious consideration at this moment of Hitler wars. The importance of the second Seerat Conference cannot therefore be too much exaggerated.”

Yūnānī Medicine

The impetus given to the Yūnānī medical system by the Nizām has not proved barren. The local Association of the Yūnānī Medical Men has now edited and published the voluminous work یادگار رضائی (*Yādgar-e-Riḍā'ī*) which is a compendium, compiled in Hyderabad, of Indian herbs and drugs with their equivalents in Latin, English, Arabic, etc., and with useful description of their effects and potentialities.

The association also regularly holds monthly meetings where papers are read and learned discussions follow. The *حکیم دکن* is their monthly organ in Urdu.

Dā'iratul Ma'ārif

In the *کتاب المعبر* of Abu'l Barakāt al-Baghdādiy, there were two illustrative maps which are now published. Scholars who already possess vols. 2 and 3 can get the maps from the Dā'ira free of cost.

The Dā'ira has now completed the printing of *میزان الحکمة* by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Khāzinīy, compiled in 515 H. The work deals with water-balances. Extracts and analysis of the book were published by N. Khanikoff in JAOS as far ago as 1857. Two MSS. of the work were known to exist, one in Bombay and the other in the possession of Khanikoff. (For the latter MS., cf. Dorn, *Mél. As.*, v, 252 and *Mél. As.*, ii, 492/6. According to Brockelmann, the following literature exists on the work in question. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, vii, SBPMS, 38, 153/62; *Beiträge*, xv, SB, 40, 105/32, xvi, *ibid.* 133/59; *Beiträge*, xxxvii, SB, 46, 27/38. And again Theodore Ibel has written in *Die Wege im Altertum*, and MA., dissertation, *Muslim Nation*. 1908, pp. 37ff).

Composite or unitary nationalism for India is the subject *à la mode* nowadays. Mr. 'Abdul Qādir, the Muslim missionary of the *Hyderabad Dīndār Anjuman* has contributed a thoughtful article on the subject, with the title *قومیّت اور اسلام* published in four instalments in the *Rahbar-e-Deccan* daily dated 6th to 9th April 1940. In this article, he has analysed the famous dictum of Maulānā Ḥusain Aḥmad, of Deoband :—

”اس زمانہ میں قومیں اوطان سے بنتی ہیں مذہب سے نہیں بنتیں“

and developed the classical reply of the lamented Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl :—

عجم ہنوز نداند رموز دین ورنہ	زدیوبند حسین احمد این چہ بوالعجبی است
سرود بر سر منبر کہ ملت از وطن است	چہ بی خبر ز مقام محمد عربی است
بہ مصطفی برسان خویش را کہ دین ہمہ اوست	اثر بہ او نہ رسیدی تمام بولہبی است

The article was reproduced by several Indian journals.

Muslim Naujauwānān-e-Secunderabad

The Muslim Young Men's Association of Secunderabad has monthly been bringing out a popular brochure, appropriate to the historic background of each Hijri month. *قربانی* or *Sacrifice* was the title of an

essay by Prof. Manāẓir Aḥsan, published in *Dhul-ḥijjah*. آنحضرت اور جوانی or *the Prophet and Youth* was written by Dr. Ḥamīdullāh specially for Rabī' I, the month in which the Prophet was born, fourteen hundred odd years ago. The essay discusses and analyses the policy of the Prophet regarding youth, and deals also succinctly with sport in the time of the Prophet.

All-India Oriental Conference

During the Easter holidays, the tenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference took place at Tripatur (Madras Presidency) under the presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The president did not come in person, and his address was read in his absence. As was expected from the founder of the Mahasabha, there was no kind word for the Indian Muslims or their culture, an attitude which will alienate general sympathy if persisted in by the working committee of this institution.

M.H.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

Punjab University Arabic and Persian Society

DR. BARKAT 'ALĪ KURAIŠHĪ read his paper on 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz : *Some Aspects of His Character*. The learned lecturer threw ample light on the life and character of this Ommayyad Caliph; and emphasised that with all his religious fervour and saintly qualities, he was an able administrator and a just ruler. He led a simple life and endeavoured to do justice to himself as well as to his subjects, as a sacred duty imposed upon him.

Principal Muḥammad Shafī' delivered a lecture on the *Origin and Development of Arabic Script* which he illustrated with slides showing specimens of various scripts from which Arabic writing has been derived. He pointed out that the Arabic script was influenced a great deal by the Nabatian and other pre-Arabic scripts. He also explained varieties of Arabic script such as Kūfic, *Thulth*, *Naskhi*, *Tughra*, *Raiḥān*, *Tauqī*, etc., by giving brief descriptions and showing the finest specimens. The learned lecturer gave a brief account of various early Arabic calligraphists, especially Yāqūt Musta'şimī upon whom the history of Arabic calligraphy depends so much. Prof. Shafī' answered several questions from the audience which, no doubt, clarified many important points.

The Punjab University Oriental College Research Lectures

Prof. Shairānī delivered a long lecture entitled *A Survey of the Biographies of Mullā Dō Piyāzah and Mīr Ja'far Zāṭallī*. He pointed out in his introductory remarks that in the study of historical personalities scholars sometimes confuse stories with history, between which there is a difference of real and ideal. Mullā Dō Piyāzah did, no doubt, live in India during the period of Akbar and Jahāngīr. Prof. Shairānī enumerated about thirty extant different Urdu compilations on the Mullā under different titles by different writers concentrating on one and the same theme : the skill of the Mullā in the art of repartee, specially dealing with one work composed by a Hindustani speculator in 1890 who, according to Prof. Shairānī assumed the name Muḥammad Kāmil later on. An abridgment of Kāmil's work was read by Prof. Shairānī for the information of the audience. But it is a pity that generally all the writers of Urdu biographies of the Mullā are totally ignorant of contemporary material. On the other hand Prof. Shairānī was able to trace all necessary points about the Mullā from original contemporary sources. His real name was Mullā 'Abdul Mu'min and he was commonly known as *Dō Piyāzah* and lived during the period of Akbar and Jahāngīr. He died in 1030 A.H. (1620 A.D.) and was buried in the village of Handya, now in Bhōpāl State. The Mullā was well known for his mastery of prose and poetry. MSS. of his work the *مرآة المضحكين* generally known as *Al-Nāma*, are preserved in the Bengal Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta.

As to Ja'far Zāṭallī, Prof. Shairānī said that he was a native of Narnul and his poetical name was *Zāṭallī*, which means *Gossip*. The learned lecturer discussed several works already published on Zāṭallī of similar merit to those on Mullā Dō Piyāzah.

Prof. Shairānī made a lengthy criticism on the *Āb-i-Hayāt* of the late Maulānā Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād in the course of another lecture before the Oriental College. He traced the original sources of this famous book and corrected a number of historical errors committed by Āzād.

Bazm-i-Farōgh-i-Urdū, Islamia College, Lahore

THE *Bazm-i-Farōgh-i-Urdū* of the Islamia College, Lahore is one of those literary societies in this country that are doing yeoman service to the cause of Urdu language and literature. The result of its fruitful activities, in the form of a valuable collection of papers read at its various meetings, was published last year. This year 1939-40 again a similar collection is already in the press. The Bazm concluded its very busy session on the 5th of May last when it held a public meeting in connection with the Iqbāl Day Celebrations in which speeches were

delivered on the various aspects of Iqbāl, and critical papers were read on the nature and importance of his message. The Bazm held twelve meetings during last year.

At the first meeting a paper was read by Mr. Muḥammad 'Alī Akhtar on the *Contributions of the Arabs to World Civilization*. Another interesting paper was presented at its second meeting by Mr. Shujāuddīn on *Lahore Under the Ghaznavids*. Prof. Sayed 'Abdul Qādir revealed some interesting facts concerning the topography of Lahore under the Ghaznavids, during the course of his presidential remarks. The paper of Mr. Ṣafdar Ṣiddiqī on *Hir of Wāris Shah* at the third meeting met with much criticism, while Mr. Naṣir Aḥmad's *Poetry of Naẓir Akbarābādī*, evoked a very interesting discussion which lasted for about two hours. Qāzi Iqbāl Sa'īd's paper on *Did the Musalmans Employ Sword in Propagating Islam in India?* was highly appreciated as was Mr. Salām's contribution on *Hindu Urdu Poets* at the tenth meeting. The last, that is the twelfth meeting came off on May 5th as Iqbāl Day Celebration. Prof. Qāzi Zāhīr ud Dīn Aḥmad presented his paper on the *Poet of Revolution* in which he dealt with the revolutionary aspects of Iqbāl's message. He said in the course of his preface that Iqbāl was extremely dissatisfied with the existing order of things which he called Satanic, and he saw vision of a new world more congenial and conducive to the fuller development of man. The germs of that ideal social order according to him were to be found in the glorious teachings of the Holy Qur'ān. He made it the mission of his life to preach those ideals with the zeal of a devotee, and to change the established values. It was indeed remarkable how he had captured the imagination of the youth and had revolutionised their outlook. The paper was very much appreciated by the audience. A speech was made by Ḥakīm 'Abdul Ḥamīd Mirzā that Iqbāl's message was specially meant for the younger generation. Dr. Muḥammad Bāqir said that with Iqbāl action was more important than words. According to the great poet life was an endless chain of efforts and endeavours. He exhorted the audience to try to imbibe the real spirit of Iqbāl's message and to translate it into action. Principal Khwāja Dil Muḥammad recited his own poems suited to the occasion. Khwāja 'Abdur Raḥīm I.C.S. sounded a note of warning in his presidential remarks against the pernicious propaganda which was being carried on by some self-seekers to misinterpret the message of the late 'Allāma Iqbāl to serve their own ends.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

AL-LUBĀB FI TAHDHĪB AL-ANSĀB by 'Izz ad-Dīn Abul Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Athīr; ed. by Husām ad-Dīn al-Qudṣī, Cairo 1357. vol. I. 8vo. 591 pp.

IN 1912 the Gibb Memorial Trust published a facsimile edition of the *Kitāb al-Ansāb* of 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sam'ānī with a learned introduction by Margoliouth, in which the latter drew attention to the importance of a knowledge of lineage and attribution to places and ancestors for the identification of the innumerable learned men who had similar or even the same names. The Manuscript in the British Museum, considered at that time as unique, and the basis of the facsimile, is the work of a number of scribes, and those who have made use of the edition will soon have discovered that the quality of the work of these scribes differs considerably. Besides, some wrote such a shockingly bad hand that even experienced scholars must have found difficulties in deciphering the readings of the text. I have had recourse to copying out such passages as were of importance for my own work and had even contemplated, with the aid of other sources, producing a new edition, for some of the scribes of the facsimile have distorted names of persons and places. The work, as already pointed out by Margoliouth, was, perhaps on account of its bulk, never widely circulated.

The celebrated historian, 'Izz ad-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, author of the *Kāmil*, who lived from 555 to 630 A.H., had no doubt access to a better copy than that which has been published, and finding

during his historical enquiries that the statements of as-Sam'ānī were in many cases inadequate or even incorrect, besides the unavoidable omissions on account of the vastness of the subject, decided upon a revision of the work and the result of his labours is the work under notice. He tells us in his introduction that it is not his intention to copy the complete text of Sam'ānī, and correctly remarks that in some of the digressions of the latter the book assumes the character of a history. Just this is a point which makes the work of Sam'ānī so important and on account of which it is not superseded by the work of Ibn al-Athīr. Ibn al-Athīr lays down certain rules which have guided him in the composition of his work (pp. 5-8). First he had a copy made from the autograph of the author. Secondly, he follows Sam'ānī word for word, but corrects him where he has reason to do so. Thirdly, he copies the biographies as far as possible but confines himself to one or two where Sam'ānī has a considerable number. Fourthly, where only one person is mentioned he quotes the whole paragraph, unless it contains unimportant matter. Fifthly, where it happens that Sam'ānī mentions in one paragraph a number of persons with the same Nisba but derived from various sources he elucidates this. In this respect there is a fair amount of confusion in the work of Sam'ānī. Sixthly, where Sam'ānī has confusion in the arrangement of the biographies Ibn al-Athīr places them in proper rotation. Seventhly, it often happens that Sam'ānī mentions the names of tribes but does not trace their genealogy far enough back

for us to recognise their affiliation easily. This he puts right. Eighthly, where the Nisba refers to some philosophical or religious sect Ibn al-Athīr tries to be more explicit in his indications. Ninthly, where Sam'ānī mentions in biographies a number of teachers and pupils of a certain person Ibn al-Athīr confines himself to the most prominent among them. Tenthly, any mistakes and errors he corrects not by way of reproach to the author, as he expresses himself, but to establish the truth also as a proof that he discovered and pointed out the error. Lastly, where Sam'ānī has, perhaps for lack of knowledge, omitted details of genealogies, Ibn al-Athīr has supplied the omission in case he had the better knowledge on the point, and he adds that for the genealogies of the Arabs he relies upon the works of Ibn al-Kalbī, who is the acknowledged authority on this subject.

So far Ibn al-Athīr. The edition is neatly printed and I have come across very few errors due to the printer, some of which are corrected in a short list of errata at the end of the edition. On p. 176 line 10 read ابو عبدة; on p. 13 line 2 read جرجان, to mention two I have come across accidentally. However when we compare the text of the facsimile of Sam'ānī with the printed edition of the *Lubāb* we get quite another surprise. On opening at random fol. 92 verso and starting with the first circle indicating the Nisba *Bandimashī* (line 18) the scribe, who writes a fairly legible hand, makes quite a number of blunders. Line 19 read اذان. L. 24 read جينغويه. L. 26 read اذان. L. 26 Sam'ānī has the name of a village not mentioned by Yāqūt as كرساتان while Ibn al-Athīr calls it كوسار فان. Fol. 93 recto line 1 read استيخن. L. 4 Sam'ānī reads شرح while Ibn al-Athīr has سريخ; Yāqūt here agrees with the text of Sam'ānī. L. 13 read عتبة, but l. 15 the text of Sam'ānī عبيد الله twice is correct. From these few examples it will be seen that it is possible with the aid of the *Lubāb* to correct the text of the facsimile edition of Sam'ānī in many places, not to speak of the numerous additions made

by Ibn al-Athīr; but one chief convenience is that the edition of the *Lubāb* is in a handy form, on good paper and printed in easily legible type. The work is indispensable for all libraries of Arabic literature and students of Islamic history and culture. The second volume completing the work may be expected to be issued without delay.

F. KRENKOW.

الذخيرة في محاسن أهل الجزيرة
by
ابوالحسن على بن بسام الشتريني

published by Fu'ād I University of Egypt.

THIS is Part I of Vol. I of a bulky work. Our author, who died in 545 H., hailed from Spain. The edition is fully vocalised, and nicely printed in Cairo.

It seems that, even when at its zenith, Muslim Spain was a country comparatively isolated from the rest of the Islamic world, in probably the same way as Morocco and Tunis are today. The reasons were apparently manifold. The difficulties of communication played the prime part. Hijāz was the spiritual metropolis and Mesopotamia the temporal centre of Islam, and Spain was far removed from each. The separateness of the political power was also not the least deciding factor. And I believe that the dialect of Spanish Arabs, was as unintelligible in those days to the people of Hijāz and Mesopotamia as is the dialect of Maghreb to them today. Although the literary Arabic, thanks to the Qur'ān and the Hadīth, was the same all over the Islamic world, there was enough difference between the diction of Spain and the language of the later Abbasid empire. The eminent Arabists who have edited the work now, like Dr. Tāhā Husain, Aḥmad Amīn and others, have found it often difficult to establish the text in spite of the fact that they had several fine MSS. of the work at their disposal. The writer of these lines, who has been studying Arabic for the last 25 years and who has read more books in Arabic

than in his mother-tongue Hindustani, has to confess that he is not able to read almost any page of the book without having recourse to a dictionary several times.

The object of the work, in the words of the eminent editor Tāhā Husain, seems to have been twofold, viz., to dispel the inferiority complex of the Spaniards by bringing into relief all that was best in the literary achievements of the Spanish Moors; and secondly, to record and collect the dispersed gems produced by the contemporaries of the author. The result is a compendium of outstanding value, the more so on account of the fact that much of the learning of Muslim Spain has been destroyed, and so lost to the present day world.

I may be permitted to note that the work is important not merely from the point of view of the history of the Arabic literature of Spain. For instance, it was for the first time that I came across a new interpretation of the famous and oft-quoted tradition of the *سنن أبي داود* —

وما يتعلق بباب المعارض : قوله عليه السلام للمرأة :
 "علّمي حفصة رقية النملة". وكانت حفصة عليها
 السلام عند ما يريد هاضلي الله عليه وسلم ربّما تأتت .
 فأراد أن يلحن لها برقية النملة . وكانت العرب
 ترقبها في الحالهلية . يقول لها : العروس تكبحل وتحتفل
 وكل شئ تقتبل غير تعاصى الرجل (ص ٤٠٧ - ٤٠٨)

The number of publications of the young University of Egypt is steadily increasing, and within the last twelve years they have published 26 works, including the present one. We trust that indices and bibliography and other appendices will not be lacking when the last part is printed.

CATALOGUE OF THE ARABIC
 MSS. OF THE LIBRARY OF THE
 INDIA OFFICE, Vol. II, Part IV,
 subject *Kalām*, 1940, price Sh. 12-6.

DR. REUBEN LEVY, the lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge, is responsible for the

present volume of this important series. It has its merits as well as some serious defects. Even the very beginners of Arabic know that the old MSS., more often than not, neglect the points on the different letters of the Arabic alphabet. Rarely is it difficult to determine the correct word. Now, it is simply pedantic to reproduce Arabic words from the MSS. without the necessary points, with sometimes even the self-deceiving *sic*. The editor must have unnecessarily spoiled a considerable quantity of the type of the Cambridge University Press by printing *حجّة الاسلام* without points. I will not quote from the catalogue, for fear of doing sabotage with the type of the *Islamic Culture* press, but what on earth could induce anybody to print *حجّة الاسلام* instead of the so ordinary *حجة الاسلام*. We think it our duty to offer our advice to the Secretary of State for India, who has sent us the book for review, to change the editor of the series, in the interest of science and in the interest of the reputation of his own Office.

The library of the India Office at London was primarily founded on the spoils of Mughal Delhi of 1857. It will undoubtedly be more useful if the library is transferred to some central place in India. The gesture will the more be appreciated at the moment by renescent India. There are hardly a few score Englishmen in Great Britain who can utilise this collection,—and they have other big collections at their disposal like the British Museum and the Bodleian,—and the India Office Library may more suitably be removed to its proper place in India itself. This will go a long way to ease the work of Indian scholarship in examining sources for the history of India.

The *Islamic Culture* is now* receiving the *Oriente Moderno* and the *Rendiconti della R. Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, classe dei scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, of Rome, and "کابل" of Kabul in exchange. We shall try to utilise them in our Cultural Activities section from time to time.

M. H.

* Written before the declaration of war by Italy.

THE KITĀB AZ-ZUHD OR BOOK OF ASCETICISM by *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*.

IN the October 1939 issue of this journal Dr. Arberry announced the acquisition of a manuscript of this work by the head of the most orthodox, if I may call it so, of the Sunni schools of law. I can now give further details as I have had the loan of this manuscript from the India Office, with the usual liberality of the authorities in assisting research.

Like Buddhism and Christianity, Islam was by its founder intended to be a religion to bring good tidings to the poor of rewards in the future world for any hardships endured in this passing world, and it was expected from all sincere believers that they should resign themselves to the will and decree of God Almighty, which is the meaning of *Islam*. So we find in young Islam a great number of the companions of the Prophet who remained indifferent, nay even adverse, to the sudden wealth acquired by the conquering Arabs in the overthrow of the Persian empire and the occupation of the provinces of the Eastern Roman empire. Foremost as an example, was the Prophet, who with his family and early followers even suffered hunger, on which subject the work under consideration adduces many traditions. This asceticism was a pure self-denial of luxuries, often even of necessities, and was not yet diffused with the esoteric doctrines of later Sufis, though it must have given them their first impulse. For Sufism as expounded later by ascetics, mainly of Persian extraction, is in reality a foreign parasitic flower grafted upon the simple doctrine of resignation to the will of God.

Now as this work of Ibn Ḥanbal, and its authorities, is much earlier in date than any works of Sufism, it is desirable to make its contents known to a wider circle of students. But unfortunately we possess in all known manuscripts only a mere fragment of the original work.

The India Office manuscript consists of 78 leaves only, and ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence. The only other manuscripts known are preserved in the

Zāhiriya (the Arab Academy of Damascus) and these are not even mentioned in full in the Supplement to his *History of Arabic Literature* by Brockelmann. Upon enquiry my friend Khalil Mardam Bey first gave me more details about these manuscripts, and through the liberality of the Arab Academy the India Office Library has now acquired photos of all these ancient codices. This has enabled me to obtain a clearer idea about the scope of the work, and also of its transmission and fate. Apparently no copies were made after the seventh century of the Hijra and thus the work might have vanished entirely for lack of interest, like so many other ancient treasures.

One thing becomes evident,—that, except for one manuscript which I shall mention last, it was 'Abd Allāh, the son of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, who was responsible for the transmission of his father's work. However the India Office copy as well as three of those preserved in Damascus, containing the recension of 'Abd Allāh, present a complete remodelling of the work. In many cases the additions by 'Abd Allāh are so considerable that we must consider his recension as an entirely new work. This is not all, for it becomes clear from the manuscript to be considered last that he also deleted a not inconsiderable number of tales which originally formed part of the work. These deleted accounts appear as a rule to be such as would be considered unreliable in accordance with the technique of Ḥadīth. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, whose piety is universally acknowledged, perhaps shared with many devout people the weakness of being over-credulous. We know from his *Musnad* (published in six volumes) that he included in it many traditions which more severe critics would not have admitted.

In the *Kitāb az-Zuhd*, we find only few traditions which go back to the Prophet; the tales of ascetics and their sayings refer to a large extent to persons who were companions of the Prophet or lived in the first century of the Hijra, while tales of Biblical persons and Jewish legends form a curious admixture.

The four existing manuscripts in the recension of 'Abd Allāh are the following :

India Office Arabic 4648, incomplete at the end, is the beginning of the work but there is no suggestion that this MS., when complete, was divided into parts.

Damascus Majmū' 12, Part 9, contains on 28 leaves the 13th Juz'.

Damascus Majmū' 115, Part 7, contains on 28 leaves the 17th Juz'. These two manuscripts formed originally parts of the same manuscript and are in the same handwriting.

Damascus Hadīth 340. This is a large fragment consisting of two parts. The first part, of which perhaps only one leaf at the beginning is lost, is stated at the end to be the 13th Juz'. The second part is complete and both at the beginning and end is called the 20th Juz'. This seems to be the last part of the work as there is no remark in the colophon that a further Juz' is to follow, as is the case with the preceding portion.

The chain of authorities for all these manuscripts is the same up to a certain point and all the scholars named are well known. They are :

(1) Abū 'Abd ar-Rahmān 'Abd Allāh, son of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal born 213, died 290 (Ibn Abī Ya'lā 133 and elsewhere).

(2) Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Ja'far b. Hamdan b. Mālik al-Qaṭī'i born 274 died 368 (Ibn Abī Ya'lā 292; Ibn al-'Imād III/65).

(3) Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Mudhahhab died in 444. He taught the work in 443 (Ibn al-'Imād III/271).

(4) Abū Ṭālib 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Yūsufī died in 516, aged 90 years (Ibn al-'Imād IV/49).

After this the manuscripts go different ways. The oldest MS., *Damascus Hadīth* 340, has as the fifth authority Abul Qāsim Yahyā b. As'ad b. Yahyā b. Baṣh al-Azajī, who died in 593, aged over 80 years (Ibn al-'Imād IV/316), whose pupil was the celebrated Syrian scholar Yūsuf b. Khalīl b. 'Abd Allāh ad-Dimashqī, who was born in 555 and died in 648 (Ibn al-'Imād V/243). The other two *Damascus* manuscripts have as pupil of Abū Ṭālib 'Abd al-Qādir the scholar Abul Ḥasan

'Alī b. 'Asākīr b. al-Murahhab, who died in 563 (Ibn al-'Imād IV/167), who transmitted to Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Alī b. Surūr al-Maqdisī, who was born in 543 and died in 614 (Ibn al-'Imād V/57) whose pupil was Sulaimān b. Ibrāhīm b. Hibat Allāh b. Raḥmat as-Sa'ardī (not al-As'ardī as usually spelt), who was born in 567 and died in 639 (Ibn al-'Imād V/204).

The *India Office* manuscript has as fifth link of the chain of authorities the same Abul Qāsim Yahyā b. As'ad, like the two preceding manuscripts, but his pupil is Taqī ad-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Abī'l Fahm b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Yaladānī al-'Abbāsī, who was born in 568 and died in 655 (Ibn al-'Imād IV/267). His pupil was Nāṣir ad-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh ad-Dimashqī, known as al-Muhtār, who was born in 637 and died in 715. (*ad-Durar al-Kāmina* IV/313). He dictated the work in 708.

It will be seen that all manuscripts follow the same tradition, but one great discrepancy occurs. There cannot be any doubt but that the manuscript *Majmū'* 12, Part 9 contains the 13th Juz' of the work. but the same is claimed for the first portion of MS. *Hadīth* 340. However the latter contains entirely different matter. Moreover the parts contained in the collections *Majmū'* fill only 28 leaves each for a Juz', from which we may assume that a complete copy would consist of a certain number of Juz' of the same size. Against this the complete Juz' 20 of the largest fragment fills no less than 60 leaves, with much smaller writing, so that the matter contained in it might easily fill three Juz' of the size of the other manuscripts. In this case the complete work may have contained as much as sixty Juz', of the size of those contained in *Majmū'* 12 and 115.

The oldest manuscript of all written in 492 is contained in the *Damascus* copy *Majmū'* 10, Part 16. It consists of twenty leaves only and is also called the first Juz' of the work. It is however in the recension of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's eldest son Ṣāliḥ. He was born in 203 and is not so well known as his younger brother 'Abd Allāh, nor is he considered of the same

authority as the latter on matters of tradition. He was appointed judge of Iṣfahān, a position he accepted in order to help in the maintenance of his own and his father's family. He died in Iṣfahān in 263. (Ibn Abī Ya'la 127). This manuscript has not the customary chain of authorities for its transmission, but the writer 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ṣābir, states at the end that he completed his copy in Dhul Qa'da 492. To judge by the writing he may well have lived in Iṣfahān at the time. Though lacking the stamp of authority we can assume from the care with which this manuscript is written that it represents a correct text as published by Ṣāliḥ. It should contain the same text as the India Office manuscript. This is only partly correct. First, as might be expected, those additions made by 'Abd Allāh are missing. As each tale has a full *Isnād* such additions could easily be discerned from the text of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal; but strangely Ṣāliḥ's text contains a substantial number of tales which are not found in the text of 'Abd Allāh. These are partly such as contain repetitions of the same account with a different *Isnād*, or such as 'Abd Allāh may have considered as not reliable and for this reason may have excluded them.

As regards the contents of the work I have stated before that it only exceptionally deals with such traditions as might find their place in the canonical books on tradition, and in spite of some confusion it is evident that the plan was to give accounts of the doings and sayings of pious men and women of the past, and so we find groups of tales after giving in the beginning a number of traditions concerning the abstinence of the Prophet. Some of these groups are very considerable. So we find in MS. Ḥadīth 240 a series of tales about the Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz which run from folio 28 to the end of the Juz' and in the colophon we are told that further accounts are to follow in the succeeding Juz' which is lost. Another such group of tales deals with Muṭarrif b. 'Abd Allāh b. ash-Shikhkhīr, running from fol. 12r of MS. Majmū' 110 to the end of that manuscript and here again the colophon tells us that

more about him will be in the lost Juz' which should follow. So also in other cases. When we compare the accounts of such persons in later works we find that Sulamī, Abū Nu'aim in the *Hilya* and Ibn al-Jauzī in the *Ṣifat aṣ-Ṣafwa* have freely, but not exhaustively, copied from this earliest work on Islamic Sufis or rather ascetics, but they do not as yet contain any theories of Sufism as expounded in the more systematic works of the later period.

In spite of the fragmentary character of the manuscripts preserved it would be most desirable to have them published, as we have here the earliest attempts at collecting material for the lives and thoughts of the forerunners of the Sufis.

F. KRENKOW.

THE ORIGIN OF ISMĀ'ILISM, a study of the historical background of the Fatimid Caliphate, by Bernard Lewis, pp. 100+14, price Sh. 8/6 nett, Heffer & Sons, Cambridge.

THIS is a nice booklet for those who want to know all that is known to the non-Ismā'ilians on this mystified sect. Some time ago, I heard a curious story of an Ismā'ilian scholar who offered to the Dā'iratul Ma'ārif a MS. on Ismā'ilism for publication, with the condition that all the printed volumes should be handed over to him and none should either be retained by the Dā'ira or sold to the general public. Naturally, the Dā'ira politely refused this singular honour.

The author, who won his Ph.D. at the University of London with this book as his thesis, says in the preface:—

For several centuries Ismā'ili missionaries in all parts of the empire stirred up rebellion against the Abbāsid Caliphs, and Ismā'ili philosophers elaborated a detailed system of religious thought, offering a seductive alternative to orthodoxy. The importance of the sect is enhanced by its connection with the rise of the Fātimid dynasty, the most powerful in mediæval Egypt. This connection raises many problems, most

of which have not yet been properly elucidated.

Since the appearance of De Goeje's *Mémoire sur les Carmathes* in 1886, no detailed study has been published on the origins of the Ismā'īlī movement from the historical viewpoint. A considerable amount of new material, of various kinds, has become available since then, and although many works still lie unknown in the Ismā'īlī libraries of Yemen and India, enough have come to light to render necessary a restatement and reconsideration of the problems involved.

Dr. Zāhid 'Alī of the Nizam College of Hyderabad has also published a comprehensive book on the Fātimids. Our author does not seem to have known this work although his bibliography of 8 pages is tolerably complete.

URDU PROSE UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF SIR SAYYID, by S. M. Abdullah, lecturer, Oriental College, Lahore, pp. 186, price Rs. 3-8-0, published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.

THE enterprising publisher of this volume is doing meritorious work by bringing to the English-knowing public many things of value on Islam and the Muslims. It is pathetic that in spite of centuries of connection with India, Englishmen have written very little on the national tongue of the Indian Empire. As for Indians themselves, they must natur-

ally first enrich their own young and budding language before thinking of diffusing their culture and science in other countries.

Our young author has done well in not having published this volume in Urdu itself, since a much higher standard of research and treatment were required there to earn for his book any distinction. The author professes that he is a beginner in the field of literary criticism, and therefore we must overlook many of the shortcomings which, we trust, will by and by be overcome as he pursues his studies in this field. One friendly suggestion may however be made here. He should avoid generalisations which often betray one's own ignorance of the subject. For instance he says that there was practically no prose in Urdu before Sir Sayyid. No one denies the credit due to that giant and towering personality, yet that attitude can be maintained without statements which are so obviously incorrect. The grand set of the *Sittah Shamsiyah* on pure sciences is not the only instance of work accomplished before our Sayyid of Aligarh renown. There are books on geography, astronomy and other subjects, showing European influence, but attempted in Urdu successfully and in considerable quantity before the Aligarh Institute or School were founded.

The subject of the book is an enchanting one, not only to those interested in Urdu literature, but even to the students of the diffusion of English language and culture. Let us hope this will not be the last book on the subject in English.

M. H.

ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF PLATO'S PHILOSOPHY IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD¹

AT the time of the Crusades, in the second half of the XIIth century, we meet one of the most attractive figures of Arabic intellectual life, the knight and author Usāmah b. Munqidh (d. 1188) who, from his paternal castle on the Orontes or in the service of the rulers of his age, spent his days fighting or indulging in his favourite occupation, hunting. In his extreme old age, when describing a special kind of bravery, he could not find a better illustration than the personality of the dying Socrates. "Plato," he asserts, "said: 'Bravery is the most efficient virtue of the intelligent person, because it makes successful what he has planned by word or by deed. Bravery may exist in the bodily weak, in a man who does not understand at all, how to make use of weapons, the knowledge of which entitles one to the name of brave. Is it not well known that Socrates is reckoned among the brave, although he never went to war against an enemy and never bore any weapon? But when he was given the poisoned cup, just as he was engaged in a discussion about the soul with many persons grouped round him, no change took place within him, and, quietly, he finished the discussion. Then, he drank the poison and died.'"²

It goes without saying that such a peaceful manner of living as is described by Usāmah does not correspond either with the real life of the historical Socrates or with the ideals of his people in that age. Certainly, it is not a mere chance that features of the Socratic idea from a Christian point of view, are met with here; this is by no means amazing, if one takes into consideration the strong, sometimes exclusive participation of Christians in the transmission of the ancient civilisation to the Arabs.

1. The following article was originally a lecture given before the Semitiska Föreningen in Uppsala, Sweden. It needs no explanation that also in the form here presented, everything is merely hinted at, nothing completely and exhaustively treated. The further treatment of this theme is, to a great part, reserved for the Arabic Section of the "*Corpus Platonicum Medii Aevi*" which is being edited by R. Walzer, P. Kraus and others. Some other questions touched on here which do not come within the scope of the "*Corpus*," may, in future, be treated by the author of this paper himself. My best thanks are due to Dr. A. J. Arberry who kindly helped me in correcting the proofs.

2. *Lubāb al-ādāb*, Cairo, 1354/1935, p. 195.

We have a hint at such an interpretation of the personality of Socrates also in the treatises of the *Iḫwān aṣ-ṣafā'* who saw a parallel between Socrates' submission to his fate, illustrated by the well-known discourse of Socrates with the Laws in the *Crito*, and certain biblical prototypes, such as Abel in his relation to Cain, and Jesus, when it was intended to kill him.¹ Although, in this case, it refers to the Cain and Abel and the Jesus of the Qur'ān, it is much more plausible to attribute a Christian origin to this view.

There is another aspect of the Socratic idea too, pre-modelled indeed to a great extent in the Platonic Dialogues, which has gained special attention in the Arabic sources of the life of Socrates, viz., that of Socrates as an ascetic and despiser of the world. In a most vivid manner, we find this aspect in the apology of the great Muḥammad b. Zakariyā' ar-Rāzī (d. 925) who defended himself against the accusation of living in a non-philosophical manner: "One says that we do not apply ourselves to a philosophical manner of living, and, especially, that we draw further away from the model of our Imām Socrates; Socrates, it is said, did not go of his own accord to the court of kings, and he did not pay much attention, when kings came to him. Further, he did not eat dainties, and he did not put on gorgeous raiment, and he did not bother about building a house and about property and progeny. He did not eat any meat at all, did not drink any wine, and did not participate in festivals. He preferred eating herbs, putting on rags and dwelling in a barrel in the fields."² The last sentence, especially, of the "Socrates of the barrel," as he is called elsewhere,³ puts Socrates completely on a par with the Cynic Diogenes, and it is possible that we may here be meeting with developed traces of a former Cynic interpretation of the personality of Socrates which are, however, more pronounced than is justified by Greek tradition; but, surely, they originated there.⁴

In the last instance, however, all these different pictures of Socrates, which are found in Islamic literature, and which were considered not as an idle subject of learning, but as an ethical model, are based on the everlasting values which Plato himself evolved out of Socrates' life. In the same century in which Usāmah lived, the Occident, for the first time, became really acquainted again with the Platonic Dialogues, and even with the description of Socrates' death, in the Latin translation of the

1. *Rasā'il iḫwān aṣ-ṣafa'*, Cairo 1347/1928, vol. 4, p. 134 (Book IV, 5th *risālah*). For this and the following cf. especially P. Kraus, *Raziana I, Orientalia N. S. IV*, 1935, pp. 304-306.

2. P. Kraus, *loc. cit.*

3. Cf., e.g., al-Qiftī, *Tā'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, ed. by J. Lippert, Leipsig 1903, p. 197.

4. So, in consideration of an occurrence of this story in works of Ḥunain b. Ishāq and al-Kindī, certainly with right (H. Ritter and) R. Walzer, *Uno scritto morale inedito di al-Kindī, Mem. della R. Accad. dei Lincei, Ser. VI, vol. VIII, Fasc. I, Rome 1938, p. 25, note 5.*

Phædo (and the *Meno*) by Henricus Aristippus.¹ A hundred years after, another description of Socrates' death spread through the whole Occidental world with much greater success; it was taken from the life of Socrates in the History of Philosophers by Mubashshir b. Fātik (XIth cent.) which, at that time, was translated from the Spanish into Latin, and from Latin into French, and further into English. In Oriental countries too, especially in Persia, it enjoyed a wide-spread interest by reason of the fact that Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd ash-Shahrazūri (XIIIth cent.) had incorporated it into his History of Philosophers which was practically the only work which was read very much in later times.² Among the lives of Socrates which we possess, the account of Mubashshir is the oldest one, but not the most complete; for al-Qiftī has preserved some reminiscences even of the introductory scene of the *Phædo*.

In Mubashshir's work,³ the Oriental veneer is thinnest. In the very beginning, for example, typically oriental epithets are used with reference to God:⁴ "When Socrates was asked concerning the adoration of idols, he prohibited the people from doing so, and commanded them to serve the One, the Stable, the Creator, the Producer, the Intelligent. And he admonished the people to be pious and to do good things." Further, the ruler in Athens is a king. The sum which Socrates might have raised for corruption purposes, is given in *dirhams*, and, instead of Thessaly where Socrates might have found an asylum, Rome is named.

Elements of foreign origin which, without doubt, entered this story, before it found its way into the Orient, are met with in some places. Thus, on the day of his death, not only does Socrates speak about the soul, but also questions regarding the shape of the world, the movements of the stars, the composition of the elements are addressed to him. Socrates answers all these questions, and then tells much about divine knowledge and secrets. With those physical things in particular, the theme of the *Timæus* is touched upon, a dialogue which enjoyed such a wide and general reputation that it was quite appropriate to introduce Socrates, in the final moment of his life, speaking on the same subject as was treated

1. But these translations remained almost unknown, cf. Cl. Bæumker, *Studien und Charakteristiken zur Geschichte der Philosophie, IV Der Platonismus im Mittelalter*, Münster, 1928 (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* 25), p. 149, note 25. The *Timæus* was the only dialogue known to a greater extent during the Middle Ages in the Occident.

2. Besides the original work, the Persian *Rauḍat aṣ-ṣafa'* of Mirkhwānd (d. 1498) has become the most important source for the diffusion of the description of Socrates' life by ash-Shahrazūri. Also Aḥmah ʿ. Naṣrallāh at-Tatawī (d. 1588) in his Persian History of Philosophers (MS. Or. Uppsala Zetterstéen No. 390, fol. 232a ss.) made extensive use of ash-Shahrazūri's work. (Very soon, this story became very colourless in the hands of Arabic writers, e.g., in the *kitāb Aṭhar al-bilād* of Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283), ed. by F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1842, p. 382.

3. Manuscripts mentioned by C. Brockelmann, *GAL.* vol. I, p. 459, and Supplement.

4. In al-Qiftī, *loc. cit.*, p. 199 ss., this introduction is definitely distinct from the story taken from the *Phædo*.

in the *Timæus* in his presence.¹ Then, at the end, an apocryphal last word is put into Socrates' mouth: "Herewith, I render my soul to him who receives the souls of the Wise," and there is no mention of the sacrifice of the cock, although it is well known to the Arabs² and had provoked a great interest in Neo-Platonism—a striking proof that the source of Mubashshir's version is not to be looked for in this direction.

For the rest, the narrative part of the *Phædo* is reproduced frequently almost word for word. The conversation with the Laws which prevent Socrates from escaping, taken from the *Crito*, is inserted, with strong stress on the motive of patriotism which is found also in the life of Hippocrates, and, in connection with the motive of hatred of tyrants, in the life of Zeno of Elea in the work of Mubashshir, and which, remarkably enough, has met with great approval in the Orient, so that it is still preserved in the latest literary works of this kind.

Even in its Arabic dress, the beauty of the Platonic diction is clearly manifest. Of course, much of its elegance is lost. Such a wonderful dramatic feature as the excitement of Socrates' friends in his last hour when they see him "as he was drinking and when he had finished drinking" (*Phædo*, 117 C), is, in the Arabic version, greatly weakened by the fact that one of the tenses of the description has been omitted and nothing more is said than: "when he had drunk." This may be due to the Oriental translator.³ The fact, however, that the mention of Plato's absence on account of sickness has been clumsily transposed from its fine incidental position to the end of the whole story, as if it were a very noteworthy matter, clearly betrays the interference of a Greek compiler who himself was already interested in that fact for the sake of its quasi-historical importance.⁴

From this brief and incomplete survey of the conception of the personality of Socrates in the Muslim World, one may, therefore, gather what

1. Socrates himself mentions an early occupation with physical problems in a famous passage in the *Phædo* 96 A ss. which, naturally, has not remained unnoticed in later times (cited, e.g., by Proclus, *In Parmenidem* 55, ed. by G. Stallbaum, Leipsig, 1839, p. 504). But, in this passage, physical matters are spoken about so contemptuously that it is almost impossible to believe that the reason for the above-mentioned insertion might be found there.

2. Cf. *Rasā'il ikhwān aş-şafa'*, Cairo, 1347/1928, vol. 4, p. 339 (Book IV, 11th *risālah*), al-Bērūnī, *Tā'riḫ al-Hind*, ed. by E. Sachau, London 1887, p. 17; Ibn Riḍwān and Ibn Buṭlān (XIth cent.), cf. J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, *The Medico-philosophical Controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo*, Publ. of the Faculty of Arts of the Egyptian University, No. 13, Cairo 1937.

3. Cf. however below p. 392.

4. Thus, we read in the life of Plato by Diogenes Lærtius, chapter 37: "Plato does not mention himself anywhere in his writings, except in the Book on the Soul (*Phædo* 59 B) and in the *Apology* (38 B)." A Greek compiler may also have been responsible for the insertion of the names of those whom Socrates hopes to meet in the other world. These names must be an echo of those given in the *Apology* and the *Phædo* designating inhabitants of Hades. The *Ikhwān aş-şafa'*, Cairo, 1347/1928, vol. 4, p. 100 (Book IV, 3rd *risālah*), merely declare that names are mentioned in this passage, but they do not reproduce them.

was the main purpose of the promoters of Islamic Civilisation in their occupation with these and similar subjects. They wished to get new food for their own thoughts, new rules for their own ethical conduct ; they were not content with merely being aware of what once existed, but they wanted to clarify for themselves what they were and what they wished to be.

It is well known that the real philological occupation of the (Syro-)Arabs with the texts of the ancient authors, to a greater extent than that attained by some isolated scholars, lasted only for a very short time, i.e., the IXth century.¹ In that age, there were sovereigns and private persons who

1. Up to the XIth century, however, genuine philological methods existed, even if one disregards the great Bērūnī and turns towards the lesser spirits. Although the opportunity of getting a real insight was very small and the result, therefore, very meagre, nevertheless, the method by which, e.g., 'Alī b. Rīdwān (d. 1068) tries to prove that Ptolemæus closely follows the Peripatetic Philosophy, is a truly philological one. He comes to this conclusion from the observation that Ptolemæus, in his *Tetrabiblon*, progresses from the easier, more commonly known things to the more difficult ones, as Aristotle constantly did; and, also, from another passage concerning the human sperm, a passage which is compared by Ibn Rīdwān with passages from Aristotle's works, giving an astrological interpretation by him. The Arabic text, according to the MS. Or. Brit. Mus. 8227 (written in 1049 H.), fol. 26 b and 141 a-b, and the MS. Or. Bodl. Marsh. 206 which has no pagination; Latin translation Venice, 1493 (B. Locatelli) and Venice, 1915. The print Venice, 1484 (E. Ratdolt) which is mentioned by Brockelmann, *GAL.*, vol. I, p. 484, does not contain this commentary of Ibn Rīdwān. Here, the variants are not annotated: Ptol. I, 4:

الباب الرابع في قوة النيرين والكواكب المنيرة قال المفسر: بطليموس يجري في بيان جميع ما في كتابه مجرى ارسطو طالس في كتبه فانه يأخذ اولاً في تلخيص ما هو ابن ثم ما يليه في البيان الى ان ينتهي الله الاشياء خفاء ويظهر من بطليموس انه من احد (Unus en: 1) المشائين في كلامه وذلك انه يعيل اليهم دائماً ومن قبل هذا بدأ بالنيرين لانها اظهر فعلاشم بالكواكب المنيرة لان فعلها اظهر من فعل غيرها .

قال بطليموس وذلك ان النطفة اذا : Ptd. III. تهايت ان تقبل مرة واحدة في الابتداء حالاً من الاحوال مما اتصل اليها من انشئ المحيط فانه وان اختلفت تلك الحال فيما يأتي من اوقات كون البدن فيما بعد وهي التي تجذب الى ذاتها بالطبع التزيد من المادة الملازمة لها فقط واذا تزيت تشبهت تلك المادة ايضا بالحال الاولى التي تخص النطفة قال المفسر: هذا الكلام شديد الغموض واذا تأملته وجدت هذا الرجل القاضل اقوى في علم الفلسفة وخاصة فلسفة المشائين اعني ارسطوطاليس واصحابه وذلك ان هؤلاء فصخوا عن الموجودات فوجدوا النطفة وما جرى مجراها مواد مستعدة لان يحصل فيها من قبل السماء القوى التي تفعل بها افعالها ولذلك قال ارسطوطاليس في كتاب الحيوان ان في النطفة شياء ما اليها تجرى (2 : تحوى (MS. Or. Marsh. quotation's place of origin in the different Animal Books of Aristotle. The nearest bearing on this seems to be found in *de Gen. Anim.* F26 A ss.)(Qut. & KP. 194 B13). ونال في كتاب السماع الطيبي .

ان الانسان يكونه انسان والشمس اراد ان تطفة الانسان خاصة تقبل عن الشمس قوة مودة مصورة لانسان آخر مثل الاول ويجب من اجل هذا ان يكون للانسان من الفضل على سائر ما في الارض مثل ما للشمس من الفضل على سائر ما في السماء واذا تأملت هذا الامر وجب ان يكون للقمر في الانسان ايضا قوة عظيمة لقربه من طبيعة الشمس ومن اجل هذا تعلقت موايد الناس خاصة وارتبطت بالمرين باجتماهما واستقبا لهما

collected manuscripts and granted good fees to the translators. And the translators themselves, by comparing as many manuscripts as they could bring together, took great pains to restore a reliable text and to furnish an exact reproduction of the wording and the meaning of the texts treated by them. In this sense, this epoch may perhaps be compared with the Western Renaissance—but even in the above respect, one element is wanting which would justify such an analogy. The æsthetic enjoyment of the texts translated, and the unselfish pleasure merely in possessing what the Ancients had possessed, and in regaining their own words as they were spoken by them, are lacking.¹ What was sought was nothing else but the contents and the substance of the texts, the practically and theoretically realizable knowledge they offered; and, on account of this, this period may be compared, with much more justification, with the period of the taking-over of Arabic learning by the West in the XIIth and the following centuries. The first place was held by scientists, especially Galen, and then Aristotle, the mathematicians, astronomers, and geographers. The philosophers, too, of course, met with due consideration; but, owing to the nature of their special manner of literary expression, they came off very badly. A medical work usually could not be shortened without the simultaneous loss of much of its contents. The substance of a Platonic Dialogue may well be rendered on a single page; a philosophical system may be expressed in a few sentences. Therefore, there still exist many verbal translations of Galen's works, which have been perpetually used by the Arabs, in spite of the great number of epitomes which have been composed; in most cases, commentaries as well, which tried to accumulate much more material than is afforded by Galen, have been added to the original works. On the other hand, we have only a single complete and very old manuscript of the "*Organon*" of Aristotle. His philosophy, too, enjoyed a much greater popularity in the form of extracts or commentaries by Arabic philosophers in which, consequently, the thoughts of the Stagirite were presented in an Oriental guise, no matter how closely they were supposed by their authors to follow the original text. Plato, of necessity, met with an especially unfavourable fate. It is true that the text of the *Timæus* could not be much shortened by a writer like Galen because of the conciseness of its contents; but, as he himself said, even he, as a Greek, could do so with the other Platonic Dialogues, and, in fact, did.² The Syrians and the Arabs had no feeling for the æsthetic beauty of these dialogues, and they did not wish to have. We may well say indeed that this was already adumbrated to a very large extent in the works of later commentators on Plato; for there, where it was possible to talk at length about the difference regarding the philosophical meaning of a smile as contrasted with a laugh of a person in a Platonic Dialogue,³ and many

1. Or, where the æsthetic pleasure was felt, there was no philology, as in the circle of Abū Sulaimān as-Sijistānī, as one may conclude from the *Muqābasāt* of his pupil at-Tawhīdī.

2. Cf. the beginning of the paraphrase of the *Timæus*.

3. As in Proclus' Commentary, *In Parmenidem*, 202 and 308 (ed. by G. Stallbaum, pp. 606 and 802/803).

other things of this kind, it was certainly very difficult to acquire the feeling for distinguishing and estimating the real value of literary elegance. Therefore, the marvellous diction of Plato, his "diffuseness," could not make any other impression on the Orientals, as far as they were aware of it, but that of idle talk which merely rendered difficult the search for the philosophical meaning, and the form of the "*aporia*" estimated so highly by Plato could not content scholars, wherever the influence of Aristotelian philosophy had been felt.¹

Complete translations of Platonic Dialogues, therefore, according to the information obtainable from Arabic Bibliographies, were made very rarely. Not a single one of them has come down to us, and the character of those quotations which we have before us, never seems, as far as we can now judge, to afford grounds for the slightest probability that we are concerned with the remains of a pure and complete text of a Platonic Dialogue; therefore, a certain doubt may be entertained as to whether the translations mentioned were verbal reproductions of an unaltered Platonic wording.

What aroused most interest concerning Plato, and continued in Islam in full vigour, was not the exterior form of his work as preserved by the faithful labours of philologists, but *certain thoughts of his* which strongly incited Islamic philosophy and which found there an enthusiastic reception and a vivid echo, although their author may have been sometimes forgotten.² That is the most important point regarding the knowledge of Plato's philosophy in Islam. In ancient literature much opportunity was given for contact in this respect by the vast literature of commentaries and, on the whole, by philosophical literature in general. A particularly sterile result of the intention of acquiring knowledge in a comfortable and condensed form, furthermore, was the philosophical doxography which, likewise, has made its way directly from the Greek to the Orient, especially in the much used "*De Placitis Philosophorum*" which are transmitted

1. For a Greek author of the late age, a well-arranged explanation of a matter consists "in examining its being, then, what power it has, and what power it has not, for what it is useful, and for what it is not useful" (cf., e.g., Albinus, *Introductio in Platonis dialogos*, chapter I).

2. As it will appear in the course of this paper, the term "Platonism in Islam" comprises here only those matters to which the name of Plato has adhered, in every case at a certain age and in the mind of certain authors. It may be very interesting for the history of ideas, but it does not affect the real knowledge of Plato in Islam, if thoughts are marked as Platonisms which in the last instance, but only in the last, have their source in a Platonic Dialogue without this fact being known in any way by the Arabic writer (as, e.g., in the work of S. Horowitz, *Über den Einfluss der griechischen Philosophie auf die Entwicklung des Kalam*, Breslau, 1909) (*Jahres-Bericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars Fraenkel'scher Stiftung zu Breslau*, 1909), p. 44 s.: "Platoniker."

under the name of Plutarch.¹ In Arabic philosophy, mostly in later times, philosophical views which have very little relation, or none at all, to Plato's works, are connected with his name. The reason for this may be sought in misunderstandings which must be cleared up. Sometimes it may have happened that an author has added Plato's name only for adornment. But in most cases one simply cannot adduce a supposition of this nature, and such a supposition should be considered but as a last expedient.

If this tendency of picking stimulating thoughts out of the works of a philosopher extends to all provinces of human life and leads also to an increasing condensation of the elements of his doctrines, then, "*the gnome*," *the saying*, will necessarily result. The desire for such an easily comprehensible and condensed wisdom grew very strong in late Antiquity, and voluminous collections of sayings were at the disposal of the Syrians and Arabs for them to adopt. Here they met with a congenial feeling, since the Wisdom-Literature belonged to the oldest and most popular products of Oriental thought and literature. The second point, likewise very important, in regard to the knowledge of the Plato in Islam consists of such sayings. It is true, as in Greek gnomology, that we are dealing no longer with the genuine Plato; at the most, it is Greek wisdom adorned by his great name. But sometimes we have nothing but problems of human life which have no significance outside the Orient.

With the third point regarding the knowledge of Plato in Islam, we are led again a step farther, to a sphere where nothing is left of Plato but the mere name of a famous scholar, i.e., to *the pseudepigraphy*. Thus, there exist some philosophical treatises, amongst them small ethical tracts under his name, which are inserted in larger works; this may perhaps claim some little justification. Maskawaih² (d. 1030), among the copious specimens of testaments or exhortations (*waṣīyah*) presented by him in his *Jāwīdhān k̥hīradh*, has handed down to us also Plato's *waṣīyah* for the education of youths and a *waṣīyah* of his addressed to his pupil Aristotle.³

1. The Arabic translation of this work seems to be preserved in Zanjan (v. Brockelmann, *GAL.*, *Supplement* vol. I, p. 366). An especially large use of the "*Placita Philosophorum*" is made in the *kitāb al-Bad' u'at-ta'rīkh* which is ascribed erroneously to Abū Zaid al-Balkhī (Xth cent.), v. Brockelmann, *GAL.*, *Supplement* vol. I, pp. 222 and 408, furthermore in the *Raudah aṭ-ṭibbiyah* of 'Ubadallāh b. Jibrā'il b. Bokhtishō (XIth cent.), ed. by P. Sbath, Cairo, 1927, and in the early *kitāb ad-Dalā'il wa-l-i'tibār 'ala l-k̥halq wa-t-tadbīr* which is ascribed falsely to al-Jāhīz, ed. by M. Rāghib aṭ-Ṭabbākḥ, Aleppo, 1346/1928 (v. D. H. Baneth, *The Common Teleological Source of Bahye Ibn Paqoda and Ghazzali*, in the "*Magnes-Volume*," Jerusalem, 1938, pp. 23-30).

2. Or Miskawaih. Both vocalizations are almost equally well attested. Only the etymology may decide in favour of one of them. The best solution would be, if, originally, an ē > e was the vowel of the first syllable (cf., e.g., Mesakes). The old *gehān* "world" later on became *jihān*, but also *jahān*.

3. I read the *Jāwīdhān k̥hīradh* in the MS. Or. India Office, 4416, which is incomplete at the end. The former is published by L. Cheikho, in "*Traité inédits d'anciens philosophes arabes musulmans et chrétiens*," Beirut, 1911, pp. 52-58. For the latter v. below, p. 415, note 3; it is printed, according to the version contained in the *akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī* of at-Tūsī, in "*The Oriental Miscellany*, consisting of original Productions and Translations," vol. I, Calcutta, 1798, pp. 288-295. They both betray "Pythagorean" influence. For the Tract on the Banishment of Grief which is attributed to Plato, v. H. Ritter and R. Walzer, *loc. cit.* (above p. 388, note 4), p. 392, note 3.

But the Arabs made Plato an astrologer and an alchemist too. His name appears even among the inventors of ciphers and a "tree-writing" is ascribed to him, i.e., the letters have the shape of trees and the form, for instance, Ψ is given to the z and the form Υ is given to the q .¹

Finally, the fourth point regarding the knowledge of Plato in Islam, the real quotations in the strictest meaning of the word, may be mentioned; for they occupied a rather small place in Arabic literature, even though we ourselves have a special interest in them, and they had an even lesser importance, in every case in their true wording.

These four points shall be treated here a little more closely in the inverted order, beginning with the—for Islamic Civilisation—least significant subject and ending with the most important. The pseudepigraphs, indeed, certainly do not require any further explanation; besides, I am not competent to judge on the absolute worth or the absolute worthlessness manifested by texts of this kind which, apart from a very few, it is clear, are available only in manuscripts.

The largest collection of true Platonic quotations in Arabic guise will most likely be contained in the paraphrase of the *Timæus* by Galen which, amongst the summaries of Plato's Dialogues by Galen mentioned by Hunain b. Ishāq, has only now been rediscovered and which is now being published.² It is necessary to distinguish it from Galen's collection of what is said in the *Timæus* concerning medicine, some fragments of which have come down to us.³

Only the *Phædo* and the *Laws*, as well as the *Republic* and the *Timæus*, are represented by verbal quotations of somewhat greater length, where the title of the work is also cited. It seems that much less remains, if we identify the sources which provide us with more extensive citations. Up to now, apparently, no more fertile source has been found than the Book on India by al-Bērūnī, in which he compares Indian with Greek views, having recourse especially to the writings of Plato. But he, too, had not a pure, untampered text of Plato's works before him, but, may be, a commented paraphrase. E. Sachau sagaciously concluded from the mention of Proclus which is made suspiciously near the quotations from Plato, that quotations of this kind from the *Phædo* might be taken from the Book on the Soul by Proclus, mentioned by the Arabs (in the *Fihrist*).⁴

1. See Ibn Wahshīyah, *Shāuq al-mustahām*, ed. by J. Hammer, Ancient Alphabets, London, 1806, p. 46 and also p. 18.

2. By R. Walzer and P. Kraus in the "*Corpus*." Otherwise, only the famous quotation regarding the Christians, taken from the Synopsis of the *Republic*, was known.

3. Ed. by P. Kahle, in H. O. Schroeder, *Galen in Platonis Timæum Commentarii fragmenta*, Corpus medicorum Græcorum, Supplement I, Leipsig-Berlin, 1934.

4. v. his translation of the Book on India, London, 1888, vol. II, p. 278. Sachau identifies this writing of Proclus with an Arabic edition of the lost commentary on the *Phædo*, and he is presumably right. Besides this work on the Soul, however, the commentary on the *Phædo* by Proclus is expressly named as existing in the Syriac language.

and very probably he may be right about this. And also elsewhere, one cannot get rid of the impression that the Arabic writers must have used a paraphrase or a similar work ; for there is no reason to explain why they should have altered the quotations in such a sweeping manner, if they had met with them in their original shape. So, for instance, we read in the MS. Or. Bodl. Marsh. 539 (Catalogue of Uri, vol. I, No. 484)¹, fol. 113a, the following quotation (the translation of the Greek text shows the radical alteration) :

ARABIC TEXT :

" Plato says in the Book of Laws :

The divine Goods—what heads them,² is wisdom, then the acquisition of moderateness together with intellect ; from these two, if joined, a third virtue results, i.e., justice. And the fourth virtue is bravery. The human Goods are healthiness, beauty, vigour and power in all bodily movements, and, the fourth, wealth. I do not understand by wealth that which consists of property, but the beauty of habits, and the excellency of contemplation and perception."³

PLATO, *Leges* I, 631 B-C :

" (The Goods are twofold, partly human, partly divine ; but both depend on the divine, and if a city accepts the greater ones, it acquires the lesser too, but if not, it forfeits both). The lesser are those which healthiness heads, where beauty is the second, the third vigour for running and all other bodily movements, the fourth wealth, not a " blind," but a clear-sighted one, if, at all events, it follows wisdom. The first of the divine Goods, that which heads them, is wisdom, the second a moderate attitude of the soul together with intellect.⁴ From these, if mingled with bravery, the third, justice may result, and, as the fourth, bravery."

1. The manuscript which occupies itself mostly with rendering views ascribed to Greek authors, is incomplete in the beginning and the end. Up to now, I have not been successful in making out the author.

2. The text seems to be corrupt. It is very difficult, as generally in such cases, to give preference to one of the obvious corrections. The correction suggested by the above translation seems to follow the Greek text most closely. But one may correct this passage also in the light of the following meaning : The divine Goods are what wisdom heads.

3. Arabic text:

قال اذلاطن في كتاب النواميس الخيرات الا للهيه ما دبره (!) الحكمة ثم اقتناء العفة مع العقل ويحدث من هذين اذا تركها فضيلة ثالثة وهى [العدل] والعدل والفضيلة الرابعة الشجاعة والخيرات الانسية الصحة والجمال والشدة والقوة في جميع حركات البدن والرابعة اليسار و لست اعنى باليسار الذى (اتى : MS.) يكون بالاموال لكن حسن التدبير وجودة النظر والفقه (التفتا Corr.)

(Cf. also the saying of Plato in the MS. Or. Brit. Mus., 1561 (Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts, Supplement, No. F 21) fol. 6b.

قال فضائل النفس اربع و فضائل الجسد اربع بازائها فالنفس لها الحلم (!) وللجسد التمام والكمال وللنفس العدل وللجسد الجمال وللنفس الشجاعة وللجسد القوة وللنفس العفة وللجسد الصحة

4. See below.

Apart from al-Bērūnī, the tracts of the *Iḥwān aṣ-ṣafā'* in particular should be mentioned as another rather copious source ; there, for instance, the story about Gyges found in the *Republic* (II, 359 D ss.) is reproduced, in order to demonstrate that even the excellent Plato considered magic tales like this probable.¹

As it is seen above, little of a true text of Plato's work in an Arabic redaction has been preserved, and the philological value of the rest, accordingly, ought not to be very great. For the chances would be small that, in the scarcity of material preserved, a passage would be found which presents an essential correction of, or a note on the Platonic text. However, it is precisely in the passage cited above that we get a very desirable confirmation of the reading *μετα νοῦ* "with intellect" which J. Burnet (as well as M. Schanz), with full justification, has admitted into his text in accordance with some ancient indirect attestation, instead of the otherwise mostly accepted tradition which gives the worse reading : *μετα νοῦν* "after intellect."² In some other places, too, a rather useful confirmation of the text handed down to us is noticeable, for instance, that the name of Gyges in the *Republic* II, 359 D, existed also in the text which was the basis of the Oriental tradition,³ and further, that the sentence *Phædo* 115 A ("in order to pass away, if Destiny calls") existed likewise there;⁴ both are sometimes omitted from the printed text with good reason,⁵ but both can claim a very good textual authority and are, in fact, very old.

If, moreover, the other dialogues of Plato, from which citations may be verified—they are so few in number as to be almost negligible—are not enumerated above, this has been done for a special reason. A large number of quotations is contained in the translations of other Greek

1. *Rasā'il iḥwān aṣ-ṣafā'*, Cairo, 1347/1928, vol. 4, p. 134 (Book IV, 11th *risālah*).

2. See F. Ast's annotation to this passage in the edition of I. Bekker, vol. 7, London, 1827, p. 440, further the edition of M. Schanz, vol. XII, Leipsig, 1879, and also the note of A. E. Taylor in his translation of the *Laws*, London, 1934, p. 8, note 2, who considers *μετα νοῦ* as "perhaps better." The testimony of *μετα νοῦ* is furnished by Eusebius (IIIrd/IVth cent.) in his *Præparatio Evangelica* XII, 16, and by his excerptor Theodoretus (IVth/Vth cent.) in his *Græcarum Affectionum Curatio* VI, 34. But amongst the manuscripts of the former work, only two (but all, except one, of Theodoretus) exhibit this reading according to the *Apparatus Criticus* of E. H. Gifford's edition (Oxford, 1903). Therefore, in many editions of the *Præparatio Evangelica*, *μετα νοῦν* is found (I inspected those of F. A. Heinichen, Leipsig, 1842/3, of the *Patrologia Græca*, ed. by J. P. Migne, Paris, 1857, and of W. Dindorf, Leipsig (Teubner), 1867).

3. v. the *Rasā'il iḥwān aṣ-ṣafā'*, loc. cit.

4. In the life of Socrates (v. above p. 3 ss.). Immediately before, Hades is mentioned in the Greek text. Mubashshir has here *زائوس* which may be certainly Zeus (because all the manuscripts consulted agree, this was probably the original form as written by Mubashshir). Al-Qiftī, however, has *زائوس* (according to J. Lippert, loc. cit., p. 203/15) which is easily explained as a corruption of Hades (One may disregard the undebatable proposal of Lippert to understand it as "Tartarus"). Therefore, one is entitled to assume that the form found in al-Mubashshir's work is likewise a mistake. A substitution of Zeus for Hades may be very difficult to be explained from the Greek.

5. For the former see, for instance, B. Jowett and L. Campbell, *Plato's Republic*, vol. III, Oxford, 1894, p. 61 s.; for the latter the edition of J. Burnet, *ad locum*.

works, as in the "Theology of Aristotle" and above all in the writings of Galen; they of course cannot be reckoned as independent quotations from Plato's works. But otherwise too, if we come across short citations of Plato, it is most likely that they have no connection with a real text of Plato's works, or with a paraphrase which closely follows the wording of the text, but with some interpretations or other works where the text of Plato is utilised. In order to illustrate this, a passage from one of the works of Maskawaih which have been so important for the conservation and diffusion of ancient literary treasures in Islam, may be cited here, from his *Fawz al-aṣghar*. There too, it is true, only those dialogues are mentioned which are best known to the Arabs, but the way in which they are embedded in the context, may be regarded as typical in regard to all minor quotations from the most frequently cited dialogues and from the others also. It is necessary to translate a rather long section for approximately establishing where the sources of Maskawaih are to be looked for and how they are apparently treated. A minute analysis of all relevant works of Maskawaih from the classic-philological point of view would be very welcome. In the selected passage of the *Fawz al-aṣghar* (2nd *mas'alah*, 6th and 7th *faṣl*)¹ it is said :

"Report on the doctrines of the philosophers and methods, which they established for proving that the soul does not vanish and does not die."

1. Of the two prints mentioned by Brockelmann, *GAL.*, *Supplement*, vol. I, p. 584, only the print Cairo, 1325/1907, which is unutterably bad, was at my disposal. The passage cited will be found there on pages 46-50. The numerous additions which had to be made from the manuscripts, are not annotated expressly, since they are recognizable without difficulty by comparison with the printed text. The manuscripts compared are : MS. Or. India Office 583 (Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts No. 1922, 7), fol. 39a-b ; MS. Or. Brit. Mus. 6335, fol. 43a-47a ; MS. Or. Brit. Mus. 7996, fol. 28a-29b. These manuscripts are altogether of a rather late date ; but their text is confirmed by the identity with the quotation of the passage concerning the three proofs found in the comparatively old manuscript Or. Bodl. Marsh. 539 (v. above line 6, p. 10), fol. 52b-54a. With regard to the enumeration of the works of Maskawaih as given by Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*, it should be noticed that No. 7 is identical with the *Fawṣal-aṣghar*. In all probability, No. 9 is nothing else but the *kitāb Tahdhīb al-akhlāq* which, elsewhere, is named *kitāb aṭ Ṭahārah* (cf. British Museum, Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts, Supplement, No. 721, 2, and Sarkis, *Mu'jam al-maṭbū'āt*, Cairo, 1928-1930, col. 238, who mentions an Indian print of a *kitāb aṭ Ṭahārah fī tahdhīb al-akhlāq*, 1271. From the Persian *akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī* of aṭ-Ṭusī (d. 1274) which is based on the ethical work of Maskawaih, we may be convinced of the likelihood that *kitāb aṭ Ṭahārah fī tahdhīb al-akhlāq* must be considered the proper title of the work of Maskawaih in question. It is very strange that one misses the title of this work in some of those works where one would expect to find it. Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'ah (ed. A. Müller, Königsberg, 1892-1894, vol. I, p. 245), has *kitāb Tahdhīb al-akhlāq*, Ḥājjī Khalīfah II, p. 476 (ed. by G. Flügel, Leipzig, vol. II, 1837) has *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq wa-taḥḥir al-a'rāq*, but nothing is found in al-Qiftī, nothing, remarkably enough, in the lengthy paragraph in the *Irshād* of Yāqūt (ed. by D. S. Margoliouth, Leiden-London, vol. II, 1909, p. 91), and in the *Siwān al-hikmah* of Abū Sulaimān as-Sijistānī and its complements. Sometimes I have the feeling that this work is identical with the *Fawṣ al-akḥar* which is not found up to now and which is always mentioned (but not in the *Siwān al-Hikma* and in Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'ah), but of course this is a mere conjecture.

Concerning the duration of the soul, Plato relied on three proofs :

- (1) that the soul gives life to everything wherein it is,
- (2) that all corruptible things are corrupted only because of the badness within them,
- (3) that the soul is self-moved.

The *first* proof is worked out as follows : The soul gives life to everything wherein it resides, and to everything which perpetually gives life to that wherein it resides, life is substantial. And that which life is substantial to, is not able to accept the contrary of life, and the contrary of life is death. Consequently, the soul is not able to accept death. The Platonists have painstakingly interpreted this section and multifariously commented on it, and also made clear the faultlessness and the order of its propositions together with the faultlessness of the conclusion resulting from it. If God wills, we will mention this, after having finished the exposition of the three proofs.

The *second* proof is built on the assumption that no badness is in the soul. Therefore, it is necessary to explain the real essence of badness and that what is understood by it, in order to have, thereafter, a complete demonstration. Thus, we say that badness is connected with corruption, and corruption with non-being, and non-being with matter ; consequently, badness is connected with matter. It evidently results from this that, where no matter is, there is no non-being, and where no non-being, no corruption, and where no corruption, no badness. Thus, matter is the mine of badness and the source of evil and its root, from which it branches off. The contrary of this badness is goodness, and goodness is connected with duration, and duration is connected with existence. And existence is the first form (*ṣūrah*, also *idea*) which the Creator (He is exalted and great) has created. Therefore, it is a pure good, not mingled with evil and non-being. And by it the active Intellect is distinguished. For the real existence, in which there is no trace of matter and no idea of passivity, is the first Intellect. The exposition of the good and the evil and of that which is not good, and of that which is not evil, deserves a long discussion and would necessitate our overstepping the limits which confine us now. He who has read Plato's remarks on this subject and the book of Proclus which he devoted specially to this subject, and Galen's remarks also, knows how lengthy it is and how much it stands in need of comment. But I have taken pains in abbreviating it, but only in such a way as to heighten the understanding of it by means of explanations. Now we will return to our theme, and thus we say :

The soul is a form, through the existence of which in the body, the latter becomes perfect ; consequently, it is no matter. We have similarly explained that it is no material form, for that would mean that it needs matter in its existence. Consequently, there is no badness in the soul at all. Consequently, the soul has no corruption, and no non-being. Consequently, the soul is durable.

Thus, the proof has to be worked out as follows : There is no badness in the soul at all, and everything, in which there is no badness at all, is not corruptible. Consequently, the soul is not corruptible.

That which Proclus has advanced for the explanation of the first proof, and which we promised to mention, is the following : Everything which is contrary to a(nother) thing resulting from a power, is contrary also to the power, from which this (other) thing has resulted. An example of this is : Coldness is contrary to heat which results from fire, and it is contrary also to that, from which heat has resulted, i.e., fire.

If this is so, we may say : If death is contrary to the life which is in the body, it is contrary also to the life of the soul, from which the life of the body has resulted. If, furthermore, the intelligent soul does not accept the death which is the contrary of the life of the body, as stated above, it does not accept either the death which is the contrary of its life, because that which is contrary to the life of the body, is contrary also to its life, as we explained. Consequently, the soul does not accept the death which is contrary to the life which is in it, and, therefore, it is neither mortal nor transitory.

On the essence of the soul and its life, and what this life is, by means of which it is preserved, so that it has an everlasting duration and is eternal.

When the philosophers observed the soul, in so far as it completed and vivified the body, they said that the soul is life. But by this they did not want to say that it is the idea (*śūrah*) of life ; for this is something, the vanity of which is already recognised. But they wanted to say that it draws the life into the body, because it is nearer the life than the body. And when they observed the soul apart from its relation to the body, they said that it is that which moves itself. And Plato, generalising about it, said that it is a movement, when he said in the *Laws* : The substance of whatsoever (whomsoever) moves itself (himself), is movement.¹

Therefore we have now to consider this movement of the soul, since we have already said that the soul is a substance and no body. But none of the movements which we have enumerated, i.e., the six movements which are particular to the body, fits this substance. Therefore we say : This movement is a circular, a rotating one, *viz.*, the rotation of the soul which exists with it perpetually. It is impossible to find the soul exempt from this movement for a single moment. In so far as this movement is not bodily, it is also not local, and in so far as it is not local, it is also not deviating from the essence of the soul. Therefore Plato said : The substance of the soul is movement, and this movement is the life of the soul.² And in so far as it is essential, life is also essential to it. He who is able to contemplate this movement in view of its being constant in itself, not entering under time, and of its moving itself, has contemplated by that

1. Here, the passage *Leges* X, 896 A, is most probably alluded to.

2. See *Leges* X, 896 A. (This passage is cited also by Proclus, *In Rempulicam*, ed. by W. Kroll, Leipzig, 1899/1901, Teubner, vol. II, p. 211.)

the substance of the soul. I mean by the expression "under time" that all kinds of natural movements enter under time. The existence, however, of that which is in time, is right only in its past and its future. The temporal past, however, has been completed and gone, the temporal future has not yet come. Consequently, time has an existence only in the coming-to-be. Therefore, Plato said in the *Timæus* interrogatively: What is the becoming (*kā'in*) which has no existence, and what is the existence which has no becoming (*kawn*)?¹ By the "becoming which has no existence," local movement and time are meant, because the latter is not to be considered deserving of the name of Existence, since the measure of its existence is only in the Now, and the Now is with regard to time the same as the point with regard to the line. Because its share of existence is constant neither in the past nor in the future, but is met with only in so far as it corresponds to the Now, the name of Existence is not appropriate to it, but it is said to be in coming-to-be perpetually. The "existence which has no becoming," however, is that which is above time, and that which is above time, is also above natural movement. And a thing, the existence of which is of this kind, does not enter under the past and the future, but its existence resembles the *dahr*, i.e., perpetuality and duration."

It distinctly appears, from what sources the whole discussion originates, which reveals clearly enough its pure Greek descent. The quotations from Plato are quite inaccurate and belong to the best known and most frequently quoted passages.² An argument of Proclus is expressly cited. We hear about a particular work of Proclus, about views of Galen and views of Plato himself about which our author surely should not have been able to give any further information. According to the context, this particular work of Proclus should refer to the problem of good and evil; but such a work is apparently nowhere mentioned. It is well known that he has composed a work on the soul in three sections,³ and from this work a good part of what is quoted here may be derived. Whether this can be cogently demonstrated from the material we now possess, I doubt, although it is possible to find many thoughts which are *also* Proclean, in the afore-mentioned passage; the proofs of the immortality of the soul,

1. This is *Timæus* 27 D: "What is that which exists perpetually, but has no coming-to-be, and what is that which is coming-to-be, but never exists?" This quotation is found in somewhat more distinct words also in the *kitāb al-Milal wa-n-nihāl* of ash-Shahrastānī, ed. by W. Cureton, London, 1842/46, p. 286/7 (German translation by Th. Haarbrücker, Halle, 850/51, vol. II, p. 123). This sentence was of fundamental importance for the problem of the eternity of the world and, therefore, is discussed not as much in Proclus' *Commentary In Timæum, ad locum*, as in the book which John Philoponus wrote against Proclus' work on the Eternity of the World. There, the problem is treated in a manner which marks the following passage of the Arabic work as a genuine development of what is said by Proclus or by Philoponus (Ioannes Philoponus, *De Aeternitate Mundi Contra Proclum*, ed. by H. Raabe, Leipsig (Teubner), 1899, 6th section, especially p. 182 ss.)

2. For the proofs of the immortality of the soul cf. *Phædrus* 245 C; *Phædo* 93 C ss.; 105 C-D; *Leges* X, 892 ss.; the *Pseudo-Platonic Definitions* 411 C.

3. See above.

as presented above, are of a very common nature and pre-modelled in Plato's works, so that they may well be used by every commentator of Plato and in every philosophical writing which is based on him. Certainly, we are not at all in a position to assume that we are dealing here with the original wording of any writing of Proclus.¹ That with which we are here confronted, is rather a reflection of the work done by him, repeatedly weakened by perhaps still Greek, but certainly Syriac and Arabic media.²

Frequently, we find citations under the name of Plato which remind us strongly of his works. An instance of this is a quotation which is put into the mouth of Socrates (not a very amazing fact³) and which at once recalls to us the beginning of the Platonic *Symposium* (177), although any reference to Eros, sensual love, is missing and the expressions *mahabbah* and *mawaddah* which more closely correspond to the word "friendship," are used and the whole is inserted into the chapter on friendship in the *kitāb (aṭ-Ṭahārah fi) Ṭahdhīb al-akhlāq* of Maskawaih. If we examine the passage thoroughly, we immediately become aware that we have here before us a translation of the writing of Themistius (IVth cent. A.D.) "On Friendship." Themistius, for his part, it is true, may very well have been inspired by the passage of the *Symposium* just mentioned. It seems, however, to be a yet unsolved and unexplainable riddle, just where and how the most appropriate name of Socrates might have been introduced into this quotation in the Arabic version. Here, we are not concerned with a direct translation from the Greek, but from the Syriac medium, the text of which, fortunately, has come down to us in this case.⁴ We can establish this fact by a number of passages in the Arabic text which have a much closer connection with the phrases and the expressions of the Syriac translation than with those of the Greek original. Furthermore, some cases of a peculiar choice of words and of mistranslation elucidate this fact. A very striking example of such mistranslation is the use of the abstract "friendship" in the Arabic text (at the end of the quotation given below), where the Greek furnishes the word "friends"; for the Syriac consonants can signify, according as the word is vocalised, "friend(s),"

1. Proclus, too, is cited very inaccurately. So, we find, in the MS. Or. Bodl. Marsh. 539 (see above p. 10.) fol. 8b, a quotation from his book styled نكس الصغرى, i.e., a clerical mistake for the smaller *Ἐτοιχειώσεις*. By this quotation, the *a priori* evident supposition of E. R. Dodds (Proclus, *The Elements of Theology*. (*Ἐτοιχειώσεις θεολογική*), Oxford, 1933, p. 29, note 3), that, by that title, just the *Ἐτοιχειώσεις θεολογική*, not the *Ἐτοιχειώσεις φυσική* (Elements of Physics) is meant, receives a further confirmation. Though the contents of this quotation may be compared also with some passages in the "In Platonis Theologiam" of Proclus, the title of the work given clearly indicates that we have to seek the origin of the citation in the "Elements of Theology," propositions XII and XIII.

2. The mention of Galen justifies the supposition of Oriental media.

3. Even Aristotle makes citations of the dialogues of Plato which are attributed to Socrates (E. Zeller *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, Leipzig, 1889, vol. II, 1, p. 448 [390]).

4. E. Sachau, *Inedita Syriaca*, Vienna, 1870, p. 48. Corrections of the text by G. Hoffmann, *GGA*, 1871, pp. 1201-1236, and, following him in most cases, by A. Baumstark, *Lucubrationes Græco-Syriacæ*, Jahrbuch für Philologie, Supplement vol. 21, 1894, p. 410.

or "friendship." In order to make possible an easy comparison of the differences between the three texts, a passage translated from all of them may be reproduced here. It appears that, while the Syriac translator already omitted many Greek names especially, the Arabic translation confronted with the Syriac text can be styled but a paraphrase.

ARABIC TEXT¹

SYRIAC TEXT

GREEK TEXT²

"(As to love,³ Socrates expressed his opinion in the following manner):

I am very surprised at him who lets his children know the history of the kings, their clashes and wars against one another, as well as	"Why, oh happy men, when somebody tells you about the war which the Greeks waged with the Barbarians, and about the King of the Persians who led his troops over the ocean, which was yoked, for the purpose of marching against the Greeks, or when he tells	"Why, oh happy men, when somebody tells how the Trojans and the Achæans made war against each other, or about the expedition of Xerxes, which he led across the Hellespont against the Greeks, or about Greece herself, how much she suffered struggling against her-
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1. Maskawaih, *Tahdhīb al-akhhlāq*, Cairo, 1323/1905 (second edition), p. 130 s. (cited also by ash-Shahrazūri in his *kitāb ash-Shajarah al-ilāhiyah*, MS. Or. Berlin, Landsberg 904 (= 5063 Ahlwardt). Immediately connected with the quotation translated above, another one follows which, in the beginning, seems to be a reproduction of Themistius 266 A-B, perhaps with a very mutilated and misunderstood utilization of what is said by Themistius concerning the shield of Achilles. As an example of a rich man, the Qur'ānic *Qārūn* is mentioned in the Arabic text; although there are some names of rich men in Greek which are quite similar to *Qārūn*, the names given by Themistius in this place are very unlike the consonantal skeleton of *Qārūn*. It seems to be an adaptation for the requirements of Arabic readers. Then a sentence follows which is not found in the work of Themistius, wherein the friend is defined as the "alter ego," corresponding to the well-known definition of Aristotle in his ethical works which the Arabs were of course well-acquainted with (cited in Aristotle's name in the *kitāb al-Aḍab wa-l-inṣhā' fiṣ-ṣadāqah wa-s-sadiq* of at-Tawhīdī, Constantinople, 1301/1884, p. 26 (= Cairo, 1323/1905, p. 24), and in the *Muqābasāt* of the same author, ed. by Ḥasan as-Sandūbī, Cairo, 1348/1929, p. 359). Finally, we have a reproduction of Themistius 266 D-267 A. On the subject of the character of the friend to be chosen, Maskawaih affords a long citation, also in the name of Socrates, which is a paraphrase of Themistius, *On Friendship*, 268 B-270 C. A portion thereof is very freely reproduced in the *akhhlāq-i-Muḥsinī* of the XVth cent., following the *Anīs al-'arīfīn* (cf. Ḥājji Khalīfah *sub titulis*), translated by C. R. S. Peiper, *Stimmen aus dem Morgenlande*, Hirschberg, 1850, p. 85 s., certainly after the *akhhlāq-i-Nāṣirī* of at-Tūsī who of course did not leave this passage untranslated.

2. In the beginning of the work (Themistius, *Orationes*, ed. by W Dindorf, Leipsig, 1832).

ARABIC TEXT

SYRIAC TEXT

GREEK TEXT

the story of those who, for vengeance or by aggressiveness, proceeded against their fellow beings,

but who does not take into his head to tell about what love and affection did, what good they effected for all mankind,

and, further, that it is impossible for every body to live without love, and that the whole world, with all its longing, tends towards it. But if anybody thinks that love is something unimportant, it is rather he, who thinks such things, who is unimportant, and if he estimates that it may be found, that it may be reached with little diffi-

about the Greeks themselves, how many griefs they suffered from each other, do you enjoy hearing it, and why do you goad your sons to read books which are full of wrath and enmity, as if it were useful for them to learn what kings declared war against what others and what cities against what others, and how many pains they suffered from each other,

but why do you never take into your head the story of friendship which is of use to everybody, and why do you not admonish your sons to learn (it)? As to quarrel, there is the poet who tells about struggle, that he is praying that it may be completely extirpated from the earth. But without love, there is nobody who would choose to live, even if he possessed all riches. But if he thinks that it (love) is something contemptible, he is to know that he himself is contemptible. But if it is certain to him that it is easy (to obtain), he is to comprehend that it is very difficult in distress to find true friends."

self, do you enjoy these tales, and why are you captivated by them, as if charmed, and why do you approve that your sons begin learning the wrath of Achilles, as if that were sufficient for education and as if they would become wiser, when they knew the wars and enmities of cities and private persons and the resulting adversities, but why do you not reflect on friendship, and how useful it is for mankind, and why neither do you like to learn it yourselves, nor do you summon your children to do that? However, that quarrel may be exterminated in mankind, even the poet of quarrel prays for. But without love, nobody would choose to live, even if he possessed all other riches. Whosoever, thus, considers the matter of slight worth, is to know that he is of quite slight worth; whosoever thinks that it is easy (to obtain), is to listen to the words of Theognis (Elegies v. 79 s.):

A few companions you will find, oh son of Polypa(o)s, who will be reliable in

ARABIC TEXT

SYRIAC TEXT

GREEK TEXT

culty, without any effort, how difficult it is and how hard it is to find a friendship which one may trust in adversity!"

grave situations."

One may possibly be amazed not to find here any mention of those "Platonists" in Islam, on whom, in particular, the honour of being so designated has been conferred. Well, it is perhaps not a singular case in the history of philosophy that the most cited authority is rather unknown in the original wording of his utterances. We cannot point to a real knowledge of Plato either on the part of Abū Sulaimān and his circle (to which, it is true, the above mentioned Maskawaih also was no stranger),¹ or on the part of Yahyā' b. Ḥabash as-Suhrawardī al-maqtūl (d. 1191) in the Platonic period of his life. Only a pronounced utilisation of Neo-Platonic thoughts is found in his works, and that hardly in strict accordance with original sources (translated into the Arabic language). Ingeniously enough, he ascribes the famous passage on ecstasy in the "Theology of Aristotle"² which, it is well known, is taken from the *Enneads* of Plotinus (IV, 8, 1), to Plato, an error which could be committed all the easier, since Plato, in an adjacent passage, is quoted at great length, and which, apparently, is not due to as-Suhrawardī himself.³

As however, the wonderful book *al-Muqābasāt* of at-Tawhīdī, the pupil of Abū Sulatmān as-Sijistānī, shows, the Greek spirit is quite vivid and efficacious in him. Consequently, some true Platonic thoughts can be traced in that work. But, as appears from the report of at-Tawhīdī, he erred much more seriously. Thus, we read in the *Muqābasāt*:⁴ "I heard Abū Sulaimān saying: Plato said: 'Men are not able to reach truth in all its aspects, nor are they able to miss it in all its aspects. But

1. Cf. at-Tawhīdī, *kitāb al-Adab wa-l-inṣhā' fī ṣ-ṣadāqah wa-ṣ-ṣadiq*, Constantinople, 1301/1884, p. 32 (Cairo, 1323/1905, p. 28/9), and the extract of the *kitāb al-Imtā'*, by the same author, as given by Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. by D. S. Margoliouth, vol. VI, 1909, p. 89 (see also the edition of the *Muqābasāt* by Ḥasan as-Sandūbi, Cairo, 1348/1929, p. 60).

2. Ed. by F. Dieterici, Berlin 1882, p. 8 s., cf. also S. Horovitz in "Jahres-Bericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars Fraenkel'scher Stiftung," Breslau, 1906, p. 147, note 3 (Moses b. Ezra), and, for further literature, OLZ. 40, 1937, col. 628.

3. as-Suhrawardī, *kitāb at-Talwīḥāt*, MS. Or. Berlin Petermann 1678 (= 5062 Ahlwardt), fol. 113b-114a. Immediately thereafter, a quite similar story is told about Aristotle. C. A. Nallino, furthermore, called attention to the mention of this passage in the *kitāb Hikmat al-iṣhrāq* of as-Suhrawardī (RSO. 3, 1919/20, p. 96, note 1), and besides, pointed out that Plato's name is given to this quotation also in one Latin translation (*Oriente Moderno* 10, 1930, p. 49 s.). His conclusion that here it is a question of another redaction of the "Theology," does not seem to be necessary. The restriction of this observation to the possibility that only this one chapter might be affected by that redaction, admits of itself the doubtfulness of this conclusion.

4. Ed. by Ḥasan as-Sandūbi, Cairo, 1348/1929, p. 259 s.

everybody reaches a part of it.' He said—(Unfortunately, it is not quite clear whether the following words are intended to belong to Plato or to Abū Sulaimān. The first seems to be much more likely, since Abū Sulaimān, finally, praises the following simile very much ; but that is scarcely decisive)—: 'A simile of this concerns blind men who approach an elephant. Each one seizes one of its limbs, handles it and tries to imagine it in his mind. He who touches the foot, states that the exterior form of the elephant is long and round like a palm-trunk. He who touches the back, states that its form is like a high rock and an elevated hill. He, however, who touches its ear, states that it is broad and soft and that he can fold it up and stretch it. Each one brings forward something he has perceived, but each one (also brings forward) that which gives the lie to the other and which charges him with blunder, error, and stupidity, as to the form of the elephant. See, therefore, how truth brings them together, and see, how lying and blunder befall them, and, finally, disunite them.' "

I am not able to make out the presumable Greek source of this magnificent simile. Even supposing that Abū Sulaimān is intended as the speaker of the simile, it is very difficult to believe that it has been invented by him. But the preceding quotation from Plato can be identified most easily in this case ; for it is found in a very salient place in Greek philosophy which should have been familiar to Abū Sulaimān also, especially because his teacher Yaḥyā b. 'Adī composed a commentary on the very book, from which it is taken.¹ It is the beginning of the small *a* of the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle.

The number of Arabic works which contain sayings of Plato is rather abundant. We have independent collections which bear the name of Plato on the title-page, and further the large sections devoted to Plato in the special works of the history of philosophers, as well as more or less sporadic sayings in the name of Plato. The relation of these different sayings and collections of sayings to each other will certainly be cleared up to a much greater degree by a comprehensive treatment now being undertaken by one of the collaborators of the "*Corpus Platonicum*." Here, only a small sample shall be offered for the purpose of giving an insight into the general character of these sayings. A few sayings of the *Ṣiḡwān al-ḥikmah* of the above-mentioned Abū Sulaimān, which has come down to us in a later redaction, may be selected. Some of them are truly Platonic in spirit. Some are found under the name of Plato elsewhere, e.g., in the collections of sayings by Ḥunain b. Ishāq and Mubashshir which, in my opinion, cannot be considered as either a source of or a work utilizing the *Ṣiḡwān al-ḥikmah*. From this it is possible clearly to draw the otherwise self-evident conclusion that these sayings (in every case partly) had been attributed to Plato in their Greek form already.

1. Cf. al-Qiftī, ed. by J. Lippert, p. 362/20s.; preserved, according to Brockelmann, *GAL.*, Supplement, vol. I, p. 370 (and the additions to this page), in Būhār and in Aṣaḡfīyah.

The few samples, as given below, will, I believe, enable us to understand that such sayings and the collections which contain them, were able to stimulate the thoughts and feelings of mankind throughout the centuries. The historical-critical researches of the past century have succeeded indeed in advancing to purer sources and in enjoying them. Therefore, it was quite right to look down with a certain contempt on the wisdom revealed by such sayings and on the common human primitiveness frequently concealed behind them. But only wisdom of this kind could always maintain itself in the vicissitudes of human intellectual life.

"To the rare sayings of Plato¹ belong :

1. The actions of man consist in good and evil. The beginning of good is the omission of evil, and the beginning of evil is the omission of good.

2. He said to his pupil Aristotle : Recognize your Master and his truth (*haqqahu*) and be much occupied with learning and teaching.

3. He said : Be very careful about your food, from one day to another, i.e., do not store anything.

4. He said : Do not fall asleep, before having examined yourself in a threefold respect : what you neglected and what you acquired for yourself on this day, and what good and pious things you should have been able to do, but did not do sufficiently.²

5. He said : In everything you do, keep to justice. It is your task to choose the straight way and to keep to the good.

6. He said : The intelligent person recognizes the stupid one, because he himself has been once stupid. But the stupid one does not recognize the intelligent one, because he has never been intelligent.

11. He said : Sleep is the equilibrium of the powers in the depth of the soul.³

12. He said : The virtues of the soul are in three things: intelligence, wrathfulness and concupiscence. The virtue of intelligence is mildness (*hilm*), the virtue of wrathfulness is bravery (*shajā'ah*), and the virtue of concupiscence is moderateness (*'iffah*⁴) and devotion (*nusk*).

1. Following the manuscript of the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah* in the Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 9033 which seems to be as old as the manuscripts of this work in Constantinople, fol. 16a-17b, and a transcript of the photographed manuscript in Cairo procured for me by the kindness of P. Kraus.

2. That is naturally the well-known Pythagorean command (of the daily training of memory, originally or, as it was understood everywhere in later times) of daily self-examination. In the *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah*, however, it is borrowed, together with No. 2 and No. 3 which are found also in Mubashshir's work from the *Waṣīyat Aflātūn li-tilmidhihi Aristū*, see above p. 11.

3. This definition is not furnished by Plutarch, *De Placitis Philosophorum* V, 24, where it might be expected in the first place.

4. This is the translation of the Greek *σωφροσύνη*, and is opposed to the word *sharah* "greediness, immoderateness;" it reveals, therefore, just the same conception as the Latin "*modestia*." Here, it is seen clearly, how far the Arabic and the Latin languages have the same value, as languages of translation, in their relation to Greek. Both cannot compete with it, and in some respects, the Arabic language seems to have a certain advantage over the Latin.

13. He said : Mildness is king, bravery is servant, and justice is *wazīr*.

22. He said : When grief penetrates the soul, its fire dies down ; but when joy permeates it, its light is inflamed and its splendour grows visible.¹

24. He was asked about trade. He replied : (It is) the desire of man for collecting with greed and little contentment.

26. He said : Noble is he who gives without asking.

32. He said : Mildness and wisdom are the sublimest nobility and the highest reflection and the most beautiful adornment and the truest praise and the best expectation and the most reliable hope and the most memorable (*adhkar*) manliness and the most splendid beauty. No work succeeds, no eulogy is obtained, no use is gained, no dignity is reached, but by them both. Verily, from bad conduct and an unjust manner of living, you win only something of little use, of short duration, which is prevented, by its short duration and its bad position, from an eye approaching it, or from a tongue praising it, or from a soul being calm about it. As the wise man mentions in his wisdom : Knowledge is happiness, and he who is not intelligent, is not happy, and he who is happy, cannot be stupid.²

34. He said : Whosoever has recognized the idea of stupidity, is intelligent, and whosoever does not recognize it, also does not recognize the idea of intellect.³

46. He said : Writing is the fetter of the intellect."⁴

1. Very similar, amongst some sayings on music in the *Nawādir al-falāsifah* of Hunain b. Ishāq, MS. Or. Brit. Mus. 8681, a manuscript which contains only a part of this work, fol. 63b, 64a see Loewenthal loc. p. 48, note 1, cit., p. 83).

وقال افلاطون من حزن فليسمع الحان النّفس الشريفة فانّ النفس اذا دخلها الحزن فحزن نورها واذا فرحت اشتعل نورها وظهر زبرجها فيظهر ذلك الحنين (!) بقدر قبول القابل وانما القابل بقدر صفاته ونقائه من الغش ومن الدّنس

2. The last mentioned sentence reproduces a genuine Platonic thought indeed. The enthusiastic sound of the words which we hear there, is an excellent sign of the great efficacy of Platonic sublimity on Islamic literary life.

3. Similar, but much worse (if the text is in order), in the tract of Platonic sayings contained in the MS. Or. Brit. Mus. 1561 (see above, p. 396, note 3) fol. 2b :

وقال من عرف صورة الجهل كان عاقلا وانما الجاهل من جهل صورة الجهل

4. In a work of at-Tawhīdī on Script, in which, as in the work of Abū Sulaimān, several Greeks, as Euclid, Homer, and, of course, Aristotle and Galen, utter their opinion on this subject, this saying is completed in the following way : " (The pen is the fetter of the intellect) and writing is the enlargement of the sensory perception, and by it, the intention of the soul is reached بسط والخط بسط (القلم عقال العقول والخط بسط

(الحس والمدرّك به مراد النفس) — Amongst the sayings of Greek scholars concerning writing as given by al-Qalqashandī, *Subh al-aʿshā*, Vol. II, Cairo 1331/1913, p. 437, which, by some way or another, are apparently derived from Tawhīdī's tract, Plato's saying is lacking.

In the work of Abū Sulaimān, quite an amount of Platonic thought is preserved, as we have seen. Extremely famous sayings may retain the name of Plato, particularly if they have a certain importance for special philosophical doctrines. This is the case with the wide-spread saying: "Die voluntarily, then you will live by nature,"¹ which has scarcely ever been separated from Plato's name. Frequently, sayings of this kind are transferred to other persons, or, vice versa, foreign sayings are ascribed to the distinguished name of Plato. This was, for instance, the case with sayings of the form: "Whosoever recognizes . . .," which are multifariously varied especially in Ṣūfism. On this subject, al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/6) reports to us: "On the gate of the temple of the Sabians in Harrān, there was written in Syriac language the saying of Plato, the translation of which is: Whosoever recognizes his essence, is divine (*ta'allaha*)."² In another passage he tells the same, but with the addition of a similar saying of Aristotle: "Whosoever recognizes himself (*nafsahu*)³, recognizes, by

1. Ultimately, this sentence emanates from a passage like *Phædo* 64 A. In Arabic literature, it is cited among others, by al-Fārābī, *Kitāb āra' ahl al-madīnah al-fāḍilah*, ed. by F. Dieterici, Leyden 1885, p. 82; (in Hebrew) by Josef b. Zaddik (d. 1149), *Sēfer hā-'ōlām haq-qātān*, sees M. Doctor, *Die Philosophie de Josef (ibn) Zaddik*, Münster, 1895 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters II, 2), p. 12; by Ibn Sīnā, *Fī shifā' min al-mawt wa-mu'ālaḡat dā' al-ighṡimām bih*, in *Jāmi' al-badā'i'*, Cairo 1335/1915, p. 39; by Maskawaih, *Fawz al-asghar*, Cairo, 1325/1907, p. 54, and, following that apparently, in MS. Or. Bodl. Marsh. 539 (see above p. 13), fol. 52a; idem, *kitāb (aṡ-ṡahārah fī) Tahḡhib al-akhḡlāq*, Cairo, 1323/1905, p. 176; aṡh-ṡahrazūrī, *kitāb aṡh-ṡhajarah al-ilāhīyah*, MS. Or. Berlin Landberg 904 (= 5063 Ahlwardt), fol. 87b.

The thought which forms this sentence, is one of the two definitions of philosophy attributed to Plato as found in the writing of al-Fārābī in connection with "Eisagoge" of Porphyry; these definitions (as well as the whole introduction to this work of al-Fārābī), of course, are derived from a Greek work and appear likewise in Syriac writings concerning the "Eisagoge" (see A. Baumstark, *Aristoteles bei den Syrern*, Leipsig 1900, p. 128 and 220s.). The Arabic text runs (MS. Or. India Office 3832, fol. 253a—The MS. Or. Bodl. Marsh. 28, the attribution of which to al-Fārābī is due only to the mentioning of his name on the title-page, where it is written by another hand, has a rather different wording on fol. 6b):

والحد الرابع من قبل الغاية القرية (القرية : MS.) وهو ان الفلسفة تعاطى الموت وليس ينبغي لنا في هذا الموضوع ان نفهم الموت الطبيعي الذي هو مفارقة الصورة للمادة ولكن الموت الارادى الذي هو امانة الشهوات وتغليب القوة العقلية وهذا الموت في الحقيقة حيوة الناضل والخامس وهو من قبل الغاية البعيدة وهو التشبيه (التشبيه : MS.) بالله جل اسمه بحسب قدرة الانسان وهذان الحدان جميعا لا فلاطن

The second definition is the "assimilation of man to the Divine according to his ability" (*Theætetus* 176B), which was predominant in Neo-Platonic circles and which was, besides, well-known to the Arabs. It is cited, for instance, by Abū Zakariyā' ar-Rāzī in his *Sirah al-falsafīyah*, ed. by P. Kraus, *Orientalia* N.S. IV, 1935, p. 318, and by Ibn Sab'īn, *al-Fawā'id as-siqilīyāt*, MS. Or. Bodl. Hunt. 534, fol. 309a. Both definitions are found in the (Hebrew) *Book of Definitions* by Ishāq b. Sulaimān al-Isra'īlī (d. about 932) cf. Y. Guttman, *Die philosophischen Lehren des Fsaak ben Salomon Israeli*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* X, 4, Münster 1911, p. 21 and 23s.

2. *Murūj adh-dhahab*, ed. by Ch. A. C. Barbier de Meynard, Vol. IV, Paris, 1865, p. 64 s.

3. "His soul." These two conceptions are in fact very near to each other in Platonic-Greek thinking; therefore, from the standpoint of the Greek language, one may doubt whether it is better to employ here in the translation the word "self" or the word "soul." Cf. Plato, *Alcibiades Maior* 130A.—131A.

this, everything, which, apparently, is taken from the 'Theology of Aristotle'.¹ Also 'Alī b. Rabban Sahl at-Ṭabarī (d. after 855) relates very similarly but a little more lengthily, that Aristotle said: "Whosoever possesses the knowledge about the intelligent soul, recognizes his essence and whosoever recognizes his essence, has the ability of recognizing God."² And very similar is another famous *ḥadīth* which is ascribed to Muḥammad by the *ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā'*³ and in some other works:⁴ "Whosoever recognizes himself, recognizes his Master." The same *Ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā'* quotes this saying another time without identifying its author,⁵ and, elsewhere, it is supposed to derive its origin from the early mystic Yaḥyā b. Mu'adh (d. 871).⁶

As a particularly good example of the reception of Platonic thought in Islam in the shape of appropriating and reproducing single thoughts or series of thoughts, the great Fārābī (d. 950) has to be considered. It is rather worthless to reveal the faults and mistakes of an important man, if one wants to get an insight into the reasons of his importance and his influence. On the other hand, however, if historical and philological clearness and truth require it, the disclosure of some minor defects does not mean at all the destruction of an idol or the abuse of a well-merited fame. Therefore, without minimizing al-Fārābī's importance, and in spite of the later tale concerning his vast knowledge of languages, we may calmly point out that he did not know any Greek.⁷ But further, one is

1. *Kitāb at-tanbih*, ed. by M. J. de Goeje (*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* 8), Leyden 1894, p. 162. Cf. F. Dieterici's edition of the *Theology*, Berlin 1882, p. 19.—Cf. also Ishāq b. Sulaimān al-Isrā'īlī, *loc. cit.* (above p. 409, note 1), p. 34.

2. *Firdaws al-ḥikmah*, ed. by M. Z. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928, p. 60.

3. *Rasā'il ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā'*, Cairo 1347/1928, vol. 4, p. 240 (Book IV, 7th risālah).

4. Ibn Sīnā, in his *Risālah* to Abū Sa'id b. Abi l-Khair, in *Jāmi' al-badā'i'*, Cairo, 1335/1917, p. 34; al-Ghazzālī in his *Kimiya' as-sa'ādah*, in *Majmū'at rasā'il*, Cairo 1328/1910, p. 503 (see also C. A. Nallino RSO. 8, 1919/20, p. 96, note 2), and in his *Kitāb al-'amal*, Cairo 1328/1910, p. 23; Ibn Sab'in, *loc. cit.* (above p. 409, note 1), fol. 314a.

5. *Rasā'il ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā'*, Cairo 1347/1928, vol. 1, p. 47 (Book I, 1st risālah).

6. See L. Massignon, *Recueil des textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la mystique en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1929, p. 27. Some remarks regarding this saying may be found also in the *History of Philosophy in Islam* by T. J. de Boer (transl. by E. R. Jones) London 1903, p. 22. Other interesting references are given by A. J. Arberry in his edition of the *Mawāqif and Mukhāṭabāt of Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdī 'l-Jabbār al-Niffārī*, Cambridge-London 1935, p. 210.

7. The curious etymology of the Greek word *Λοφιστης* as given in the *kitāb Ihṣā' al-'ulūm* (as well as the other etymologies of this kind found in the tract on Plato's Philosophy, see below p. 411, note 1) does not seem to be a decisive argument in favour of this fact, although it has been used as such (cf. the edition of the said work by A. Gonzalez Palencia, Madrid 1932, p. 27, note 1). In this case, it was very difficult indeed to give an obvious explanation of this word keeping strictly to its verbal composition (without considering its historical evolution) and no better explanation, in all probability, could have been made by a real expert of Greek in that age. (Besides, al-Fārābī certainly has taken all these etymologies from Syriac written (or verbal) sources.) In spite of all that is said above, it is of course not excluded, although not demonstrable, that al-Fārābī knew a few smatterings of the Greek language as spoken in that period.

very strongly tempted to assume that he never came across a true Platonic text, no matter in what language. His merits consist just in gathering Greek Platonic thoughts from secondary sources which may already have been works composed by Oriental writers or rather translated works of the late Greek period, and especially in reproducing them in a very easily comprehensible and, as to the diction, very precise form. Sometimes he may have added a little of his own by arranging the material in his possession.

We have an unique pragmatic exposition by al-Fārābī of the Platonic dialogues, contained in a larger work on happiness. In a really very Platonic manner, it explains his whole literary activity as a progressive way to obtain happiness, and with its very clear construction, it assigns to every dialogue its place in this way. Apparently, the whole is a translation of a no longer extant Greek work, to which al-Fārābī has supplied scarcely anything of his own.¹

The political writings of al-Fārābī,² one of which has been introduced by F. Dieterici into the scholarly literature under the name of "*Musterstaat*" (model state), which reminds us, more than is justified, of the Platonic *Republic*, demonstrate one thing in any case without much difficulty, viz., that the author of these writings certainly had not the original wording of Plato's *Republic* in front of him, and, perhaps, he was not even really acquainted with its contents. Otherwise, he would have followed much more closely the train of ideas as given by Plato. That which, in these writings, may perhaps recall Plato's work to our mind, was in the age of al-Fārābī a commonplace of ancient literature never again forgotten since the time of Plato and Aristotle.³

Concerning the harmony between the views of Plato and Aristotle,⁴ which in the later times of the ancient world was a much favoured subject, al-Fārābī himself tells us that, in this work, he brought together and discussed the items which had been mentioned by others as points of controversy.⁵ Therefore, it definitely was not he himself who had picked these points out of the works of the two philosophers. One may be inclined to ascribe to al-Fārābī himself the arguments by which he removes the alleged differences in their manner of living—a quite oriental idea. Aristotle was the man of the world and the courtier; Plato, on the contrary, the world-avoiding ascetic. In regard to this, al-Fārābī points out the

1. This will be set out in the edition of the text in the "*Corpus Platonium*." Meanwhile, see the Hebrew translation, published and translated into German by M. Steinschneider, *al-Farabi: Memoires de l'Acad Impér. de St. Petersburg VII.* 13, 1869, pp. 176-185; 224-230.

2. *Fiārā' ahl al-madīnah al-fāḍilah*, ed. By F. Dieterici, Leyden 1895; *kitāb as-Siyāsah al-madaniyah*, transl. by P. Brönnle and F. Dieterici, Leyden 1904.

3. Šā'id al-Andalusī was reminded by the writings of al-Fārābī much more of Aristotle, and that with full justification (*kitāb Tabaqāt al-umam*, ed. by L. Cheikho, Beirut 1922, p. 54).

4. *Fi ittifāq ra'y al-ḥakimayn Aflātūn wa-Aristūṭālīs*, ed. by F. Dieterici, in "*Alfarabi's Philosophische Abhandlungen*," Leyden 1890, pp. 1-33. Cf. the preface of Dieterici, pp. XIII-XV.

5. *Loc. cit.*, in the beginning.

political-literary activity of Plato, before the latter had investigated the surpassing importance of the soul.¹ But I cannot help doubting, whether this, in fact, is a thought of his own. What, however, in this case seems to be actually an original idea of al-Fārābī, is a matter of very questionable value in our opinion, and it is only due to the chance that the work concerned has been known as an Aristotelian one but only for a rather short time, that al-Fārābī may have been perhaps the first to make use of it in regard to the subject in question: by employing the so-called "Theology of Aristotle," al-Fārābī was able very easily to overcome the most outstanding points of difference.

Notwithstanding, however, the slight knowledge of the original wording of the Platonic text which al-Fārābī possessed, his activity as a transmitter of Platonic thoughts, although from very secondary sources, should not be under-estimated, and also by his rôle in this respect, he is entitled to the praise which has always been lavished upon him.

For the characterization of the influence of Platonic thoughts in Islam, three subjects may be touched upon here in somewhat more detail. One of them concerns natural science, the other two ethical problems, namely the theory of vision, the doctrine of the parts of the soul, which is connected with the doctrine of virtues (although it is in its direct derivation predominantly Aristotelian), and, finally, the doctrine of the essence of love.

Until modern times, two theories which were believed to explain the most difficult of human sensory perceptions, vision, were opposed to each other.² One of them, favoured by Plato and others, especially and most efficaciously by Euclid and Galen, said that vision is caused, above all, by rays which emanate from the eyes; the other, adopted by Aristotle, said that such rays do not exist and that light emanating from the objects causes vision, corresponding to the theory which is now generally accepted.

1. *Loc. cit.*, p. 4 s. See also what is said above, p. 390, note 1, concerning Socrates, and what ar-Rāzī says concerning a contrary change in Socrates' manner of living (P. Kraus in *Orientalia N.S.* 4, 1935, pp. 310 and 316).

2. As to the philosophical aspect of this subject in oriental literature, D. Kaufmann has done the most exhaustive, the most ingenious work, in a book which is packed with material taken especially from Hebrew sources, but of course from Arabic sources too: *Die Sinne, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Psychologie in Mittelalter.* Leipzig 1884. His book has been neglected by his followers, although they, too, should have been able to learn much from it. These followers were, in physics, E. Wiedemann who reproduced the views of the Arabs in this respect in numerous small and even smaller articles, unfortunately without arriving at a comprehensive work (see the bibliography compiled by H. J. Seemann, *Isis* 14, 1930, pp. 166-186), and, on behalf of the oculists, J. Hirschberg, see especially his paper "Die arabischen Lehrbücher der Augenheilkunde, in *Anhang zu den Abhandl. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl.* 1905, which is inserted into his *History of the Medical Treatment of the Eyes in the Middle Ages in Handbuch der Geschichte der gesamten Augenheilkunde*, ed. by A. Graefe and Th. Saemisch, second edition Vol. XIII, Chapter 23, 2, pp. 1-243). Some additions to the work of D. Kaufmann are made by S. Horowitz, in *Jahres-Bericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars Fraenckel'scher Stiftung*, Breslau 1900, p. 138s., and *ibid.*, 1911, Breslau 1912, p. 236. As to the oculists, much useful work has been done by M. Meyerhof by means of his edition of many texts.

But it must be said that the most difficult problem in this respect, *viz.*, how sensory perception is transformed into spiritual, is unconsciously adumbrated rather by the Platonic view. Here, a question had to be solved which not only philosophers, but even oculists, physicists, and mathematicians were much interested in, and which always required an answer according to one view or the other.¹

For the oculists, the view of Galen was authoritative, and, therefore, they adopted throughout the theory that a visual spirit emanates from the human eye. In general, the Arabic writings on ophthalmology do not give many particulars regarding the theoretical part and restrict themselves to the most necessary information;² for the diseases which were believed to be dependent on the visual spirit, short-sightedness and long-sightedness (also weak-sightedness), passed for incurable (weak-sightedness to a lesser degree). The complete dependence of the oculists on the ancient tradition is shown very impressively by the *Firdaws al-ḥikmah* of 'Alī b. Rabban Sahl at-Ṭabarī who, when speaking about sensory perception, follows Aristotle, but when speaking about the diseases of the eye, follows Galen strictly.³

Amongst the physicists and mathematicians—to follow the distinction made expressly by Ibn al-Haitham⁴—the most able men of the former group admit solely the view that vision is caused by rays which come from the object to the eyes; on the contrary, the views of Euclid⁵ are authoritative for the mathematicians, but their views, later on, generally start from the supposition that there is no doubt that the rays effecting vision emanate from the object, but that, for the explanation of the phenomena relative to vision, it is as if the rays emanated from the eyes.⁶

The philosophers, when not physicists at the same time, as was very frequently the case, could not contribute in reality anything decisive to the state of the problem reached at that time. But when they expressed themselves concerning the sensory perceptions of man, they could not avoid passing judgment on the matter. I think that, generally speaking, a

1. The question is left in the balance sometimes, as by Abraham bar Chiyya according to E. Wiedemann, Beiträge V, in *Sitzungs-Berichte der Physikalisch-medizinischen Societät zu Erlangen* 37, 1905, p. 439.

2. Cf. the literature cited above, p. 412, note 2. Besides, for instance, Ḥunain b. Ishāq in his *Kitab al-'ashar maqālāt fi l-'ain*, ed. by M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1928, p. 27 ss.

3. *Firdaws al-ḥikmah*, ed. by M. Z. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928, pp. 78 and 159. See also below p. 415, note 4.

4. See E. Wiedemann, Zu Ibn al-Haithams Optik, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik* 3, 1912, p. 18 ss.

5. Cf., for instance, Ibn Abī Ya'qūb (d. 897), *Ta'riḥ*, ed. by M. Th. Houtsma, Leyden 1883, vol. I, p. 139. See also E. Wiedemann, Beiträge V, in *Sitzungs-Berichte der physikalisch-medizinischen Societät zu Erlangen* 37, 1905, p. 439.

6. Cf. E. Wiedemann, *loc. cit.* (note 1) (and compare also Beiträge XXXVIII, in *Sitzungs-Berichte*. . . 46, 1824, p. 42), and H. Bauer, Die Psychologie Alhazens, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* X, 5, Münster 1911 further, at-Ṭūsī, apud E. Wiedemann, in *Eder's Jahrbuch für Photographie*, 1907, p. 38-44, cf. also G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, London 1927/31, vol. II, p. 1009, and E. Wiedemann, *loc. cit.* (note 2), p. 440 s.

preference of the opinion that the optic rays emanate from the object, may distinctly be noticed. This seems to be effected not so much by the authority of Aristotle (and, later on, of Ibn Sīnā), as by the fact that obvious proofs of the emanation of rays from the eye could scarcely be afforded to the satisfaction of a realistic observer.

A very important source for the views of the ancients relative to this matter was once more the *Placita Philosophorum* of (Pseudo-) Plutarch.¹ There does not seem to be any rule for one of the two views being exclusively reserved for one or other group or school of philosophers. A writer on love prefers the Platonic view in a work, it is true, which is much influenced by Platonic thoughts;² a mystic like Ibn Gabirol (XIth cent.) is attracted by it.³ The *Ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā'*, although influenced very much by some kind of Platonic and Pythagorean thought, do not accept it,⁴ and likewise, as-Suhrawardī al-maqtūl refutes it with the traditional arguments. "If that which emanates from the eye were a body, how is it possible that it is anything so great as to encounter half the globe of the world? Further, if it remains integral, it should push away the air and tear through the spheres, until it comes to the fixed stars. That is impossible. If, on the contrary, it disintegrates, it does not arrive at all. Further, as to its movement, if it is a natural one, it would be in one direction. That is not the case. And if it is a voluntary one, we should have to draw it (the visual ray as a body) to ourselves simultaneously with the intentional act of looking, and we would not see anything. That is not the case. If it were the case, there would be no difference between looking a long way and looking a short way, and there would be a difference between when the winds blow and when they are still, because of the resistance of the air. . . ."⁵

1. See above p. 394, note 1.

2. Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064), *kitāb Tauwq al-ḥamāmah*, translated by A. R. Nykl, Paris 1931, p. 44 s. (text, ed. by D. K. Pétrof, Leyden 1914, p. 30). Cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge XLII, Sitzungs-Berichte* . . . 47, 1915 p. 91 s. See below p. 419.

3. See D. Kaufmann, *Die Sinne*, Leipzig 1884, p. 108; S. Horowitz in *Jahres-Berichte des jüdisch theologischen Seminars Fraenkel'scher Stiftung*, Breslau 1900, p. 139, note 142.

4. *Rasā'il iḥwān aṣ-ṣafā'*, Cairo 1347/1928, vol. 2, p. 346. Cf. E. Wiedemann, in *Annalen der Physik und Chemie* N. F. 39, 1890, pp. 470-474, and, particularly, D. Kaufmann, *Die Sinne* Leipzig 1884, p. 108, note 42, who mentions al-Ghazzālī and Ibn Rushd as sharers of this opinion.

5. *Kitāb at-talwīḥāt*, MS. Or. Berlin Petermann I, 678 (=5062 Ahlwardt), fol. 61 b; contained in the commentary on this work by Ibn Khayyān, MS. Or. Brit. Mus. 6348, fol. 53 b-55 a, and 7728, fol. 187 b-189 a, where the arguments of as-Suhrawardī are completed in some respects, e.g., by considering the case that the question concerns an attribute, not a substance, or by assuming that the voluntary movement belongs to the said body, or by adding the case that the movement is a violent one. The text of the passage runs: ومن ظن ان الرؤية لخروج شعاع من البصر يلاقى المجرى غلط فانه ان كان جسما فكيف ينبعث من العين: ما يلاقى نصف كرة العالم ثم ان انفصل فيدفع الهواء ويحرق الافلاك حتى انتهى الى الثوابت هذا محال وان انفصل فلا يؤدى ثم حركته ان كانت طبيعية لكانت الى جهة واحدة وليس كذلك وان كانت ارادية فكان لنا ان نقبضه الينا (!) مع التحديق فلانرى شيئا وليس كذلك ولو كان كذلك ما اختلفت الرؤية بالبعد والقرب ولا اختلفت عند هبوب الرياح وركودها لمناعة الهواء

The arguments *pro* and *con* are lucidly united in the *Harmony of the Views of Plato and Aristotle* by al-Fārābī.¹ The position held by this scholar regarding this question is very remarkable and corresponds to the impression elsewhere obtained of his receptivity to the ideas of the ancients. But it should not indeed be forgotten that under the influence of the tendency for harmonization, it was irrelevant for him what theory he followed. In his *Ihṣā' al-'ulūm*, he is dependent on Euclid; consequently, the rays leave the eyes,² a view which finds its expression also in the *kitāb as-Siyāsah al-madanīyah*.³ Elsewhere, he is a follower of Aristotle.⁴ In the "Harmony," a whole section is devoted to this question. Al-Fārābī's solution is that this difference in the views of the two philosophers is caused only by the imperfection of terminology. Neither a proper "emanating" (Plato) nor a proper "influencing" (Aristotle is meant here), but it is the question of a power which joins the vision with the visual object.

To mention two other great names of Arabic literary history,⁵ al-Kindī, amongst the followers of Euclid, seems to have favoured the Platonic view.⁶ Ibn Sīnā, on the other hand, gave the weight of his authority to the Aristotelian theory.⁷ Without doubt, the Platonic theory was bolstered up originally by the unusual position which vision has in comparison with the other senses, which for instance has found its expression in the phrase "to cast a glance," known also to the Arabs, but never applicable to one of the other senses. Therefore, the playing off of the Aristotelian theory as the right view against the Platonic theory as the wrong view should be rightly avoided in an historical investigation. In this case, a method of looking at the matter is defended, which corresponds to quite another

1. *Loc. cit.* (above p. 411, note 4), p. 13-16, cited by Ibn Sīnā in his answer to the questions posed by al-Bērūnī, in *Jāmi' al-badā'ī'*, Cairo 1335/1917, p. 145.

2. Ed. by 'Uṭmān Muḥammad Amīn, Cairo 1350/1931, p. 55. Cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge II, Sitzungs-Berichte* . . . 39, 1907, p. 78.

3. Cf. P. Brönnle-F. Dieterici, *Die Staatsleitung von Al-Fārābī*, Leyden 1904, p. 9.

4. In the same context as found in the *Firdaws al-ḥikmah* of 'Alī at-Ṭabarī (see above), this theory is followed in the *Model State* ed. by F. Dieterici, Leyden 1895, p. 44. But in the same work, on p. 51, we hear al-Fārābī talking about the ray of vision (*shu'a' al-baṣar*)! Aristotle is followed also in *De Entellectu et Entellecto* (*fi l'aql wa-l-ma'qūl*). For the former, cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge II, Sitzungs-Berichte* . . . 36, 1904, p. 338. For the latter, D. Kaufmann, *Die Sinne*, Leipzig 1884, p. 108, note 42; E. Wiedemann, in *Annalen der Physik und Chemie* N. F. 39, 1890, pp. 470-474; E. Gilson, in *Archive d'histoire doctrinaire et littéraire* 4, 1929, p. 121 s. The Aristotelian view may be the basis of a passage in the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, ed. F. Dieterici, *Al-Fārābī's Philosophische Abhandlungen*, Leyden 1890, p. 35.

5. Also in one of the very rare works in the Syriac language by the pen of the generation of great translators in the IXth century, the "Book of Treasure" by Job of Edessa (ed. by A. Mingana, Cambridge 1935, Woodbroke Scientific Publications, vol. I, p. 377=p. 133 ss.), we find something like the Platonic view, connected with the remark that the eyes are distinguished in this respect from the other senses.

6. Cf. E. Wiedemann, in *Annalen der Physik und Chemie* F. 39, 1890, p. 471.

7. Cf. D. Kaufmann, *Die Sinne*, Leipzig 1884, p. 108, note 42, and E. Wiedemann, *loc. cit.* (note 2); idem, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik* 4, 1913, pp. 239-241.

state of knowledge. The arguments which could once be brought forward by both sides, were certainly of equal value, and, in reality, they could neither conclusively prove nor refute one theory or the other. Of course, the Arabs were not conscious of what is said above concerning the "realistic observer," and an explanation like this may be valid solely for us. In the opinion of the Islamic world, both theories merited discussion, and they were and they remained always subject to the decision of logic, not to an empirical knowledge of natural science. In this case, as in many others too, harmony between Plato and Aristotle could not be reached.

While the utterances of other Greek scholars, apparently, did not play the least rôle in the problem of vision, the doctrine of the parts of the soul and the cardinal virtues is limited, as to its origin, merely to Plato and, more closely, to Aristotle; and, above all, it is frequently felt as such by the Arabic writers, although the way from these Greek philosophers to what we encounter in Arabic literature was not, of course, a direct one. This doctrine formed the starting-point of one of the practical sciences, as classified by Aristotelianism, and also, in its character as having a place in the system of Aristotelian philosophy, it has been admitted to Arabic civilisation. Thus we read in al-Fārābī's writing in connection with the "*Eisagoge*" of Porphyry that amongst the three practical sciences, ethics, economics and politics, "ethics is made complete by the equilibrium of the power of concupiscence and of the power of wrathfulness and of the power of intellect. The equilibrium of the first is called moderateness; when in excess, it is called greediness and when in deficiency, it is called loss of appetite. The equilibrium of the power of wrathfulness is called bravery; when in excess, it is called foolhardiness, and when in deficiency, it is called cowardice. The equilibrium of the power of intellect is called wisdom; when in excess, it is called cunning and malevolence, and when in deficiency, it is called stupidity and ignorance. The total of the three equilibria is called justice."¹ This is evidently purely Aristotelian.² This is shown by the replacement of the Platonic "parts" of the soul, which is a rather dangerous conception, by "powers," and by the doctrine of excess (*υπερβολη*, *υπεροχη*) and deficiency (*ελλειψις*), from which a great number of sub-virtues is developed. Another element of the mixture of Platonic and Aristotelian conceptions is revealed by the collation of the three parts (or powers) of the soul with the vegetative (the nutritious), the animal and the intelligent soul. But in spite of all these features, the

1. MS. Or. India Office 3832, fol. 252a-b:

والفلسفة العملية تنقسم الى ثلاثة اقسام الى اصلاح الاخلاق والى تدبير المنزل والى تدبير المدينة
واصلاح الاخلاق يتم بتعديل القوة الشهوانية والقوة الغضبية والقوة الناطقة واعتدال الاولى يسمى عفة
وافراطها في الزيادة يسمى شرها وفي النقصان يسمى كلال الشهوة واعتدال القوة الغضبية يسمى شجاعة و
افراطها في الزيادة يسمى تهورا وفي النقصان يسمى جبن واعتدال النفس الناطقة يسمى حكمة وافراطها
في الزيادة يسمى خبثا (حا : MS.) وشرها وفي النقصان يسمى جهلا (جهل : MS.) وعدم المعرفة
وحمل الاعتدالات الثلاثة تسمى عدالة

2. Nevertheless, in the MS. Or. Bodl. Marsh. 28, fol. 9a (see above p. 409, note 1), this doctrine of virtues is mentioned in the explanation of the Platonic definition of philosophy as the assimilation to God.

simplified form in which this doctrine is presented by the Arabs, forcibly calls to our memory its original creator, Plato. Most important, within the scope of the present investigation, is the fact that Plato's part in this doctrine is well known to Arabic authors. This appears, for instance, from the remarks made by Ibn Abī Ya'qūb (d. 897) on the subject in question in his *Ta'riḫh*,¹ or from the fact that Thābit b. Qurrah (d. 901) composed a tract on the habits (*akhlāq*) of the souls and their divisions, making use of the Platonic *Republic*.²

This subject is mentioned over and over again in Arabic literature.³ But it is fundamental that the special works on ethics are completely dependent on it, as, for instance, the *kitāb Tahdhīb al-akhlāq* of Yahyā b. 'Adī (d. 973),⁴ the book of the same title by Maskawaih (d. 1030) already frequently cited,⁵ as well as a tract *Fī 'ilm al-akhlāq* ascribed to Ibn Sīnā and, with remarkable modifications, in the *kitāb Mīzān al-'amal* by al-Ghazzālī.⁶ One of the later works of this kind, the *kitāb al-Mālik fī tadbīr al-mamālik* of Aḥmad b. Abī r-rabī',⁷ is arranged in the form of tables and reminds us very much of modern tables as found in works on the history of philosophy for the purpose of elucidating the Platonic views on this subject, excepting only, that we have here, as stated above, these undeniable ingredients of Aristotelian conceptions; for the Arabs did not, it is asserted, use Plato's own works (nor, for the most part, Aristotle's), but manuals of the late Greek period. We see here, in an obvious way,

1. Ed. by M. Th. Houtsma, Leyden 1883, vol. I, p. 135. See A. Klamroth, *ZDMG.* 41, 1887, p. 420.

2. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-dhahab*, ed. by Barbier de Meynard, vol. I, Paris 1846, p. 19. Al-Mas'ūdī uttered his opinions concerning this subject in a work of his own, as stated by himself, *Murūj adh-dhahab* vol. II, Paris 1863, p. 109 s.

3. Only a few instances may be given here: Qusṭā b. Lūqā (d. about 912), *Fī l-faṣl bayna r-rūh wā-n-naf*, ed. by G. Gabrieli, *Rendiconti della R. Accad. dei Lincei, Cl. di scienze mor., stor. e filol.* 19, 1910, p. 651 s.; *Rasā'il iḥḥwān aṣ-ṣafā'*, Cairo 1347/1928, vol. I, p. 241 ss.; vol. II, p. 325 s.; vol. III, p. 82 s. 269, p. 271; vol. IV, p. 342 s.; *ash-Shahrazūri, kitāb ash-Shajarah al-ilāhiyah*, MS. Or. Berlin Landberg 904 (=5063 Ahlwardt), fol. 76b-77a.

4. See Brockelmann, *GAL.*, *Supplement* vol. I, p. 370. The attribution of a *Kitāb Fī tahdhīb al-akhlāq* to Ḥubaish by Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 369, certainly is due to a note which has gone astray.

5. See above p. 22. Cf. A. Merx, *Die Einführung der Aristotelischen Ethik in die arabische Philosophie Verhandlungen des XIII. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, Hamburg September 1902, Leyden 1904*, pp. 290-292, which seems to be too summary, even apart from that, which is printed, being only an extract.

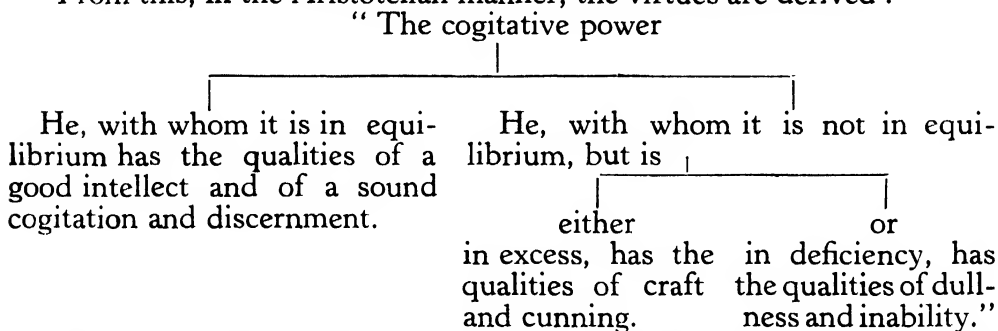
6. *Majmū'at rasā'il*, Cairo 1328/1910, pp. 190-203. This writing as stated by the Egyptian editor, has been merged haphazardly with another one in the *Tis' rasā'il*, Constantinople 1298/1881, pp. 99-110. The breaks are at the beginning of p. 100, and at the end of p. 108. The tract *Fī 'ilm al-akhlāq* as found in the MS. Or. Brit. Mus. add. 16, 659 (Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts No. 978, 24), which, it is true, is not attributed to Ibn Sīnā, is a different one, but quite similar as to general contents. Brockelmann, *GAL.* vol. I, p. 456, 38 and *Supplement*, may be corrected in this respect. The *kitāb Tahdhīb al-akhlāq* of Ibn al-'Arabī, in *Majmū'at rasā'il*, pp. 125-189. (cf. Brockelmann, *GAL.* *Supplement* vol. I, p. 797, 64) does not put the doctrine of virtues into the foreground, but cf. *loc. cit.*, p. 132.

7. Cf. Brockelmann, *GAL.*, *Supplement* vol. I, p. 372, and, especially, M. Plessner, *Der OIKONOMIKOS des Neupythagoreers Bryson*, Heidelberg, 1928 (*Orient and Antike* 5), *passim*. Printed in Cairo 1286/1869, where the cited passages are found on p. 29 and 25s.

how the vegetative, the animal, and the intelligent soul are made parallel with the three parts or powers of the soul :

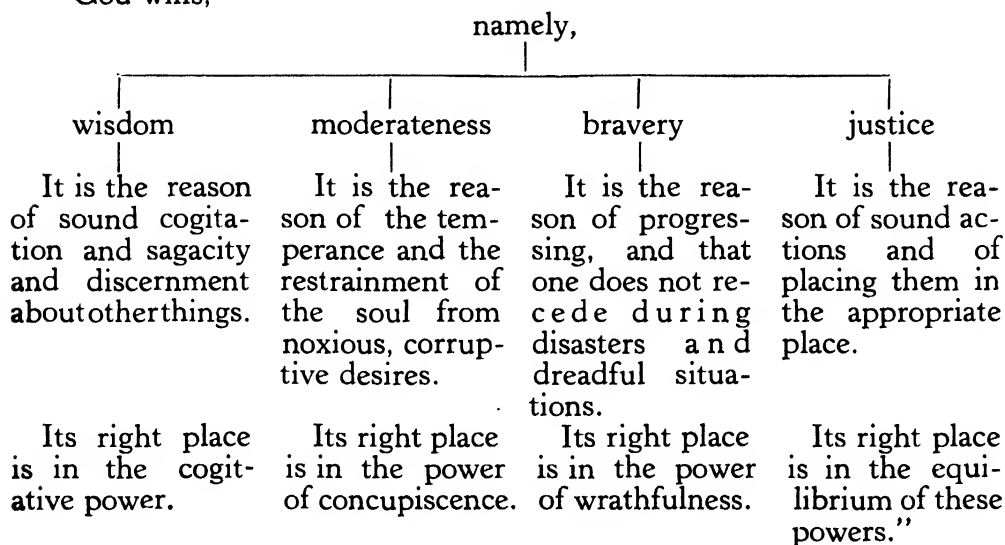
"The cogitative power	The power of wrathfulness.	The power of concupiscence.
I.e., the intelligent, the cogitating power.	I.e., the animal, the leonine power.	I.e. the wrathful, the vegetative power.
Its seat is the brain.	Its seat is the heart.	Its seat is the liver."

From this, in the Aristotelian manner, the virtues are derived :



The attachment of the virtues to the "powers," as set forth in this book, corresponds, in most respects, to that made by Plato, i.e., wisdom (*σοφία*) to the intellectual power (*λογιστικον*), bravery (*ανδρεία*) to the passionate power (*θυμοειδες*), justice (*δικαιοσυνη*) to the equilibrium of the powers (*ιαυτου πραττει* : every body fulfils his own function). Only the attachment of moderateness (*σωφροσυνη*) to the concupiscent power (*επιδυμητικον*) is an easily comprehensible mistake :

"The philosophers are agreed that all the kinds of virtues which alone we need for the acquisition of human perfection, have four common roots, from which many branches branch off, as we will mention, if God wills,



In this form, something of Plato's thinking lives on in Islam. Since it is very wide-spread there and belongs to the species of popular philosophical literature, the works of which have been read very much and with the greatest pleasure, it is permissible to suppose with a great measure of certainty, especially in this case, that no object of learning, once embraced, is handed down thoughtlessly from one work to another, but that views of greatest efficacy are taken as an exemplary model.

How far the third inheritance of Platonic doctrines which may be mentioned now, had an influence on the real life of the Muslims (of course, only those of high intellectual standing), may hardly be estimated. Yet Platonic views regarding the essence of love clearly appear in an Arabic work on the love of woman which has not its like in Arabic literature as to personal feeling and delicate diction, the *kitāb Ṭawq al-ḥamāmah* of the Spaniard Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) who, through this work, from the west of the Islamic world, weaves a perhaps still more potent spell over us than Usāmah b. Munqidh, from its centre.¹ Just in relating his own experiences, he utters some well-known views which are derived from the *Phædrus* of Plato, and so proves that thoughts which originated in the Golden Age of the Greeks, could be transplanted into a foreign soil without losing their strength, and by this it was demonstrated that these thoughts were valid for all mankind.²

Those Platonic views on love had already penetrated—even in Plato's name—into Arabic through the collection of sayings reproduced by Ḥunain b. Ishāq. There, the mystery of generation in the Beautiful, but completely materialised, is found amongst the sayings of Socrates—the Hebrew translator took offence at it and omitted a part thereof.³ Even a fragment of the speech of Aristophanes out of the *Symposium* is preserved therein, duly abridged and essentially modified, perhaps according to the model of Ḥunain's work which was already presumably Christian. This passage, it is true, is attributed to Ptolemæus: "Ptolemæus was asked about love. He said: God created every soul in a round shape like a ball, then divided it into two parts and put one half of it into every body; therefore, when one body encounters another which contains the second part, love arises between the two because of their former union..."⁴ But Plato himself, too, speaks there about spiritual love: "We do not need to

1. See above p. 387.

2. Cf. the translation by A. R. Nykl, Paris 1931, p. 7 ss.; p. 36, and also the Introduction p. CVI s.

3. See A. Loewenthal, *Honein Ibn Ishak, Sinnsprüche der Philosophen*, German translation following the Hebrew translation, Berlin 1896, p. 91, note 3. Arabic text (MS. Or. Brit. Mus. 8691, fol. 78a-b):

المشقة قوة هياها البارى جل ذكره ليكون بها الحيوان ليقدر على دفع تلك القوة لانها حافظة له على شهوة الولاد
لتبقى صورته في العالم اذ ليس في بقاء ماتحت الكون والفساد حيلة وانما صار العاشق يشق احسن الصور لكي
تخرج ثمرته اتم صورة واحسن ثمرة

4. Loewenthal, *loc. cit.*, p. 139.

suppress the reciprocal love of souls, but the love of bodies for bodies."¹ Also the saying of Plato on this subject, which is most famous in Arabic literature, is already found there. Ultimately it is derived from the expression used in the *Phædrus* on love as an insanity bestowed by God (*Phædrus* 244A ; 265A-B) : " I do not know what love is, I know only that it is a divine insanity, not laudable and not reprehensible."² This definition of love is cited repeatedly, by the *Iḫhwān aṣ-ṣafā'* (but curtailed and without Plato's name),³ by Muḥammad b. Abī Sulaimān al-Isfahānī (d. 909) in his book on love, *kitāb az-Zahrah*,⁴ and further by al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/6) in his *Murūj adh-dhahab*.⁵

Very often, however, opinions are attributed to Plato regarding this subject which at best are related to him very remotely, such as a physical theory of love⁶ which is quite foreign to that given in the *Timæus*, and which, with much more justification, is contained amongst the sayings of Hippocrates in the book of Hunain,⁷ or a spiritual one, as reported in the Ṣūfī work on love by ad-Dailamī (end of the Xth cent.): " Plato said : 'God (He is exalted) created the spirits in a multitude like the shape of the ball,⁸ then divided them amongst all creatures and let them dwell in the body of those of his creatures whom he wanted.' The author (God be pleased with him) says : 'Therefore, love, of necessity, tries to draw the one to the other.'⁸ . . . Plato said : 'Love is, in fact, only right, when it refers to God (He is exalted). Each one of the high and low things is moved by desire for its Creator and Mover and for the universal love which belongs to God (He is exalted). All the movement of the spheres is a movement of desire for their first Mover and Creator.'⁹ In the *kitāb*

1. Loewenthal, *loc. cit.*, p. 79. Arabic text (MS. Or. Brit. Mus. 8691, fol. 55a.

وكان افلاطون يقول لا ينبغي ان تمنع معاشقة الانفس (للافس ؟) ولكن معاشقة الاجساد للاجساد
On spiritual love cf. also MS. Or. Brit. Mus. 1561 (see above. p. 400, note 2), fol. 19a:

وقال علة عشق النفس ان يكون في المعشوق من القوة التي يقع بها العشق اكثر مما في العاشق لتكون نفس العاشق
تطلب بما (؟ ما ليس : perhaps) فيها من تلك القوة من نفس المعشوق وتعد لها (؟ سعد لها MS.) فهذه علة
كل عشق حسن او قبيح

2. Cf. Loewenthal, *loc. cit.*, p. 106/7.

3. *Rasā'il iḫwān aṣ-ṣafā'*. Cairo 1347/1928, Vol. 3, p. 261 (Book III, 6th *risālah*).

4. Ed. by A. R. Nykl and Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān, Beirut 1351/1932 (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago : Studies in Ancient Civilisation 6, Chicago 1932), p. 15.

5. Ed. by Barbier de Meynard, Vol. VI, Paris 1871, p. 385.

6. MS. Or. Brit. Mus. 1561 (see above p. 400, note 2).

7. Cf. Loewenthal, *loc. cit.*, p. 130 s. In a shortened form, this definition of love is ascribed to Aristotle by ad-Dailamī and published by R. Walzer, *JRAS*. 1939, p. 408.

8. This seems to be certainly nothing else but a further corruption (combined with Neo-Platonic ideas) of that passage of the *Symposium* which we already found under the name of Ptolemæus.

9. This is clearly Neo-Platonic. MS. Or. Tübingen (Catalogue by Weisweiler No. 81, fol. 43b-44a) :

قال افلاطون ان الله تعالى خلق الارواح حملة كهيشة الكرة ثم قسمها بين الخلائق كلهم واسكن منها في بدن
من شاء من خلقه قال صاحب الكتاب رضي الله عنه فعل هذا يجب ان تكون المحبة انما تجاذب بعضها
الى بعض . . . وقال افلاطون المحبة لا تصح الا لله تعالى على الحقيقة ثم كل شئ من الاشياء العلوية منها والسفلية
تتحركت شوقا الى مبدعها ومحركها والى المحبة الكلية التي هي للحق (الحق) تعالى وان حركات الافلاك
(؟ افلاك MS.) كلها حركة اشتياق الى محركها الاول ومبدعها الاول

aṭ-Ṭibb ar-rūḥānī of Abū Zakariyā' ar-Rāzī, Plato utters yet stranger opinions, when restraining an amorous pupil from his stupidity, a story which is followed by the remark that the Greeks amongst all other peoples of the world knew love least, but, as is well known were therefore most intelligent and sagacious!¹

The remarkable manner in which the Greek Platonic spirit, already in the earliest age of the taking-over of ancient knowledge,² spread its influence, is witnessed by a discussion about the essence of love, held, as reported, in the presence of the *Khalif al-Ma'mūn*. The prize is awarded by the *Khalif* to *Thumamah*, and it is he who most clearly reproduces Greek thoughts, although they are brought forward a little bombastically: "The *Khalif al-Ma'mūn* asked *Yahyā b. Aktham* and *Thumamah b. Ashras* and 'Alī b. 'Ubaydah about the essence of love. 'Alī b. 'Ubaydah declared: 'Love is a serene readiness in the exterior and a reflexion which moves itself in the mind, and a gaiety, the origin of which is in the innermost part. It has a hidden abode and a resting-place, to which only fine and delicate ways lead; it unites itself with the parts of the "powers," and it moves itself in the "movements."' Next, *Yahyā b. Aktham* said: 'Love originates in (spiritual) experiences which come to man, to which he gives free play and to which he grants a preferential position.' Thereupon, *Thumamah* said: 'Yahyā, you are qualified to answer a question concerning divorce, or when it happens that somebody is in the condition of *iḥrām* and is chasing a gazelle. But here, a subject is being treated that concerns us.' Then, *al-Ma'mūn* said to *Thumamah*: 'What, then, is love?' and he answered: 'When the substances of the soul arrive at the description of their reciprocal similarity, they give rise to the splendour of a lightning flash, by which the visual nerves of the intellect will be illuminated and the nature of life will be inflamed. From this lightning, a special fire is born in the soul which unites with its substantiality, and this, then, is called love.'"³

The most important aspects of the knowledge of Plato which can be found in the intellectual life of Islam, may now have been here characterized sufficiently for the purpose of a short survey. A philologist would perhaps regret the lack of opportunity of procuring very much of what might

1. MS. Or. Brit. Mus. add. 25.758 (Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts No. 1530), fol. 52a-b, rendered by T. J. de Boer, in *Mededeelingen d. K. Akad. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Letterkunde* 53, 1920, p. 11, note 7.

2. Interesting information regarding this subject might perhaps have been derived from a writing of al-Kindī "On the Assemblies of Philosophers about the Signs of Love" (title cited in the *Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig 1871/2, p. 259/25 s.) or in the book of his pupil as-Sarakhsī "On Love" (cited by Ibn Abī Uṣaibī'ah, ed. by A. Müller, Königsberg 1892/4, p. 215/17).

3. *Yāqūt, Irshād*, ed. by D. S. Margoliouth, Vol. V, Leyden-London, 1929, p. 280 s., in the life of 'Alī b. 'Ubaydah.

facilitate a better knowledge of the wording of the Greek text of Plato's works. But that is not the only consideration. The Orient has, as far as possible, tried to utilize for itself the thoughts of the Ancients and has considered them a starting-point for its own investigations. In consequence, its scholars may pass for true followers of the educational ideals of Plato whose Socrates "as long as he breathed and had the ability, did not want to cease philosophizing (*Apology*, 29D)."

FRANZ ROSENTHAL.

THE 'BODY VERSUS SOUL' FALLACY AND THE QUR'ĀN

THE pious Muslim is promised untold rewards in the life to come. In Paradise he shall have comforts and joys, many of which he denied himself during his terrestrial existence. There shall be things to eat and drink, to touch and feel, to see and smell, to enjoy and contemplate—in short, luxuries for the mind, for the body and for the spirit, *i.e.*, for the entire organism, man. Says the Qur'ān:—¹

'And give glad tidings (O Muhammad) unto those who believe and do good works ; that theirs are Gardens underneath which rivers flow ; as often as they are regaled with food of the fruit thereof, they say : This is what was given us aforetime ; and it is given to them in resemblance. There for them are pure companions ; there for ever they abide.' (II, 25).

'Lo ! Allah will cause them who believe and do good works to enter Gardens underneath which rivers flow, wherein they will be allowed armlets of gold and pearls, and their raiment therein will be silk. They are guided unto gentle speech ; they are guided unto the path of the Glorious One.' (XII, 23-24).

'A similitude of the Garden which those who keep their duty (to Allah) are promised : Therein are rivers of water unpolluted, and rivers of milk whereof the flavour changeth not, and rivers of wine delicious to the drinkers, and rivers of clear-run honey : therein for them is every kind of fruit, with pardon from their Lord.' (XLVII, 15).

'Gardens of Eden, which the Beneficent hath promised to His slaves in the Unseen. Lo ! His promise is ever sure of fulfilment.—

'They hear there no idle talk, but only Peace.' (XIX, 61-62).

'But those who keep their duty to their Lord, for them are lofty halls with lofty halls above them built (for them), beneath which rivers flow. (It is) a promise of Allah. Allah faileth not His promise.' (XXXIX, 20).

'There they shall have all they desire, and there is more with Us.' (L, 35).

(1) Quotations are from Pickthal's translation.

For evil-doers and the faithless, similarly, there is a Hell in the Hereafter, a Hell in which bodily agony plays a most important part :—

‘ And for those who disbelieve in their Lord there is the doom of hell, a hapless journey’s end !

When they are flung therein they hear its roaring as it boileth up,
As it would burst with rage. Whenever a (fresh) host is flung therein the Wardens thereof ask them : Came there unto you no warner ?

They say : Yea, verily, a warner came unto us : but we denied and said : Allah hath naught revealed ; ye are in naught but a great error.

And they say : Had we been wont to listen or had sense, we had not been among the dwellers in the flames.’ (LXVII, 6-10).

Nowhere does the Qur’ān deny so-called bodily luxuries to the resident of Paradise. ‘ Body ’ divorced from ‘ soul ’ or ‘ mind ’ is against the very spirit of the Qur’ān. The message of God as contained therein is for the entire man, for his whole organism or personality, his whole ‘ Being. ’ The reward should also be for the whole Being. There is no ‘ man ’ apart from the ‘ body ’ and resurrection (*hashr*) is for *man*, not for a bodyless soul or a soulless body. ‘ Soul ’ and ‘ body ’ both of them are abstractions from the concrete reality that is ‘ man. ’ In the Qur’ān there is, therefore, no doctrine of the ‘ Immortality of the Soul ’—the message is that of the Continuity or Immortality of Man.

Man comes to this world as an organism, with a certain ‘ body-mind-spirit ’ content. He comes with a mission because he was created with a purpose. His period of terrestrial existence is just a period of apprenticeship for another, higher and abiding existence that awaits him after death. Says the Qur’ān :—

‘ He it is who has created you from clay, and hath decreed a term for you. A term is fixed with Him. Yet still ye doubt. ’ (VI, 2).

‘ And We have given you (mankind) power in the earth, and appointed for you therein a livelihood. Little give ye thanks. ’ (VII, 10).

‘ Say : The angel of death who hath charge concerning you will gather you, and afterward unto your Lord ye will be returned.

‘ Couldst thou (O Muhammad) but see when the guilty hang their heads before their Lord (on the Judgment Day), (and say) Our Lord ! We have now seen and heard, so send us (to the earth) ; we will do right, now we are sure. ’ (XXXII, 11-12).

Man has to adjust himself to a certain divinely revealed code of Life, *i.e.*, the Law or *shar’* as revealed by the prophets from time to time and as finally promulgated in the Qur’ān. But he can choose between alternative lines of thought and action. Adam and Eve, for instance, are told on their expulsion from the Garden of Eden (their Garden of Innocence) that their and their progeny’s span of life on earth is only limited, but that

they and their progeny shall from time to time be receiving guidance from Allah. Whoso follows that guidance, 'there shall no fear come upon them, neither shall they grieve.' On the other hand, those who reject that divine guidance and persist in their evil ways, there is naught for them but a temporary gain in their earthly life and the agony of hell ever afterward. (Qur'ān, II, 37-39).

Every act of man's, i.e., every deed in which he posits himself as a self or as an active, creative and purposive agent, is scored in his Book of Deeds, and when his allotted span of terrestrial existence reaches its term, Death translates (*intiqāl*) him to another existence—where his Heaven and Hell are found to be the consequence and net result of what he was and what he did in his now-ended period of earthly life.

The whole man had to live his life on earth; hence, the whole man should enjoy or suffer the consequences.

This emphasis on the concrete personality of man in all its fullness and richness, here as well as in the Hereafter, is one of the most important characteristics of the Qur'ān. It is also one of its greatest contributions to man's cultural development. But it is as little understood by the average non-Muslim and the scientific thinker of to-day as it was incomprehensible to the materialist Arab of the pre-Islam day. From the earliest periods of recorded history down to the present day, religions other than Islam have shown an open or sneakish preference for the 'soul'-part of man and an equally open or sneakish contempt for the 'body'-part. The body has been regarded as the fount of all that is evil, perishable, ugly, unspiritual and ungodlike—a veritable contribution of Satan. The soul, on the other hand, is looked upon as God's own contribution to man's personality, a divine spark *imprisoned* in the body for His inscrutable purposes. And the aim of all righteous existence is supposed to be to dissolve this unholy alliance; to free the heavenly prisoner from its gross prison and to enable it to return 'home' for everlasting rest in, or contemplation of, or absorption in, the Divine—a 'home' in which the gross and material prison called the body has no possibility of a share or place. The body being of all earthly things the most earthly, its gravitational pull drags everything down to its own low level and it requires Heaven's own might and resource, as it were, to liberate the imprisoned soul from the gross shell which encases it.

Ancient myth and primitive animistic belief, poetry and philosophy, religion and superstition, the language of the man in the street and that of the philosopher—man's entire cultural heritage, in short, has been saturated with this false distinction between a so-called 'soul' and a so-called 'body' which together make up a terrestrial phenomenon called 'man.' At death, the soul sheds the body like an old coat and flies 'home'—a *soul* but not a '*man*.' And the poor body-coat which has been shed sinks and disintegrates into the elements which composed it. As a body-coat it is unclaimed and unwanted by any (respectable!) being, except possibly by the Devil whom it is alleged to resemble most in its evil and

grossness. The 'God' who is Himself thought of as a 'Soul' and the fount of all other souls is not going to touch it. 'Unto God the things that are God's'—i.e., souls without bodies, 'and unto Cæsar (i.e., Satan, rebel lord and master of the gross world of matter) the things that are his,'—viz., 'matter,' pure and simple, without a spark of the divine in it.

The results of this false distinction between soul and body have been mischievous in the extreme. Religion sacrificed the concrete reality of man and confined itself to the 'soul'-part. Thus it not only stultified and falsified itself but also laid the stigma of 'evil' on all man's materio-cultural development. This materio-cultural development, however, could not be stopped altogether by the dicta of religion. What did take place was that the development was delayed in some cases, was twisted and made abnormal in many others and became 'non-religious' and spiritually outlawed in almost every case. God and Religion (as enunciated by the official exponents) had nothing to do with this materio-cultural development of man and were in fact very often looked upon as hostile to it. The purification which Culture had to receive from true Religion was denied it and mankind was sharply divided into the 'grossly material' and the (shall we say ?) 'grossly spiritual.'

The Qur'ân protests against this fatally false distinction, and by its oft-repeated message of so-called 'bodily' and 'spiritual' rewards and punishments in the life to come, it has emphasized the truth that the 'bodily, mental and spiritual' aspects of man are equally important in his life, equally infused with the divine spark and equally concerned in his ultimate salvation. Man in his concrete fullness is on probation in this period of terrestrial existence, and man in his concrete fullness is to face the consequences of that life in an existence beyond the grave.

The mischief that this false distinction has wrought can be best estimated if we reflect that even to-day when the New Physics appears to have resolved all 'matter' into electric energy (i.e., into mere capacity to perform work), when, in short, body, mind or soul have ceased to be the disparate forms of substance they had for so long been conceived to be, the language of the scientist, the philosopher, the religious devotee and the man in the street still bears trace of the distinction and serves to perpetuate the discredited falsehood.¹

As the Qur'ânic attitude to this time-honoured distinction between 'body' and 'soul-mind' is fundamentally different from that expounded in the scriptures and philosophies of most other faiths, it is not a matter for surprise that the average non-Muslim is, however well-read he may

1. That religious and scientific thought even now has not shaken itself free of this antagonism between 'mind-soul' and 'body' is exemplified by two interesting developments in very recent times: (a) There are the 'spiritualists' who are very busy trying to communicate with (presumably) the emancipated 'souls' on the other side of the grave; (b) And then, if I am not mistaken, is not Bergson's theory of Memory and of the 'interaction' of mind and brain of a similar texture? The 'brain' is regarded as the instrument through which the soul-mind of man has to come in contact with the material world.

be in Muslim lore, ultimately incapable of entering into and appreciating the thought of an ordinary unsophisticated Muslim. Since the latter expects a concrete existence after death, he is described as 'crassly material.' Since the Qur'ān emphasizes the truth of the continued *post-mortem* existence of man in his concrete manifoldness, the Prophet (on whom be peace!) is described as primitive in his ideas about the life Hereafter. The non-Muslim savant, steeped as he very often is, in the 'body vs. soul' fallacy of millenniums, is too painfully often entirely unaware of the stupendous revolution of ideas which the words of the Qur'ān embody in their description of the rewards and punishments of the life beyond the grave. Lest it be said that the Qur'ānic world beyond the grave is a mere replica of what there is on the earthly plane, it may be noted that the Qur'ān warns the Muslim that the after-death comforts and joys of Paradise are not exactly what the words used to describe them might lead one to imagine. What is given in words is only a 'similitude.' But all the same the joys are not the bloodless joys of the ascetic or of the non-Muslim saint and Mahatma to whom the very mention of 'bodily pleasure' is anathema.

Says the Qur'ān :—

'No soul knoweth what is kept hidden from them of Joy, as a reward for what they used to do.' (XXXII, 17).

Bukhārī relates a tradition according to which the Prophet (on whom be peace!) said in explanation of this verse: 'Allah says: I have prepared for my righteous servants what the eye has not seen and no ear has heard and what the heart of man has not conceived.'

The Qur'ānic conception of the ultimate destiny of man and its mode, here and in the Hereafter, will become more clear if we consider the Qur'ānic doctrine and ritual of the fast. The pious Muslim is promised 'rivers of milk' and of 'clear-run honey' and of 'wine which entails no headache' in 'Gardens underneath which rivers flow.' And yet in this life the very mention of 'wine' or invitation to partake of it is to him an abomination. Why? Why are certain comforts and joys permitted to the believing and pious Muslim in the life to come when somewhat similar comforts and joys are denied him during his span of earthly life? Why should the good Muslim deny himself something in this life and at the same time hope, pray and work for similar things in the life to come?

This question can best be answered if we ask ourselves another. Why does the pious Muslim fast (in the month of the Ramaḍān) all the day long and yet look forward to eventide when the call of the Mu'azzin shall permit him to break his fast and to eat and drink the very things which he had been denying himself the livelong day?

The two cases are absolutely parallel. The terrestrial life of the good Muslim is a period of probationary existence in which he has to try by word, thought and deed to improve the organism that he is and with which he came endowed in this world. His organism is his heritage from

Allah but this heritage is not to be wasted by him, not even to be merely returned intact to Allah—it is, on the other hand, to be taken back to Him enriched, ennobled and purified by means of obedience to His commands as they were revealed to him finally by the Apostle of God (on whom be peace!). One of these commands is the command to fast. Purification of the personality as the first step towards a higher existence is the very essence of the fast. Says the Qur'ān:—‘O ye who believe! Fasting is prescribed for you even as it was prescribed for those before you, that ye may ward off (evil).’ (II. 183). The enriched, ennobled and purified personality shall meet its paradise in the life hereafter, just as the personality of wasted heritage shall meet its hell. Enrichment, ennoblement and purification of the personality of man are best achieved if he deny himself every now and then things which it is in his power to achieve and enjoy. This is the self-denial entailed by the fast. The fasting Muslim denies himself food and drink and sexual intercourse not because they are bad in themselves but because he becomes a better, a stronger and a more self-controlled man if he deny himself these things when there is nothing to prevent him from enjoying them except his own will. That they are not bad in themselves he proves when at eventide he releases himself from his vow and permits himself the enjoyment of the good things which Allah has provided for man even in this life.

The terrestrial life of the devout Muslim is, in a way, one long fast in which he tries to improve his personality by making it more disciplined, more full, more self-controlled and better-integrated. Death shall release him from his vow of earthly denials. A rich recompense shall await him because he would then be fit to partake of it.

The difference between the earthly fast and the ultimate Paradise of the Muslim and the earthly fast and the ultimate ‘Paradise’ of the non-Muslim is equally great. For the non-Muslim the fast is invariably, if not an end in itself, at least a very desirable form of self-abnegation. The fast of the pre-Islam days was, for instance, always a form of self-mortification and penance in times of sorrow or misfortune. For a non-Muslim, then, a fast is not a temporary, meaningful, purposeful and *positive* denial of the *good* things of the earth as it is for the Muslim. For the devout non-Muslim the fast is a temporary *escape* from the *evils* of the flesh, a foretaste and similitude of the bloodless and abstract state of being (or non-being!) which is his paradise. The two cases differ fundamentally. The formula is different, the purpose is different, and the hope is different. The Muslim fasts and hopes for a rich *iftār* (break-fast) here and in the Hereafter; the non-Muslim fasts to prepare for a never-ending fast in the Hereafter. The *iftār* of the Muslim is a return to the *good* things of life; the *iftār* of the non-Muslim is a drag-down and a drag-back to the evil and grossness of the body from which a temporary escape was sought. The fast of the Muslim is a period of incubation, of a recharge of the organism or personality with fresh energy to qualify it for a new period of richer action and more intense enjoyment later on;

the fast of the non-Muslim is the attempted emptying of all the channels of physical being, a temporary and experimental emptying in this life and the hope of a complete emptying at and after death.

The Paradise of the Muslim is thus an era of rich and enduring life for which life on earth was the preparation. As the Qur'ān says :

' O ye who believe ! Turn unto Allah in sincere repentance. It may be that your Lord will remit from you your evil deeds and bring you into Gardens underneath which rivers flow, on the day when Allah will abase not the Prophet and those who believe with him. Their light will run before them and on their right hands ; they will say : Our Lord ! Perfect our light for us, and forgive us. Lo ! thou art Able to do all things. (LXVI, 8).¹

The organism as a whole is concerned in this life ; the organism as a whole should, therefore, be concerned in the life to come. *And why not ?* If the organism or personality of man was good enough for him in his earthly life, it or something very much better but still of its ' similitude ' should also be good enough for him when Death translates him to the abiding stage of his journey for which all that had transpired on the earthly plane was a preparation.

K. A. HAMID.

1. Goethe's oft-quoted death-bed cry for ' Light, more Light ' sounds like an echo of the latter part of this verse which embodies the deepest and most spiritual yearning of the human heart.

MUSLIM POTTERY AND OTHER VESSELS OF THE LATE 'ABBASID CALIPHATE IN THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY

DOCUMENTS of early Muhammedan civilization are still very rare in India as museums have hardly started to collect non-Indian objects; and as Islam became a power in this country only six centuries after the Hijra of the Prophet, it is still much easier to study the art of the Umayyad and 'Abbasid caliphate in London, Paris, Berlin, New York, Boston or Chicago than in India with her 75 millions of Muslims. Nevertheless there are at present a few beginnings to redress this want. The Baroda State Museum possesses a small, but excellent set of painted tiles of the 11th/12th Century A.D. from Fustat in Egypt. The earliest example of Arabic pottery de luxe, however, are in the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay. Most of them were discovered by the Parsi scholar, J. M. Unvala during excavations in the ruins of ancient Susa between 1926 and 1929. Susa had long attracted the interest of scholars, since the British Consul, Loftus had in 1849 identified it with the winter capital of the Achæmenid kings of Persia. Since 1883 a French archæological mission has explored the site under the direction of famous scholars, M. Dieulafoy de Morgan (since 1897) and R. de Mecquenem (since 1912). Their researches have made Susa one of the most important centres of human history where, one after the other, the ruins of many cities were discovered: several prehistoric settlements belonging to a civilization nearly related to that of Mohenjo-Daro in Sind; the capital of the ancient kingdom of Elam with its Babylonian culture; the city and the palace of the Achæmenians which saw the prophet Daniel and the Jewish queen Esther, envoys from Greece and finally the marriage of the Macedonian conqueror Alexander with the daughter of the last king of Persia; the Hellenistic Seleucia; Nishapur founded by the Sasanian Shah Shapur I; and finally a Muhammedan provincial town which, after a long decay, was destroyed by the Mongol armies of Chinghiz Khan. It was in the ruins of Arab houses, of a potter's kiln and from the bottom of a contemporary well in the easternmost mound of Susa, the so-called "City of Artisans," that the early Muhammedan finds in the Prince of Wales Museum had been excavated.

A few belong to the 10th and 11th centuries, but most of them to the 9th century A.D. and are, therefore, more or less contemporary with Samarra, the magnificent residence of the 'Abbasid caliphs from 838-883 A.D. whose ruins have been excavated during the last decades by French, German and British scholars and have become the most important archæological evidence for our knowledge of Arabic civilization in its heyday. And it is indeed very fortunate that the Bombay Museum possesses also another, much smaller collection of potsherd fragments from Samarra proper which excellently complements the bigger and better preserved collection of contemporary pottery, glass and bronze work from Susa.

Popular pottery of this time can be easily distinguished by its decoration of impressions made with the thumb or with the nails. But many pieces of the better unglazed ware, decked with delicately cut floral ornaments, still continue the old Babylonian tradition, and it is often difficult and sometimes impossible to say whether they are of Sasanian or of Arab origin. In fact, a similar observation has been made about certain types of painted pottery found at Samarra which scholars would have attributed to the earliest periods of the Ancient East, if the circumstances of their discovery would not, beyond any doubt, make certain their Muhammedan character.

Sasanian tradition is evident also in the so-called Gabri (Guebri) ware. In spite of the conventional trade name connecting it with the fire-worshippers, its grafitto (scratching) technique is characteristic for a numerous class of Islamic pottery fabricated in Persia, especially at Susa, Hamadan, Zenjan, Amol, Rai and Kermanshah, in the 8th-11th centuries A.D. Unfortunately the Bombay Museum possesses no intact pieces but only some fragments with geometrical designs. In other pieces foreign influences are to be felt. The most beautiful of them are a small bowl and a cup, together with several small fragments, of a very fine and thin, almost white ware, decked with very delicate relievo designs, apparently formed with the help of moulds. These designs, sometimes garlands and medallions, but mainly a rich vine creeper ornament, is of purely Byzantine character. Scholars have, therefore, sought the origin of this pottery in Syria, the Arab province which for so many centuries before the coming of Islam had been under Roman sway, and where Byzantine traditions survived until late in the 'Abbasid period. But our fragments had been found in a potter's kiln at Susa and must be of local origin. The only possible explanation of this contradiction is that they were the product of Syrians settled so far to the East; that Syrian and even Greek artisans were working in Iraq has in fact been testified by artisan inscriptions found in 'Abbasid ruins at Samarra, Baghdad, etc. Christians of the heretic sect of the Mandæans were also living not far from Susa, at Hawiza on the Kerkha river; the Bombay Museum possesses two vessels of the 9th century A.D. inscribed with old Mandæan benedictions, from this very place, brought home also by Dr. Unvala.

In spite of its Byzantine character the vine ornament is, however, Oriental. It began to invade Roman art not before the end of the 2nd century A.D., introduced from Syria and Iraq, and became the leading decoration only with the Orientalization of the Empire and the transfer of its capital to Byzantium. Its real origin was in Babylonian civilization, not yet the vine, but a hieratically misunderstood date palm, the "Tree of Life." Under the influence of later mystical movements in that period of religious fermentation which began some time before the appearance of Christianity and ended with the coming of Islam, this "Tree of Life" was identified with the vine, the symbol of spiritual life since the old Greek festivals in honour of Dionysos. To the Christians it became the symbol of the spiritual union in Christ, and thus spread over whole the art of early Mediæval Europe. Reduced to a mere ornament, it appears in the 'Omar Mosque at Jerusalem, in the Umayyad desert castle Mshatta, and, mixing with Sasanian traditions, finally developed into the well-known arabesque.

In this connection we may mention also five glass bottles and a perfume flacon of cut glass on four legs in which, too, the Roman-Byzantine tradition is undeniable. In spite of their fragile material they are very well preserved, and their long concealment in the earth has but contributed to their beauty, adding a sweet iridescent glitter to their surfaces.

A bronze ewer, plain, but comparatively well preserved, which had been unearthed in the mound of the Achæmenian palace, also belongs to the 9th or perhaps early 10th century A.D.

On the other side also the forebodings of Far Eastern influence appear at the same time. In the late 'Abbasid Empire the import of the fine Chinese pottery was its chief medium. In the Bombay Museum there are two almost complete earthenware bowls with the splashed green and cream, *viz.*, green and brown slip so characteristic for the ceramic ware of Samarra. Fr. Sarre in his standard work on the pottery of Samarra (1925) had already pointed out that this type was an imitation of the famous semi-porcelain ware imported from the China of the T'ang Emperors (618-906 A.D.). Fragments of genuine Chinese T'ang pottery have been found at Samarra, and similar fragments of Chinese hardware, white or green-yellow splashed are in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum, from Samarra as well as from Susa. That the green-yellow Arab pottery was copied on this Chinese model, is especially evident in one fragment from Susa on which the Chinese letters, drawn in grand, flourished brush strokes, have been imitated though, no doubt, misunderstood.

When new waves of nomadic tribes from Inner Asia destroyed the Arab-Persian empire of the 'Abbasid caliphs and threw the Near East into a series of political and cultural revolutions, Far Eastern influence became stronger and stronger. Already the Saljuqs brought many new habits and artistic conceptions from non-Muslim Central-Asia, some of Irano-Indian origin, others of Far Eastern. With the Mongols the decisive



From left to right :

1. Perfume Flacon 2. Small glass bottle
3. Pottery Fragment of Samarra type imitating
Chinese Tang porcelain with " inscription "
4. Fragment of green and yellow splashed Chinese hardware
5. Kangura ornament of terra-cotta

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Green and cream splashed bowl of Samarra type



Bowl of Byzantino-Syrian type (slightly enlarged)

By permission of Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

revolution became a fact, which replaced the—already assimilated—Arabo-Byzantine-Sasanian art tradition of the Arabic caliphate by the art of China and of the Central Asian Uigurs. It was in this same time that Chinese influence first reached Europe, contributing to the overthrow of the Byzantine tradition which ended in the Renaissance. The following centuries saw the slow ebbing down of Far Eastern influence and the reassertion of the Islamic art spirit.

A few fragments in the Bombay Museum permit us at least a glimpse into this development. A fragment of a Persian vase, with a vine ornament in moulded relieve under a dark blue and cream glazing, from Qale Madrassa near Malamir, in Persia, is too small to ascertain its date with certainty, but probably belongs to the Saljuq period, the 11th-12th centuries A.D. Another well-preserved terra-cotta moulding, not glazed, is interesting because it shows one of those "Kangura" battlements which, according to modern researches, had once crowned the entrance and the balconies of the Qutb Minar in Delhi. A few other fragments finally lead us to that wall decoration in cut encaustic tiles which had come into fashion under the later Il-Khans, had reached the zenith of its beauty under the great Tamerlan and was introduced into India by the Bahmanis and Moghuls (though isolated used already under the Lodi and Suri sultans); finally to that last Chinese fashion, the white and blue porcelain of the Ming and early Manchu dynasties which was introduced and imitated in the Persia, Turkey and India of the 17th century A.D., and of which the Hyderabad Museum possesses such a splendid collection.

H. GOETZ.

ETHNOLOGY AND ISLAMIC SCIENCES

I. INTRODUCTION

ETHNOLOGY has been described as the "history of people without history." This rather paradoxical definition indicates that the chief interest of ethnological research is concerned with those peoples who have not yet developed themselves, or adopted from others, the use of a script, and hence could not write down their own history, until their discovery by scientific explorers. Thus they preserved their traditions in myths, sagas and conventions only. It is the concern of the ethnologist to reconstruct the cultural history of such "primitive peoples" from these indirect sources of information. Under this heading naturally comes also the ancient cultural history of all the world's peoples now in possession of a written history, before they had invented or learned the regular use of a script.

Ethnology in the case of the Arabs might, thus, roughly speaking, appear to be interested in the *Jāhiliyya* epoch only. The Islamic sciences, on the other hand, are concerned with the Islamic epoch of the Arabs. The same might be stated with regard to the Muslim Negroes of Africa or the pastoral nomades of the now Muslim parts of Central Asia.

From this point of view we might be tempted to consider ethnology as a counterpart, if not as opposed to the Islamic sciences. It might seem at first sight that ethnology has very little to do with the Islamic sciences, apart perhaps, from the inevitable influence of pre-Islamic cultures on Islamic Cultural epochs.¹

This sort of influence, though perhaps more important than it has generally been held to be, is, however, by no means the only connecting link between ethnology and the Islamic sciences.

Modern culture-historic ethnology seeks also a solution of the riddle : Which were the first religious beliefs of mankind ?

1. The principle and two examples of such mutual cultural influence between Islam and (a) pre-Islamic, (b) non-Islamic civilizations have been published by the present author in the *Islamic Culture*, viz. "The Pre-Aryan Civilization of India and the Ethnological Background of Islam," April 1939, and "The Socio-religious Rôle of Islam in the History of India," January 1940.

Direct observation and indirect conclusions from the collected data of religious beliefs among "primitive men," are the means of investigation of this problem.

This attempt cannot but affect the student of Islam and the Quranic scholar, as there are definite theories contained in the teachings of Islam regarding the origin and the first forms of religion.

(a) According to Islam, the natural form of religion is monotheism and every human being is, without any "artificial modification" born a real true Muslim.

(b) Furthermore, we find that, according to Islam, Adam is considered to be a true prophet of God, who brought a divine message to mankind.

These two teachings of Islam imply a theory of the origin of religion very much in conflict with the purely evolutionary conception of the development of culture and civilization. For if the first religion of mankind, and the inborn human attitude towards God were monotheism, as according to Islam they were, we can expect that the most primitive people were believers in one God and hence had a high spiritual conception.

Furthermore, if Adam was the first prophet of God, then we should naturally expect that the most primitive men, who had kept alive the oldest forms of human culture and civilization, had still preserved a high standard of morals and ethics.

The merely evolutionary theories, and with them the natural-historic conception of ethnology, as it flourished at the end of the last century, held quite opposite views. To them, human culture started in an utterly barbaric, almost animal-like state and developed very slowly towards better forms, until it finally reached the status of our own economic, social and religious institutions. According to this theory, the origin of religion was an animistic belief in good, but more often in evil spirits, and the continuous fear that taught humans to seek help from these various spirits, which were supposed to dwell in all animate and inanimate objects. This evolutionary conception derives arguments from the physical, i.e., the zoological side of human life. Here it is undoubtedly a fact that the human body has, in the course of uncounted generations, developed from the more animal-like to the present human forms, just as the ancestors of the higher specialized animals must have been once upon a time very much like the present and less specialized forms on the family-tree of the animal kingdom. Thus, the mammalia (and birds) had ancestors much like the present reptilia and fishes, and these, again, similar to the present mollusca and less developed animals. It was tempting for the evolutionist ethnologist to draw a parallel and to assume that, similarly, human culture has been developed on the same lines as the human body, i.e., from the animal-like to the more and more highly specialized human stages. This theory was the more tempting as it was at the same time flattering to the scientists themselves, who believed their own culture and civilization to

be the "natural crown of creation."

Elaborate theories of this kind and systems of gradual advancement within human cultural evolution have been worked out by a number of ethnologists and anthropologists.¹ They were, often, good observers of details. The American explorer Morgan, and the Swiss theoretical investigator, J. J. Bachofen unquestionably achieved much for the general standard of ethnology. But their theories on the grades of continuously progressing civilization have entirely collapsed during further investigations on the subject. It was especially the vivid and intimate contact of British administrators and ethnologists with "primitive people" that brought home to European scientific circles the fact that the assumption of original barbarity or animal-like savagery among the oldest forms of human civilization, as represented to us by various jungle tribes, did not at all coincide with the real facts. On the contrary, a very *high standard* of religious conceptions, of morals and ethics has been found among the most primitive jungle tribes, especially the Pygmies.

A great step further was made in this direction by the fundamental observations of the British ethnologist, Andrew Lang, who drew attention to the fact that the monotheistic idea was most clearly expressed just among these less civilized, and materially poorest of all jungle tribes, especially the Pygmies; that is, among those who live in the remotest forests or on the loneliest islands and who, therefore, had little or no contact with their more advanced brethren from the coastal, or other regions, open to foreign influences.

2. ORIGINAL MONOTHEISM

THE problem of the Pygmy-tribes of Central Africa, the Straits Settlements and the South Sea, has thus been brought into the lime-light of modern culture-historic interest. The startling reports of Andrew Lang on the original monotheism of these Pygmies and related tribes, belonging, like them, to Primeval Culture, marked a new epoch in ethnological research.

The Viennese ethnologist, Prof. Father W. Schmidt (now working at the Ethnographic Museum of the Vatican) collected all data and reports, referring to the subject.² The result of this undertaking supported Andrew

1. Compare Sir John Lublock, McLennan, Spencer, Bastian, Taylor, Westermarck, Frazer, Levy-Bruhl, Mauss, Durkheim, Van Genep and many others.

2. In a great compilation: *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* on the question of the origin and change of the religious thoughts of mankind. The religion of the "Primeval Culture," the oldest civilization of mankind is in the focus of the author's interest.

Lang's ideas on the broadest basis. Monotheism appears to be really at the very beginning of religious thought. This first and fundamental conception of religion left traces which are by no means scarce among the more sophisticated agricultural and pastoral tribes outside the jungles, though their monotheism seems to have been soon deteriorated owing to the growing tendency among them to associate spirits, or demons, malevolent and benevolent entities of all kinds, with the originally unique God, and finally to raise them to the position of separate godlings. These ideas, later on, re-influenced the originally monotheistic jungle-tribes to a certain extent. Another, and less crude form of deterioration of the original monotheistic conception, was potentially inherent in the idea, according to which the one single Godhead can be found manifest in so many various incarnations or manifestations. These incarnations have later on been worshipped as if they were separate beings. Hence a quasi-polytheism has been developed on an originally monotheistic idea. This process of transforming manifestations, or Avatars, of one God into separate beings can easily be studied in the religious history of Hinduism.

But the point which mostly concerns us in these studies is the fact that *monotheism* is found to have been the *original form of religion*.

This result of culture-historic ethnological investigation coincides with the Islamic conception just as closely as the natural-historic and one-sided evolutionary interpretation of cultural development disagreed with the Islamic point of view of this subject.

3. MYTH OF FIRST ANCESTORS AND THE PROPHET ADAM

IN the course of these investigations a myth has been found characteristically occurring among all the Pygmy—and culturally related tribes. This myth refers to the *first ancestors of mankind*.

The first human father and mother, or sometimes one of them alone, is, in this circle of primeval traditions, always considered to have lived in the nearest proximity to the Creator and also to have been his intimate friend, one who brought down to mankind the moral rules of life. Unmistakably, the Islamic conception will recognize Adam, the first Prophet, in these figures. All the more so, as all these myths agree on one point, i.e., that misery, disease and death on earth were originally unknown and came about owing to disobedience to the orders given by the first ancestor, or pair of ancestors. This is a conception which clearly coincides with the Islamic theory regarding the teachings of the prophets, and among them of the Prophet Adam.

4. MORAL PRINCIPLES OF THE FIRST CULTURES

THESE ethnological investigations, which of course were far more

detailed and complicated than can possibly be described here,¹ led to the study of the moral rules, ethics, and *social conceptions* of the Pygmy tribes and of other representatives of the oldest forms of human civilization.

Here it was found that a sense of justice and harmony characterized the principles of life. Neither ruling classes, nor slaves, neither priestly nor warrior-castes were known. Father and mother, daughter and son were respected and beloved equally. Neither the patriarchal order, with its rule of removing the bride to the husband's clan and place, nor the matriarchal order, enjoining the opposite rule, was practised. But a standard of equality and mutual respect was the right of both, man and woman, father and mother, daughter or son. Hence we do not speak either of a matriarchal or of a patriarchal system, but of a *bilateral* system in the first stages of human civilization. The general standard of ethics then was so high that not even words for stealing, rape or murder, for telling a lie or blackmailing a person were known. The unanimous reports of ethnographic investigators agree on this point, so far as originally and genuinely primeval peoples are concerned, not yet spoiled by their more civilized and advanced brethren.² This attitude in matters social, ethical and moral can easily be recognized as the genuine religious one which, according to the teachings of Islam, has been imparted to humanity in successive revelations, by the various messengers from God, from the very first one, Adam. The Islamic conception here disagrees with the generally prevailing Christian theory. According to the latter, the Pagans, or the people outside Christianity, are considered to be outside of the divine guidance as well. But according to Islamic teachings guidance has been given to all groups and nations of mankind, in all ages, and by a very great number of prophets or messengers from God, beginning with the first one, Adam.

Here again we find the results of modern ethnological investigation in harmony with the Islamic theory regarding the origin and spread of religion which imparted ethical principles to mankind.

5. THE UNITY OF MANKIND

THE direct proof of Islamic theories, through ethnological research into the history of religion and ethical thought, thus appears to be amazingly

1. The present author's book, *General and Indian Ethnology for the Layman*, illustrated, translated into Urdu by Dr. Abid Husain, and published by the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, may satisfy those who are desirous of studying the method and some details of these investigations.

2. Out of the great number of authors who have written on the problems and people connected with the Primeval civilization, the following may be mentioned here : Bachelor, Birkett-Smith, Bogoras, Brown, Blagden, Gusinde, Jochelson, Koppers, Van Overbergh, Rasmussen, Schebesta, and Skeat Trilles.

clear. Still, it is not yet the only point which is of interest to us in this connexion.

The question of the *Unity of Mankind* has occupied a prominent position among the ethnological attempts to survey the cultural history of the non-historic peoples. All the more so, since the monotheistic basis of religion has been proved to have been a common element both in the most primitive forms of human culture and of the youngest and most advanced.

This fact already suggests a common origin of all mankind. But the signal investigations into the manifold connecting links of cultural interrelation between the most remote peoples on earth, have brought forward even more evidence of this kind. We find that, e.g., complicated elements of myths occur in a most strikingly similar configuration among people so far removed from each other as Esquimoos in the Arctic zone, and the Pygmies of Central Africa or the Straits Settlements, the Tierra-dil-Fuego tribes in South America, and the Australian Kurnei and Kulin. Myths and traditions describe God as the Creator, surrounded by so much light and beauty that a human being could not stand the very sight of it. According to them, the first ancestors of mankind were in his presence, living with him, but lost this privilege by disobedience and misbehaviour. Other myths are concerned with the creation of the world. Here an awkward idea occurs among primitive tribes of the remotest parts of the world. They say that the Earth was brought to the surface by a water-bird, which God had ordered to dip into the world's ocean. It is almost impossible that such similar ideas could have been independently created by different tribes and in different parts of the world. It is therefore that we find in these coincidences an indirect proof of the original unity of human thought and civilization, support for the theory that mankind has been created in one part of the world and then spread all over the countries of the globe. Moreover we find that also the same *social* and *economic* forms have been worked out by the most primitive peoples of the various continents in this stage of Primeval Culture. But even the more advanced matriarchal agriculturists and the patriarchal pastoral nomades in very differing parts of the world have each worked out a similar type of civilization. Representatives of all these three different shades of civilization (i.e., the primeval, the matriarchal-agricultural, and the patriarchal-pastoral civilization) have been found in Asia, Africa, North and South America, as well as in the islands of the South Sea.¹

Such world-wide distribution of similar cultural types could not possibly have taken place at an early stage of human civilization, if, as

1. For further details see Schmidt & Koppers: *The Culture Historical Method of Ethnology. A Scientific Approach to the Racial question*, New York, 1940, and also the Urdu translation of the present author's book, *General and Indian Ethnology for the Layman*, where the problem of cultural diffusion is discussed at length and the position of totemistic cultures and their conceptions are analysed. This latter difficult problem has not been touched on in the present study.

some believed it to have been, the origin of humanity would not have been one, but manifold and parallel, in various regions of the globe.

To this evidence, moreover, the observations of *physical anthropology* have still to be added. The various racial, i.e., the bodily types of the human race, are different in superficial details, such as colour of skin, hair and eyes, form of nose, lips, eyelids or structure of the hair. But still, the human body is fundamentally the same among all the nations of the world. The differences found among the racial types, do not prevent, but rather stimulate the tendency to mix by intermarriage.¹

It has been found that entirely different species of animals, such as the horse and the donkey, do pair and reproduce themselves. But the product of such mixed breeds as the mule is incapable of reproduction. Nothing of the kind can be found among the children of human inter-racial mixed marriages. The reverse even holds true. Children of human mixed marriages are usually more vital than both the parents' kinds, thus proving that all human racial types do belong to the same zoological species.

These two fundamental observations furnish us with another scientific proof of one of the fundamental Islamic theories, namely the firm belief in the *unity of mankind*.

6. RACE-MIXTURE

THE analysis of the fundamental oneness of the human race implies the consideration of intermarriage between different nations, or race-mixture.

This point too is of specific interest to the Islamic scholar, as we do find clear pronouncements on the problem of intermarriage in the Holy Quran. The pre-Islamic Arab was a proud sort of aristocratic warrior, who had an endogamous marriage-system, as strict nearly as that of the Kshatriyas of India. The pre-Islamic Arab would not give his daughter in marriage to any man whom he did not consider equal or rather superior in social rank and standing to his own. There was no question of any intermarriage with non-Semitic peoples whatsoever. Islamic teachings on this point, as everybody knows, have entirely changed the outlook and practice of the Arabs, in regard to marriage with other races. A Muslim boy, whether Negro, Persian, Roman, Indian, Greek, Chinese, or Javanese, since the advent of Islam, has been considered a proper match for an Arab girl, just as Muslim girls of these countries have been freely married to the Arab sons of the leading Muslims. Tendencies to re-establish the old Arabic racial prejudices within the world of Islam have occurred from time to time among the Arab aristocracy, especially during the epochs of the Ommayade and at one time also of the Abbaside Khalifat. But these tendencies have been severely and successfully fought by the entire

1. Compare : Huxley-Haddon-Carr=Sounders : *We Europeans*, London, 1939, pp. 228, 231, 232 ; Elliot Smith : *Human History*, London 1930, p. 75, and Franz Boas *Racial Purity in Asia*, New York, May issue 1940, p. 231.

Ijmah as opposed to the teachings and the spirit of Islam. Race-mixture, consequently, has become so much of a characteristic quality in the Ummat of Islam that everywhere the Muslim population can be found to be decidedly more of mixed racial character than the non-Muslim population in the same country. Examples of this kind are abundant. In Egypt, for example, the Christian Copts and the Muslim Egyptians are racially much alike. Each belongs to a more or less mixed race, combining the aristocratic slimness of the ancient Egyptians with the manliness of the Arab and the cheerful vivacity, elegance and excellent proportions of the Sudanese Negro. Still, the traces of racial mixture are undoubtedly stronger marked in the average Muslim Egyptian than in the average Copt. The same observation can be made in Arabia proper. The Christian and Jewish inhabitants of the various Arab countries belong to approximatively the same racial type as do the Muslim Arabs. But every superficial observer will already notice their paler skin and less vigorous outward appearance, as compared to the Muslim part of the population. And it is a fact that the African element, which is strong in the Muslim Arabs, is missing to a very great extent in their Christian and Jewish countrymen.

This country too provides us with a great number of similar instances of this kind. The Muslim population of India is racially far more mixed than the Hindu, Christian or Parsi.

Wherever Islamic culture flourished, we find that a racially mixed population has been created. It might therefore be instructive to consider what archæological and ethnological research has to say to the subject of racial mixture.

7. RACE-MIXTURE AND THE CREATION OF THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS

THE Viennese School of culture-historic ethnology¹ has succeeded in showing that all the great historical city-civilizations have been created by a typically repeated process of cultural mixture. Matriarchal peasants and city-people were mixed with the patriarchal nomades, the pastoral warriors of Central Asia. The mixture was in the beginning marked by hostility. The rich fields and villages, the grain-stores and the advanced cities of the indigenous matriarchal people were invaded and plundered by the nomadic conquerors. Afterwards the latter settled down, adopted a great deal of the native culture and imparted elements of their own to the newly created mixed civilization. This peculiar pre-historic and historic process repeated itself again and again in the valleys of the rivers round the Central Asiatic plateau,—those rivers which descended to the fertile plains from the desert-like steppes, just as the pastoral nomades descended from there, and penetrated to the valleys of the Hoang-Ho and

1. Founded by the Fathers Prof. W. Schmidt and Prof. W. Koppers and further developed by Prof. Baron R. Heine-Geldern and others.

the Yang-Tse Kiang in China, the Ganges and Indus of India, the Tigris, Euphrates and Nile, as well as into the then fertile plains of Asia Minor and Minoan Crete. These were the theatres of similar wars between matriarchal peasants and city-people on the one side, and intruding pastoral nomades, with their patriarchal order of things, on the other. In all these cases a newly constituted and higher developed blend of civilization was produced by the mixture of fundamentally differing cultures. The result was the creation of the ancient Chinese, Indian, Mesopotamian, Egyptian and the Græco-Roman metropolitan centres.

Mixture of cultures does not, of course, necessarily imply mixture of races. But in the above examples, fundamental racial differences could be proved by evidence of ethnological, archæological and other indirect research, such as the comparison of paintings and sculptures with living races. Race-mixture here must have gone side by side with cultural mixture.

Even nowadays the various single elements of the races very much differing from each other, which have been mixed during these cultural amalgamations, can still be traced. India may be taken as an example. In the Punjabi peasant, the Oriental element (akin to the Eastern Mediterranean and Armenoid types) is unmistakably present. Among Kashmiri Brahmins we find proto-nordic traces, and among the Madras Melanide ones. Malid traces are spread all over Southern India and beyond, whereas again in the extreme South-West of Malabar, the *grazile-Indide* type of the Ganges valley and other parts of Upper India still prevails. All these are traces of mixture of very much differing racial types.¹

The unique cultural achievements speak for themselves, which similar mixed races have created all over the broad belt of countries from China and India, across the Middle and Near East, to the Western Mediterranean basin.

Had it been, as some believed, that mixed races produce only a sort of degenerated civilization, the great and long lasting cultures mentioned above could certainly not have been developed, as they were, by these mixed races.

8. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT AND MODERN RACE-MIXTURE

IN spite of all these historic observations, the fact cannot be denied that we do know many cases of racial intermarriage, the children of which face difficulties and involve certain problems. It is generally held that racial-mixture is at the root of these complications. A deeper insight into the matter, however, reveals that here again the Islamic point of view, *i.e.*, the value of toleration and encouragement of racial intermarriage, is being supported by ethnological research.

1. Compare : Dr. B. S. Guha : *An Outline of the Racial Ethnology of India*, Calcutta, 1937.

The children of mixed racial marriages are physically and intellectually never found to be below the average of the parents. Whatever undesirable psychological qualities may have resulted, they are rather the product of prejudice and an uncertain social position resulting in inferiority-complexes, than the consequences of inherited or unavoidable qualities.

A comparative study of equal racial intermixture under equal racial, but different psychological and social circumstances reveals the correctness of this conception and shows here again the Islamic point of view being supported by unprejudiced, scientific analysis of the ethnological problems concerned.

9. THE INDIAN EXAMPLE

THIS country provides us with three modern examples of such race-mixture, very important in this connexion. Zoologically the mixture of racial types is practically the same in all these cases, whereas psychologically and socially the circumstances are different in each. It will be instructive to note that utterly different results are being produced in these cases, although the bodily basis is practically the same. This fact illustrates the superior importance of the psychological factor in race-mixture.

(a) Anglo-Indians, *i.e.*, children of English fathers married to Indian mothers in the patriarchal way. They have inherited, accordingly, name, religion, language and national identity from their father's, and not from the mother's side. Bodily and intellectually the Anglo-Indian represents undoubtedly a high quality and type. But they meet with difficulties in finding an appropriate social and psychological position.

(b) Children of Indian fathers and European mothers, also married in the patriarchal order. They have consequently inherited name, religion, language and national identity from their Indian fathers. Racially belonging to exactly the same mixture, as did the Anglo-Indians, they are socially and psychologically meeting with no difficulties whatsoever, in finding a settled and clear position in their fathers' respective communities. This could not be so, if the difficulties referred to above had been of a natural or racial character. The argument might be raised that the father's inheritance exercises a stronger influence on the children than the mother's. This supposition not true in itself, as many experiments have proved, is also precluded by the instances of marriages between non-Indian Muslim fathers and Indian Muslim mothers, the children of whom do not find any of the difficulties referred to above, and still more by the next following example.

(c) The children of European fathers and those Indian mothers who belonged to the *matriarchal* social order and organization. Here

the children have naturally been brought up in their mother's family, with the mother's name, religion, language and national identity.

Nowadays the time-honoured and in so many points successfully working matriarchal system has been abandoned among nearly all formerly matriarchal castes. But in former days it flourished, especially in Malabar. The Tiyya—or Izhava—community was a prominent example among them. At one time, many *sambhandam-marriages* were contracted between the ladies of this community and Europeans. So much so that Edgar Thurston¹ considered the anthropological, i.e., bodily features of the entire caste, considerably changed, as compared to the pre-European time of Malabar, in fact an example of intense race-mixture between Indian mothers and European fathers. But instead of finding any difficulty in obtaining proper and harmonious positions within the unmixed Indian society, the Tiyyas can even be said to have considerably increased their already high position in matters educational, economic and social, since the epoch of prevailing intermarriage with Europeans on a matriarchal basis. Here we find again that race-mixture in itself is a good thing, and that its perhaps less desirable effects which we can observe in single cases are due to psychological reasons only, such as uncertainty, inferiority or eventual other mental complexes. The children of Tiyya-mothers and European fathers were as happy and successful as those of Muslim Indian mothers and Muslim non-Indian fathers or those of Indian fathers Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, or otherwise and non-Indian mothers, the latter being admitted into the families, communities and religions of their respective husbands.

This fact alone is ample proof of our contention that any undesirable effects of race-mixture which may have been observed, are due only to psychological reasons, which have been created by artificial prejudices against the origin of one of the parents.

The question may be raised here, how the mental effect can be as powerful, as it is in such cases. A superficial study of the results of psycho-analytic research furnishes us with a satisfactory answer. There is an interesting example bearing on the theory in the cultural history of modern India. A good number of Indian Musalmans are of purely Indian extraction. Yet we find in them, more often than not, traces of a different bodily appearance to that of their Hindu relatives. Another example of the strong effect of psychological circumstances on the racial qualities of a community is traceable in the change of bodily appearance among sub-castes within Hindu society, after they have changed their social, occupational or religious position. Formerly non-Brahman communities, which in the course of time have been accepted as Brahmans, or non-Hindu ruling families, after their admission into the Rajput class, are invariably reported to have changed their outward appearance within a few genera-

1. Edgar Thurston and K. Rangachari : *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras, 1909, see the chapter "Tiyya."

tions. Occupational racial types, of course, are to be found in all countries of the world, such as typical peasants, fishermen, shepherds, warriors, intellectual workers and Roman Catholic or Protestant priests, although they all belonged originally to the same nation. This fact has already attracted the interest of students of physical anthropology.

10. THE AMERICAN NEGRO EXAMPLE

THE cultural achievements of the Negro population in America are seldom fully realized. A conglomerate of slaves, deprived of any sort of capital, land or any resources otherwise, they have been forcefully transplanted into a country where they could, not even among themselves, speak their native dialects, and brought up in a foreign religion, Christianity. The various individuals could not even keep up a sort of tribal unity, for they were purposely mixed by the slave-dealers. Even education was not allowed to them in the beginning. It is, under these circumstances, a simply marvellously high standard which the present Negroes of America have reached. They have kindergarten, elementary and high schools and a number of excellent academies and universities of their own, as well as institutions for the study of the fine arts, music and theatre craft. They conduct hospitals, sanatoriums, banking and trading associations and a flourishing press. All these have been built up with their own gradually acquired capital, and are run by their own trained specialists, who, in many cases, have considerably contributed to the world's civilization. The American Negroes thus have unquestionably outwitted their African brothers and to some extent the competition of their white American countrymen, who never suffered from the many and painful restrictions forced upon the coloured people, and who, in addition, had the great advantage of capital and legislation on their side.

These great achievements, when pointed out to a white American, with a view to convince him of the competitive qualities in the coloured Americans, are usually explained as the result of intensive racial mixture between differing Negro races as also between American Negroes and whites. If this is so, (and it probably is, to a great extent), then we find here again a practical proof of the advantages in racial intermarriage, which Islamic teachings recommend, under the condition of similarity in religious outlook, and which unprejudiced ethnological investigation likewise finds physically, as well as culturally successful, provided that there are no deep *Psychological* obstacles to be surmounted.

It is true that the marked inferiority-complexes and other less desirable qualities among some children of Negro and white American intermarriages in the United States of America might be pointed out as proof of the contrary. But a simple comparison of these cases with the happily prospering mixed Negro population of Brazil and other South American countries, especially the independent Negro Republic of Haiti, should convince us of the correctness of our contention.

Haiti is a successfully progressing country, where culture and city-civilization are harmoniously being developed, side by side with a healthy peasant-population. Both cultivators and ruling class are descendants of former Negro slaves, who attained freedom during the Napoleonic wars. Children of them and whites, if brought up as Haitians and in Haiti do not suffer from, or have to face any of the aforementioned difficulties which constitute the Negro-problem of North-America.

A number of similar examples could be gathered from other countries and continents, the discussion of which, however, would carry us too far from our main subject.

All these observations stress the fact that any drawbacks found in intermarriage are caused by merely psychological, *not* inevitable racial factors.

II. SUMMARY

THOUGH we found that Ethnology is concerned with the period of culture-history previous to the invention of a script, that is, with a period which, in the case of the Arabs, belonged to the pre-Islamic *Jahiliyya*, still a number of vital contacts between ethnology and the Islamic sciences have been observed in the course of our short review. These points of contact are the following.

(a) Ethnological investigation into cultural history shows that the first religion of mankind was *monotheistic*, and that the ethical and moral level of the oldest jungle-tribe-civilizations, (though very poor materially), has been an extremely *high* one.

These two facts strengthen, from the ethnological point of view, the Islamic theories both of the origin of religion and of the prophethood of Adam.

(b) Ethnological and physical anthropological observations combined make it almost clear that the fundamental *Unity of Mankind*, which is one of the basic teachings of Islam, must be accepted as a result of modern scientific investigations.

(c) Culture-historic ethnology has detected that the creation of all the great *historical civilizations* in the broad belt of countries between China and India in the East and the Mediterranean Basin in the West, have been created by mixed races as well as by *mixed cultures*. This observation, combined with a number of modern examples, gives scientific ethnological proof of the correctness of the Islamic attitude in support of racial intermarriage and mixture, which is a direct consequence of the Islamic theory of the fundamental Unity of mankind.

Ethnology therefore can be said to be of great concern and vital interest to a student of Islamic theories and Islamic sciences.

BARON OMAR ROLF EHRENFELS.

AURANGZĒB'S SHARE IN THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

THERE is plenty of material available for a picture of the position the Mughal Emperors occupied in the public administration of the country. The official or semi-official chroniclers very often give us the daily programmes of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzēb. For the reign of Aurangzēb, however, we are fortunate in possessing more than a general description of the official time-table of the Emperor. In the *Akhbārāt*—the records of the Mughal Emperor in court—we have preserved for us the actual part he played in the disposal of imperial business. The following account has mainly been pieced together from the information that lies buried in some 5,000 pages of the *Akhbārāt* of his reign.

The first thing that strikes one on perusal of these papers is the fact that Aurangzēb very seldom neglected business. In the thirty-eighth year of his reign, for example, we find that during the ten months for which we possess the *Akhbārāt*, Aurangzēb enjoyed only eleven holidays. For the rest he transacted public business, if not in the open glare of the *Dīwān-i-‘Ām*, in the privacy of the *Ghusl Khānā* or in the still more private *Khilwat Khānā*.

In the Deccan, it seems, the Emperor adopted four different methods of attending to public business.

Ordinarily he sat in the *Dīwān-i-‘Ām-o-Khās* where public business of all types was transacted. For the administration of justice a *Dīwān-i-‘Adālat* used to be held. Then there was the meeting in the *Ghusl Khānā*. Here entry seems to have been regulated by certain standing instructions allowing certain officials of high rank the right of audience. The *Khilwat Khānā* was purely an affair of the moment when the Emperor might call upon those he needed for the discussion of certain important questions engaging his attention at the moment.

It was in the *Dīwān-i-‘Ām-o-Khās* that the Emperor was supposed to attend to all matters of administrative importance. The exigencies of the military affairs in the Deccan seem to have resulted in the amalgamation of the *Dīwān-i-‘Ām* and the *Dīwān-i-Khās* into the assembly, the

Dīwān-i-Khās-o-‘Ām. Admission thereto seems to have been regulated by permits¹ issued by the Emperor's instructions. Some of these permits issued to certain officers seem to have been permanent. But if an officer was absent for some time—unless probably by royal orders—he needed a fresh permit to be able to attend the court again. Almost every *Manṣab-dār* seems to have enjoyed the right of asking for permission, which was almost always granted when he assumed office, was promoted or transferred. Access to the court was refused to those falling under royal displeasure for reasons personal or administrative.

It is well to remember that the *Darbār-i-Khās-o-‘Ām* was neither a public nor a popular assembly. Access thereto was closely regulated. It was rather the King-in-Court transacting State business. Various imperial officials were granted royal audience there and received royal orders concerning matters arising in their departments. Agents of high officials serving outside the capital attended it on behalf of their masters. We know of no non-officials present except when they were brought there by some high officials of the court by royal permission in connection with some State business. Indeed there was no place for any non-officials there, except probably as spectators on festive occasions.

The court had certain officers of its own, probably receiving their orders direct from the Emperor. The *Mīr-i-Tuzāk* stood at their head and seems to have acted as a sort of Master of Ceremonies. The *‘Arz-i-Mukarrar* acted as the Chief Secretary. Under the Imperial News-Writer-in-Chief there was a set of news-writers and a *Dārogha-i-Dāk Chowkī* (Superintendent of Posts) attended the court with a large staff of imperial messengers who could at once be despatched to carry out orders of the Emperor. Besides these, certain personal servants were also there:—the Chief Huntsman, the Superintendent of the Royal Camp, the Superintendent of the Imperial Bodyguard, and the Superintendent of the Guard. They formed the King's retinue, some looking after his safety, others after his comfort.

The business of the day very often began with the reading of the previous day's orders. These were then confirmed and sent to the various departments for proper action. This was followed by the *Dīwān's* or the *Bakhshī's* reading from the official letters, received by them from governors,² district officers,³ commanders of garrison towns,⁴ leaders of expeditions⁵ and Customs officers.⁶ Very seldom were the original letters read. The *Dīwān* or the *Bakhshī* only reported the gist thereof.⁷

1. *Akḥbārāt*, dated 3-2-1703.

2. *Ibid.* dated 8-7-1694.

3. *Ibid.* dated 16-4-1688.

4. *Ibid.* dated 29-4-1699 & 19-1-1700.

5. *Ibid.* dated 24-7-1689.

6. *Ibid.* dated 2-11-1692.

7. *Ibid.* dated 6-1-1689.

As every letter was reported, the Emperor would pass orders thereon. This done, some of the high officers in the court would sometimes read extracts from letters privately received by them from State servants serving outside the capital.¹ Royal orders on these were usually pronounced at once. Sometimes the agents of high officials absent on public duty would present the requests of mofussil officers, usually when these had failed to reach the Emperor through the regular official channels.² Besides, the Imperial News-writers also sometimes read an abstract of the news received from the various parts of the Empire through the local news-writers. The officers present would sometimes put in a good word on behalf of some public servant in whom they were interested. Some of the superintendents serving in the imperial household or holding positions in the court also enjoyed the right of submitting proposals of their own in person.³ Spies and messengers probably when returning from local inquiries had the right of making their reports direct to the Emperor.⁴ The Imperial Superintendent of Artillery also enjoyed direct access to the court.⁵

The imperial orders took various forms. Very often the applicants after narrating their meritorious services requested for various types of favours. The Emperor would either accept or reject the demand outright in part or as a whole particularly when these requests were contained in public despatches sent to the court. Refusal was, however, sometimes softened by the use of a very interesting formula—*Umīdwār Bāshad*—signifying that the applicant might hope to have his ambitions fulfilled sometimes in future. Requests made otherwise than in public documents were usually dealt with by calling for reports from the departmental heads concerned, viz., the *Dīwān*, the *Bakhshī*, or the *Khān-i-Sāmān*.⁶ Sometimes the applicant would be ordered to approach his immediate superiors in the matter. The curiosity of the Emperor or the seriousness of the complaint might sometimes result in the appointment of a commissioner for local inquiry into the matter and report thereon direct to the Emperor. This very often happened in cases where a subordinate official complained that his requests were not being forwarded either by the local news-writer or his immediate superior.

The volume of business thus dealt with by the Emperor was very large. Appointments of all *manṣabdārs*, their promotions, reductions and dismissals, grants of jagirs to them, or apportioning them to various posts, all required the Emperor's orders. Of course the governors, leaders

1. *Akḥbārāt*, dated 1-5-1699 & 18-5-1700.

2. *Ibid.* dated 1-9-1694.

3. Superintendent of Mace-bearers (17-11-1692), Superintendent of stables (17-4-1699), Mir Bakhshi of A'hadis (29-10-1699), Superintendent of the court (28-4-1693).

4. *Akḥbārāt*, dated 5-4-1697.

5. *Ibid.* dated 19-12-1695.

6. *Ibid.* dated 24-5-1685.

of the expeditions, garrison commanders and foudjārs, were entitled to make recommendations with regard to all appointments held under them, except probably those of faujdārs or district officers. This no doubt lightened the burden of the central authority. The governors of the frontier provinces of Kabul and Bengal were allowed greater authority in this matter than their colleagues serving in other provinces. The Emperors, however, never let it be understood that their provincial governors could ever take things for granted and assume imperial sanction. This was secured by now and then rejecting the recommendations made even by the frontier governors. A leader of an expedition was sometimes, as was Jai Singh when sent against the Marathas, vested with exceptional authority to make recommendations to the Emperor with regard to all matters arising out of his conduct of the expedition.

The Emperor not only settled all questions concerning the appointments, postings, and transfers of the manṣabdārs, but we find him very often giving detailed instructions to all officers high and low. It seems that besides the governors, the district officers and garrison commanders communicated directly with the central government.

The subordinate officers of the revenue department, however, seem to have been treated differently. On July 31, 1689, an order was issued that no revenue papers from the provincial officers were to be received direct in the imperial secretariat but were to be sent to the office of the central Dīwān concerned. This order seems to have been followed thereafter, as we have no record of revenue problems being discussed and decided in the open court in the later *Akḥbārāt*. The earlier papers, too, do not contain many references to revenue problems, and it is likely that this order, rather than stopping a growing evil, regularized the existing practices of the imperial court. Of course the requests of the provincial dīwāns were sometimes brought to the notice of the Emperor, as on July 17, 1694, when the demands of the Dīwān Talkukan were read in the open court. Another order passed on May 7, 1703, gives us a further glimpse into the methods of dealing with revenue papers in the court. The Dīwān-i-Kḥalsā and the Dīwān of the Deccan were told that they should send their reports and proposals in sealed covers to the imperial Dīwān, who was asked to forward such extracts therefrom as he thought proper to the Emperor.

Orders were sometimes passed on the reports of the news-writers as well. On April 19, 1696, for example, on learning from the report of Bīdār Bakhsh's army that Prithvi Singh and certain other manṣabdārs were absent from duty, it was ordered that they be considered deserters. Earlier on August 23, 1689 an extract from the report of the news-writer of Hyderabad was read in court reporting that the office of the Bakhshī had become vacant as the existing incumbent had gone home on account of illness. A new appointment was therefore made.

In theory, it seems, all manṣabdārs had the right of having their applications and proposals considered by the Emperor. We find that

manṣabdārs of as low a rank as commanders of 40¹ were appointed by the Emperor, who alone had the right of dealing with them. Naturally this gave them an independent status, though it must have immensely increased the work of the central government. Thus all administrative work was apt to be directed by the Emperor from the centre, and the records of the imperial court contain many instances to prove that no detail was small enough to be ingored by the Emperor if it was somehow or other brought to his notice. Thus on July 23, 1689, a complaint against the Diwān of Hyderabad was presented, whereupon the local news-writer was asked to submit a report. A complaint of the people from Hissar was heard on April 15, 1693 against the local faujdār who, they complained, was exacting forbidden taxes and had imprisoned certain inhabitants of the place. The governor of Delhi was thereupon asked to report. The complaint of a servant against his manṣabdār master, brought to light the fact that the manṣabdār had got together seals of all sorts whereby he was apt to forge documents. On April 19, 1693 he was summoned to the court and was imprisoned. The money-changer in the army complained against their chaudhri whereupon a manṣabdār was asked to investigate the complaint on April 25, 1693. When a case of theft was reported, orders were directly issued to the subadār to assign to the local deputy-faujdar the task of tracing out the thieves. When it was reported on June 25, 1694 that the faujdār of Udgir decided all cases himself, even those involving the use of the canon law, orders were given to the Bakhshī to ask the faujdār not to do so in future. It seems that Pathan creditors were as hard task-masters then as now. On April 24, 1694 it was reported that a Pathan killed his debtor during the course of an altercation on the matter. His servants thereupon killed the Pathan in return. Four Mughals lost their horses in Gwalior where Fadai Khān was serving as a faujdār. On this being brought to the notice of the Emperor, it was ordered that Fadai Khān should pay for their loss. When a governor of Kashmir represented that the climate of Kashmir did not agree with him, on June 11, 1700 orders were given that he be allowed to live in winter at Lahore. On May 28, 1700 the bakhshīs were ordered to sit under a *shamiana*. Officers accused of realizing prohibited taxes or guilty of extortion were complained against to the Emperor, and we find him dealing suitably with different types of complaints. Permits for safe travel were granted on November 12, 1679 and on March 29, 1703 to government servants travelling on administrative business or citizens at large. A dacoity reported on April 14, 1705 brought forth an order to the jāgirdār to investigate the case and punish the offenders according to the advice of the canon law.

The letters presented in the *Ādāb-i-‘Ālāmgīrī* bear further proof of the centralizing tendencies at work. From far off Ajmer, Aurangzēb was directing in detail the movements of troops in Jōdhpūr and Mēwār,

1. *Akhbārāt*, dated 22-11-1692.

suggesting plans of action, receiving reports of the local commanders and always urging them on to action. They do not seem to have enjoyed, in theory at least, any liberty of action, though they managed to disobey imperial orders for one reason or another often enough.

The department of the *Khān-i-Sāmān* made very heavy demands on the Emperor's time. It was the imperial taste that decided most of the questions that rose here concerning either the workshops, buildings, roads, tents, gardens, sport or amusements.

The *Akhbārāt* seems to indicate that Aurangzēb left the Ṣadr alone in the discharge of his duties. The problems raised by the conduct of the qāzīs, muḥtasibs or the muftis do not loom very large in these records of the imperial court. We do find them complaining about the interference of the civil authorities in what they considered their own sphere of action. There is a complaint about extortions against a qāzī.

We have so far been considering the work of the Emperor in the *Dīwān-i-Ām*. Ordinarily the business done in the *Ghusl Khāna* did not radically differ from that done in the *Dīwān-i-Ām*. The *Ghusl Khāna* seems to have been a retired place for doing work where the king allowed only certain highly placed public officials to approach him and take his orders whenever he was not in a mood to transact business in the full court. Sometimes, however, confidential consultation with commanders of expeditions was held here. Admission thereto was regulated by royal permits. Orders seem to have been issued to the usherer as well, informing him of the permissions granted. There was a superintendent of the *Ghusl Khāna* whose duty it was to see that the court etiquette was duly observed. If a manṣabdār was fined for his misbehaviour here, he was not allowed to leave the place until he had paid the fine.

The term *Khilwat Khāna* applied to any place where the Emperor decided to transact business in one of his private apartments. It was an informal meeting to which the Emperor might sometimes call only an officer or a prince or a theologian. Here all ceremony was cast aside. The Emperor would invite his guest to take a seat and, if he found him unwilling to comply, he might even try to persuade him.¹ We find, for example, Aurangzēb asking Dilēr Khān to meet him in *Khilwat*. Ruḥ-ullah Khān and Asad Khān and two princes were also called to meet the Emperor at the same time. While Aurangzēb was travelling in the Deccan, court was discontinued, but orders were given that the *Dīwān*, the *Khān-i-Sāmān*, Ṣadr, and Superintendent of Artillery should attend the Emperor and take his orders.

When Aurangzēb heard cases, the *Dīwān-i-Ām* was then converted into a *Dīwān-i-Maẓālīm*. Unfortunately for us we do not know much about the way in which the cases were either heard or decided. All that the *Akhbārāt* tells us is the bare fact that a *Dīwān-i-Maẓālīm* or *Dīwān-i-Ādālat* was held. Very often we find the Superintendent of the aggrieved

1. *Akhbārāt*, dated 8-2-1700.

presenting a group of persons to the Emperor. Sometimes cases were remanded for local enquiry. Mace-bearers or messengers were sometimes sent along with the aggrieved parties to bring back with them the report of local enquiry. It is difficult to decide what type of cases were heard here as we find an accused entering successfully a *caveat* that the case be not tried by the Emperor but be decided according to the canon law. Probably the Emperor tried cases in equity or heard grievances against the malpractices of his subordinate officials. It is not surprising therefore to find that Aurangzēb did not very often decide cases. On April 13, 1696, for example, orders were given that the 'requests' of twenty-five plaintiffs be presented to the Emperor. Thereafter we do not find more than ten to twelve cases being decided by the Emperor.

All this leads one to believe that under Aurangzēb the work of the government was highly centralized. Whatever authority the provincial governors might have exercised over their district officers, the *faujdārs* very often corresponded direct with the central secretariat and in return received imperial orders direct. The leaders of expeditions and sometimes even subordinate officials serving in an army were similarly honoured by royal confidence. Officers serving under the *Khān-i-Sāmān*s were in a peculiar degree royal servants and were naturally in receipt of imperial instructions. It is true, very often requests for favours from subordinate officials were referred to the departmental heads for report or to local officials, yet administrative directions were almost always given to all those who asked for them. Now and then all this increased the volume of business enormously when some sort of decentralization was attempted by investing the *Dīwān* and the *Bakhshī* with the power to forward the cases arising in their departments with their own suggestions. Aurangzēb never presumed to act as the fountain of justice, though he was always ready to listen to any complaints against his officials and redress them.

SRI RAM SHARMA.

A NOTE ON THE RUINS OF MASJIDKUR AND AMADI

IN the beginning of the 15th century of the Christian era when independent Pathan kings were reigning in Bengal, a large number of adventurous noblemen belonging to the Pathan dynasty came out, with men and money, to conquer or reclaim the land, erect mosques and preach the Muhammadan faith in the Southern Parts of Bengal, which were at that time more or less merged in the deep forests of the Sunderbans. The most prominent of these adventurers were twelve Fakirs or *Auliās* who seem to have settled for the first time at a place named *Bāra bazār* (market of twelve men), ten miles to the north of the modern town of Jessore. Of these twelve the most powerful chief was Khān Jahan 'Alī, commonly called Khānja 'Alī, who has left us many marks of his philanthropic heart and religious bent of mind in the remains of his monumental mosques and buildings and extensive fresh water reservoirs in the districts of Khulna and Jessore, and specially in the Bagerhat subdivision of the Khulna District, Bengal. From an inscription on his tomb at Bagerhat we know that his name was Ulugh Khān Jahān, and as he considered himself a *Viceroy* (or *Khalifa*) of Nāsir-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Bengal, he named the province he selected for himself Khalifatābād. He was a helper of the Muhammadans and defender of the faith, a holy man and a staunch warrior who in the reign of Nāsir-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, the twelfth of the independent Kings of Bengal (1442-1459), was one of the pioneers in the redemption of the Sunderbans, and became afterwards the Governor of this part of the country. The date given in an inscription at Dacca where, as it has been pointed out by Professor Blochmann, he erected the entrance to a mosque, is 1457, and according to his epitaph at Bagerhat he died on the 26th Dh'il Hījjah in 863 A.H., the 23rd October, 1459 A.D. The legends that are current about him say that he was sent out by the Emperor of Delhi to conquer this distant part of the Empire, where he worked great miracles and achieved wonderful deeds.

The eleven other *Auli'yās* or Fakirs who were afterwards turned into *Pīrs*, or Muhammadan saints, were his followers and established themselves in various parts of the country. Two of them, Gharīb Shāh and Bahrām Shāh, as related by a legend, were sent ahead when Khān Jahān

was marching southwards to the Sunderbans, to prepare his food at a place which is now called Jessore, and they remained there. Their tombs are marked by edifices which are resorted to for purposes of worship and offerings not only by all classes of Muhammadans but also by Hindus. Pīr Mihr-ud-Dīn halted at a place which is now called after him Miharpūr on the Kabaduk river. Two others, Būrah Khān and Fatih Khān, father and son, progressed further southwards and established themselves at Amadi, another village on the river, at a distance of 7 miles from Chandkhali in the Khulna subdivision.

Khān Jahān 'Alī reclaimed a considerable part of the Sunderbans and set up his *Havaili* or principal residence near Bagerhat, where he built the famous *Sāthgumbaz* mosque (a corruption of Satattar-Gumbaz), with 77 domes standing on 60 stone pillars. Besides this, he erected for each of his companions (such as Ikhtiyār Khān, Bakhtiyār Khān, 'Ālam Khān, Sa'adat Khān, Aḥmad Khān, Daryā Khān, Shēr Khān etc.), a mosque of three, five or nine domes possibly according to his rank and provided each with a tank adjoining the mosque. The remains of many of these mosques and tanks are still to be seen at Bagerhat. He did not forget his noted boon-companion Būrah Khān at Amadi, whose name is not known, but to distinguish him from his young son Fatih Khān, he was called Būrah or old Khān. His principal seat was at Amadi but traces of his temporary *āstānās* can still be noted at Bagerhat and in the Dhamghāt.

With the resources at the command of Khān Jahān, he built for Būrah Khān a fine nine-domed mosque near his residence on the Kabaduk river. Long after the death of the two Khāns, the masjid, then within the boundary of the village of Amadi, was engulfed by the extending forests of the Sunderbans and so when the pioneers of cultivation in this part were clearing jungle here, they discovered this old Masjid or Mosque and named the place Masjidkur or "the Excavation of a Mosque." This mosque seems to have been built by the architects who built the great *Sāthgumbaz*. The mode of architecture, the arrangement of domes and the stone pillars are just after the fashion of all the mosques at Bagerhat. They all show the peculiar style of Pathan architecture of pointed arches, massive walls not less than 6 ft. in thickness and domes built up of concentric rings of bricks.

The mosque at Masjidkur is one of the best specimens of Bengal mosques. It is with three bays like Bābā Adam's mosque at Bīkrāmpūr or Jalāl-ud-Dīn's mosque at Sātgaon. The dimensions of the interior of the Masjidkur mosque are 40' × 40' and the thickness of each wall is about 7 ft. There are three doors on each side except on the west, where the blocked-up wall presents three prayer niches. The middle door on each side is larger than the other two. The roof of nine domes is supported inside by four stone pillars, "one at each of the four depending cusps of the arches of the domes." Like *Sāthgumbaz* this mosque has four towers or minarets at the four corners, but unlike the two front towers of the *Sāthgumbaz* they do not possess any stairs to the top. The inside walls

are ornamented at several places with beautiful little circles traced on the face of the brick "which," as Mr. *Sunders* suggests, "are evidently significant and apparently represent the arms of the reigning monarch of Bengal, *Maḥmūd Shāh*, as the coins struck by this sovereign bear similar circles on them." The mosque at the time of its erection seemed to have had ditches on three sides and the river on the other. The ditch on the southern side may still be clearly traced.

The mosque is still used by the people of the neighbourhood as a place of prayer and worship and on all great festival and ceremonial days of the *Muhammadans*, a large concourse assembles in this famous building. But it is rather a pathetic sight to see that the top and the northern and western sides of the mosque are now overgrown with dense jungle which has obstructed the view of the building from the picturesque bend of the river there. The bricks of the arches of the doorways have been broken down or carried away and the domes have been injured.

At about half a mile to the south from the mosque is the present village of *Amadi*, where *Būrah Khān* and *Fatīḥ Khān* set up their residence and *Kachairi*, the remains of the houses of the saints, are still marked by a heap of bricks.

There are two or three tanks within the limits of the ditches, and still further south there is a very large tank called *Kalika Dīgī* having its length north and south after the *Hindū* fashion. This tank is said to have been excavated by a *Hindū* named *Indra Narayan Roy Choudhuri*, some traces and remains of whose residence can now be discovered in the compounds of *Babū Kailash Chandra Ghosh* of the village. The tombs of *Būrah* and *Fatīḥ Khāns* which were still intact some 25 years ago have now fallen down into the river. But the place is still resorted to by the *Muhammadan* population of hundreds of villages, who mark the spot and leave their offerings at the feet of some trees which have thus been sanctified.

HIDAYET HOSAIN.

NUMERICAL COMPOUNDS IN PERSIAN

سه

سه *sih*, three. Same as سه دوح q. v. Also see پنج infra.

سه اسبه *sihaspa*, of three horses. One who makes haste in his works ; swift, expeditious ; so called because when one wants to go to a place rapidly, he takes three horses with him so that when one is tired, the other may be used and then the third. Kamāl Ismā'il says (ARaj.) :—

به گوش جود تو ناگه حدیث آن نرسید سه اسبه خامه تو تاختن بر آن آورد

سه اسبه پوئیدن *asba pū'idan*, to run on three horses. To go hurriedly.

(See سه اسبه). Āmulī says (Bahār) :—

در فراقت سه اسبه می پویم به چراغ دلت همی جویم

سه اسبه پوئیدن *asba tākhtan*, Same as سه اسبه تاختن . Also see سه اسبه .

سه انگشت *angusht*, three fingers. A three-pronged fork for turning corn.

سه ایوان دماغ *aywān-i dimāgh*, three chambers of the brain. The seats of reflection, imagination and memory.

سه برگه *barga*, three-petalled. A flower : trefoil. See چار چار زدن .

سه به سه نشستن *bi sih nishastan*, to sit three by three. To sit close (?) Kamāl Ismā'il says (ibid.) :—

خیز جانا و بیاتا سه به سه بنشینیم که نباشند حریفان ز بلای خالی

سه

— *bu'd* (— بعد عالم — *bu'd-i 'ālam*, three dimensions of the world). Length, breadth and thickness (depth). Badr Chāch says :—

شش جهت و سه بعد را چون تو نه زاد يك خلف
تا كه به زیر نه پدر جنبش چار مادر است

— *bandī*, tri-bound. (1) A soldier employed in collecting revenue. (2) An establishment of peons etc. سه بندی has been divided into two kinds :—

(1) مدام سه بندی *mudām sih bandī*, permanent office. A fixed establishment.

(2) هنگامه سه بندی *hangāma sih bandī*, office for the time being. A temporary establishment.

— *pāya* (also پائی — *pā'ī*), a tripod. A high three-legged stool, used in mosques when lighting the lamps. Kamāl Ismā'il has (Bahār) :—

هر کو خلاف رای تو نه پایه بر شده است امروز بر سه پایه رود بهر اعتذار
پایه هوای — *pāya-i hawā'ī*, the airy tripod. The constellation called the Eagle (نسر).

— *par* (also پرك *parak*, or پره *para*), three-feathered. Lines which gamblers draw on the ground for playing ; also in vogue in India. Lines drawn upon the sand for playing at dice.

سه فرزند *q.v.* Also see نه شوهر — *pisar*, three sons.

— *tār*, (also تا *tā*, or تاره *tāra*), three stringed. (1) A tambourine (guitar) of three wires. Mawlawī-i Ma'nawī says (Jah.) :—

این دل هم چو چنگ را مست خراب دیک را زخمه به کف گرفته ام هم چو ستارش می ز نم
(2) Three cups of wine, drunk in the morning, to clear the stomach. Nizārī says (Rsh.) :—

محبانه دعائی کرد خواهم . حکیمانه سه تائی¹ خورد خواهم

1. Bahār reads the couplet thus

محبانه دوائی کرد خواهم حکیمانه سه تا سه خورد خواهم

سه

(3) The third game at *نرد*, played with three dice.

jāda, three roads. (1) Length, breadth and thickness. (2) Truth, the Law and religious rites.

jān, three souls. According to the philosophers there are in the body of man three different kinds of souls:—

(a) *روح حیوانی* the animal soul, (b) *روح طبیعی* the natural soul, (c) *روح انسانی* the mental or psychical soul. It is believed that (a) lies in the heart; (b) in the liver, and (c) in the brain. *Khāqānī* has:—

هست هر سه چار خوان هشت خلد من سه جان بر چار خوان خواهم فشانم

khutanī, three *khutanīs*. The fingers. *Badr Chāch*:—

سه ختنی شب روند آئینها در قفا سیم طلب در میان زنگی زرین قبا

khutanī-i māh liqā, three moon-faced *khutanīs*. (Finger) nails. *Badr Chāch* says:—

در بر بحر کف تو زنگی زرد جامه را سه ختنی مه لقا جانب روم رهبر است

khwāharān, three sisters. Three stars in the Great Bear. *Badr Chāch*:—

دوش چو شاهد حبش آئنه در دهان گرفت مطربه پنج شویه را مهر سه خواهران گرفت

khwān, trinitarian. A Christian (believing in the Trinity). *Khāqānī* says:—

به يك لفظ سه خوان را از چه شك به صحرای یقین آرم هانا

dāmanī, the three-skirted one. A sort of cloak, with long loopholes (چاك), two in front and one behind, worn specially by dancers.

dukhtar, three daughters. Same as *سه خواهر* q. v.

darak, three napkins. Lines drawn upon the sand for playing at games of hazard.

dūrī, three distances. Same as *سه بعد* q. v.

dayr, three cupola. An oratory of three domes built for *Bahrām Gūr* by *Nu'mān*, son of *Munzir*, king of the Arabian state of

سه

Hīra. The Arabs knew it as Sadīr (سدير), and their poets, both of the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods mention it proverbially as a castle (قصر) of very great magnificance and typically Persian.

رنگ - - rang, tri-coloured. A kind of silk.

چار بسیط - - rūh, three souls. Minerals, vegetables and animals. See

رود - - rūd, three strings (of a musical instrument). (1) A three-stringed guitar. Sometimes the three instruments: (2) Harp, rebeck, and lute. (3) A star.

شاخ - - shākh, three branches. Minerals, vegetables, and animals.

تفل - - tīfl, three boys. Same as سه روح. Badr Chāch says:—

ز پشت نه پدر و چار مادر و سه طفل نه زاد چون تو جوان در کنار عالم پیر

ظلمات - - ḡulmāt (also ظلمت ḡulmat), three darknesses: (1) of father's loin, the mother's stomach, and the womb. (2) The three darknesses which Patriarch Jonah had to face, namely, darkness of the night, darkness of the river, and the darkness inside the belly of the Fish. In the Jewish tradition Jonah is an important personality. The Book of Jonah is attributed to him. He preached at Ninevah. The Qur'ān regards him as an apostle (XXXVII, 139—147), while the Biblical and later Muslim traditions tell of his having been once devoured by a huge fish, which only released him after a week or so. There was certainly darkness inside the belly of the fish.

علم - - 'ilm, three sciences. The sciences of Theology, Mathematics, and Natural Philosophy. Khāqānī says:—

تمازی کز سه علم آرد فلاطون پیره زن بینی

که یکدم چار رکعت کرد حاصل شد دو چندانش

غرفه - - ḡhurfa, three chambers (also غرۃ دماغ—ḡhurfa-i dimāgh, or مغز maghḡz, three chambers of brain), i.e., of reflexion, imagination, and memory. See دو حجرۃ خواب.

فرزند - - farzand, three children. Same as سه روح.

فرزند اخشیجان - - farzand-i akhshijān, three sons of the elements. Same as سه روح.

سه

قبله - - *qibla*, three *qiblas*. The *qiblas* of the Muslims, the Christians, and the Jews. Gh. says that the commentator (?) of *Khāqānī* explains it as signifying the Holy Sanctuary of Baytu'l Maqdas, the Ka'ba at Mecca, and the *Qibla* of the Cherubims (کروبیان).

قرقف - - *qarqaf*, three wines. (1) Names of three religious books of the Christians, each book being called a قرقف. *Khāqānī* :—

سه اقنوم و سه قرقف را به برهان بگویم مختصر شرح مصفا

(2) Three kinds of wine, (a) شراب طه‌ود *Sharāb-i Tahūr*, a purifying draught of the fountain of Paradise, (b) شراب زنجبیل *Sharāb-i Zanjabīl*, wine of ginger, especially one which the Muslims believe to be in Heaven ; and (c) شراب سلسبیل *Sharāb-i Salsabīl*, that drawn from the *Salsabīl* fountain in Paradise, a sort of honey. All these three are based on the Muslim belief derived from the Qur'ān, LXXVI, 21, 17, and 18 respectively, though all the three seem scarcely any thing like wine, in fact nothing more than clear, sparkling water.

کوهک - - *kūhak*, three hillocks. A triangular thorny plant, a twig. Caltrop, a dried three-pointed thorn, sometimes made of iron. It is of two kinds, big and small, cast in the way of the enemy and in the vicinity of the forts as a means of deterrent torture for the enemy. The iron implement draws its name from the (form of the) actual خارخسک *khār-i khasak*, which is scientifically known as *Trubulus Lanuginosus*, or *Ruellia Longifolia*, a triangular prickly herb. (2) A small rod.

گانه - - *gāna*, the three-folded one. (1) Three cups of wine drunk in the morning. Nizārī says (Bahār) :—

غلام همت آنم که چون نزاری مست پس دوگانه واجب سه گانه برگیرد

Also see چار گامه (2) A cup for drinking (wine, etc.).

گه - - *gāh*, three times. The third note in music, which is one of the tunes of the Hijaz.

گل - - *gul*, three flowers. A mulberry. Its fruit when ripe becomes red, and it is a constipative. The fruit is, in Persian, called توت سه گل *Tūt-i sih gul*, and sometimes توت حبشی *Tūt-i Habashī*, and توت وحشی *Tūt-i Wahshī*. In Arabic it is called توت العلیق *Tūtu'l 'Ulayq*.

سه

گنبدان - - *gunbadān*, three domes. (1) Name of a quarter in the city of Sārī in Mazindran. In each one of the domes one of the sons of Farīdūn, Iraj, Salm, and Tūr has been buried. (2) The fort of Sangawān (سنگوان), in Shīrāz, called Supaydān (سپیدان). It consists of three fortresses, said to be built by Jamshīd; the fortress of Istakhr (Persepolis), Shikasta, and Sangwān. It has on its back a hundred and forty pillars and a palace one hundred and sixty yards long. It was burnt and destroyed by the Greeks at the time of Alexander's invasion. Its reminiscences are now called چهل ستون (Forty Pillars), also تخت جمشید (the throne of Jamshīd).

کوشه - - *gūsha*, triangle. A thistle, a caltrop.

گوهر - - *gawhar*, three pearls. Same as سه روح q. v.

ماه - - *māh*, three months (moons). The three mathematical dimensions, length, breadth and thickness (depth).

مرتبه - - *martaba*, three stages. (1) Childhood, youth and old age. (2) Low class, middle class and upper class people.

ناتج - - *natā'ij*, three offsprings. Same as سه روح q. v. Khāqānī

زان سه نتائج که زاد بود عرض آدمیست لیک پس هر سه یافت آدمی این کاربار

نوبت - - *nawbat*, three periods. (1) Childhood, manhood, and old age. (2) Prayer at dawn, sunrise, and noon. (3) The three times a day that music was played before the royal palace (a practice established by Alexander and increased to five by Sultan Sanjar). Khāqānī says :—

هفت فلک به خدمتش یک دل و تا ابد زده چار ملک سه نوبتش در دو سرای ایزدی

چار نفس - - *naw'*, three species. Minerals, vegetables, and animals. See

وقت - - *waqt*, three times of the day, viz., the morning, the evening and the night. Three periods of life : Childhood, youth and old age. See دو سرای.

ولد - - *walad*. Same as سه روح q. v. Badr Chāch says :—

نه پدر از چار مادر عصر در کنار حدوث سه ولد است

چار

چار *chār*, four. The four elements. *Khāqānī* :—

دغا در سه و چار بینی نه دریک من و نفس یک کز دغامی گریزد

Also see پنج .

چار آئین *chār ā'in*, four canons. (1) A quadrangular tent. (2) The four Caliphs, successors, companions of the Prophet Muḥammad, viz., Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī. (3) The four principal sects of the Sunnī Muslims, viz., the Ḥanafī (حنفی), the Shāfi'ī (شافعی), Mālikī (مالکی), and the Ḥanbalī (حنبل).

آئنه - - *ā'ina*, four mirrors. A kind of armour, made of four iron-plates, which the warrior puts on round his chest and back.

Also see هفت جوش .

ابرو - - *abrū*, four brows. (1) A kind of *darwīsh* who shaves his eyebrows and whiskers. (2) A young mistress. Ṣā'ib (Bahār) :—

بلاست عاشقی نوخطان چار ابرو ز چار موجّه دریا نجات ممکن نیست

اجساد - - *ajsād*, four bodies. The four elements : fire, air, water, and earth. *Khāqānī* says :—

این چهار اجساد کان کائنات بر مراد کن فکان خواهم فشاند

آخُر - - *ākḥur*, four reservoirs. (1) The four elements. (2) Name of four stars in the Great Bear.

آخر سنگین - - *ākḥur-i sangīn*, (also آخورد *ākḥwur*), four heavy reservoirs. (1) The four elements. *Khāqānī* says :—

در بند چار آخر سنگین چه مانده در زیر هفت آئنه خود بین چه مانده

(2) The quarters of the world.

اردکان - - *arkān*, four pillars. (1) The four elements. *Khāqānī* says :—

هشت خلد و هفت چرخ و شش جهات و پنج حس

چار اردکان و سه ارواح و دو کون از یک خدا

Also see دوسرای . (2) The four points of the Compass. (3) A quadrangular tent, in Iraq called *Shirwānī* (شروانی). (4) The four quarters of the world. (5) The four companions of the Prophet. See چار آئین (2).

چار

ازدها - - *azdahā*, four dragons. The four elements. *Zahīr* of *Fāryāb* has :—

این آدمی که زنده ارکانش می‌نهند پیوسته در کشاکش این چار اردهاست

asbāb, four elements. (1) Four powers or faculties : of attraction, retention, elasticity, and repulsion. (2) The four elements. (3) The four causes (علل اربعه), viz., material cause (علت مادی) or the matter of which the thing is made ; efficient cause (علت فاعلی),—as the maker, if it is the work of man ; formal cause (علت صوری) i.e., that form in which its essence consists ; final cause (علت غائی) or purpose for which a thing is made. See چار نفس.

ustād, four masters. (1) The four elements. (2) The four companions of the Prophet. See چار آئین (2).

aṣl, four origins. The four elements. See چار اجساد. *Khāqānī* says :—

يك دو شد از سه حرفش چار اصل و پنج شعبه شش روز هفت اختر نه قصر هشت منظر

q. v. چار ارکان - - *iqrān*, four ropes, peers. Same as اقران

amīn, four trustees. (1) The first four Caliphs of the Prophet Muḥammad. See چار آئین. *Khāqānī* says :—

داده قرار هفت زمین را به بادگشت کرده خبر چهار امین را ز ما جرا

(2) The four doctors of the Sunnī law in Islam, viz., Abū Ḥanīfa, *Shāfi'ī*, Mālik, and Ḥanbal. (3) The four elements.

bād, four winds blowing from the four quarters : صبا (*Ṣabā*), دبور (*Dubūr*), شمال (*Shimāl*), and جنوب (*Janūb*), that blowing from the east, the west, the north and the south respectively.

bāgh, four gardens. (1) A temple. (2) A celebrated royal garden in the environs of Isfahān. (3) A garden in the suburb of Delhi, built by Jumlatu'l Mulk, I'timādu'd Dawla. *Sā'ib* says :—

صبا آسابه گرد سر بگردم چار باغش را به هر شاخی که بنشیند دل من آشیان سازم

(*Bahār*, however, reads نسیم for صبا and شاخ for باغ. It may be a case of mere misreading or a misprinting in the second case).

چار

باف - - *bāf*, woven four times. A kind of rich silk.

بانگ - - *bāng*, four clamours. Sensible, intelligent, quick, alert.

برگ - - *barg*, four leaves. A flower.

بسیط - - *basīṭ*, four expanses. The four elements. See چاراجساد.

Khāqānī says :—

امر تو نطفه افگند هر سه روح تا کند هفت محیط دایگی چار بسیط مادری

بند - - *band*, four chains. The world. Nizāmī (ARaj.) :—

برون جست از گنبد چار بند فرس داند بر هفت چرخ بلند

بندی - - *bandī*, four-fettered. A wallet, the world.

بخی - - *bīkh*, four roots. (1) The roots of four plants, namely, دازیانه (*Rāziyāna*), *Pimpinella anisum*, fennel ; کاسنی (*Kāsnī*), *Cichorium endivia*, endive ; کبر (*Kabar*), *Capparis*, capers, کرفس (*Karafs*), probably the same thing as اجمود (*Ajmūd*), *Apium involucratum*, parsley. All these roots are used as medicine and practically have medicinal qualities very closely resembling each other. (2) The four elements.

بخی - - *bīkh-i hayāt*. Same as چار بخی (2) q. v. Khāqānī :—

دو شاخ گیسوی او چون چهار بخی حیات به هر کجا که اثر کرد اخراج المرعا

بیستی - - *bīstī*, four twenties. A rank.

پا - - *pā*, (also پایه *pāya*), four feet. (1) A quadruped, or a four legged animal. (2) A musical instrument : a stick, which the dancers strike against something and at the note of which they dance, castanets.

پاره - - *parā*, four pieces. (1) A kind of dance ; a pair of castanets. The author of *Waṣṣāf* has (ARaj.) :—

زاغ به شاخسار بر زنگی چار پاره زن

(2) The patch of a shoe, the patched quarters of a shoe.

پای بند - - *pāy band*, four fetters. The four elements, that together make the constitution of man. Sanā'ī says (ARaj.) :—

با چنین چار پای بندی بود سوی هفت آسمان شدن دشوار

چار

پایک - - *pāyak*, four little feet. (1) A disease. (2) An animal, known in Arabic as *qamqām* (قمقام), small ticks, sheep-lice.

چارپا - - *pāya*, see پایه .

چوبه بی - - *pakh*, four sides. A tent, in India called *bīchūba* (بی چوبه).

پهلو - - *pahlū*, four sides. (1) A kind of fine fig. (2) Fat, gross, corpulent. Much, abundant, such as خواب چار پهلو *khwāb-i chār pahlū*, a long sleep.

پهلو شدن - - *pahlū shudan*, to become 'four sides.' (1) To eat too much, to guzzle, gormandise. *Shams Fakhri* says (*Bahār*):—

به خوان نعمت تو از چهار پهلو شد ز بسکه خورد مربی و قلیه و کولاج

Ibn Yamīn (*Bahār*):—

آز را کز بدو فطرت جوع کلبی همدم است چار پهلو شد شکم از سفره بغای تو

خواب چار as applied to شکم signifies a full stomach; applied to خواب it is deep sleep when the sleeper is totally unaware of himself and surroundings. (2) To lie supine.

چار پهلو شدن - - *pahlū kardan*, to make four sides. Transitive of چار پهلو کردن q. v. *Ṣā'ib* says:—

زود در گل می نشیند کشتی سنگین رکاب چار پهلوی کنی تن را ز آب و نان چرا

تار - - *tā*, (also *tār*, or تاره *tāra*), four strings. (1) A four-stringed lute. *Salmān* says (*Rsh.*):—

طبع گیتی راست شد در عهد تو ز انسان که باز نشنود صورت مخالف هیچ زین چارتا

(2) A drum. (3) The four elements. (4) The world.

تارک - - *tark*, four sashes. A quadrangular turban.

تکبیر زدن - - *takbīr zadan*, to repeat four *takbīrs*. (1) To desert or abandon the world or anything as if dead: a mode of expression borrowed from the four *takbīrs*, or praising of the name of God, which are repeated by way of burial service over the dead. *Hāfiz* says:—

من هان دم که وضو ساختم از چشمه عشق چار تکبیر زدم یک سره بر هرچه که هست

and *Ṣā'ib* (*Bahār*):—

هر دم از ماتم برگی نتوان آه کشید چار تکبیر برین نخل خزان دیده زدم

چار

(2) To repeat the burial service.

کردن - تکبیر کردن - *takbīr kardan*. Same as چار تکبیر زدن q.v. Anwarī says :—

دغبتش دغم کان و دریا دا چار تکبیر کرده و سه طلاق

گفتن - تکبیر کردن (زدن) - *takbīr guftan*, Same as see supra.

تگ - - *tag*, four swift-of-post. Canter, easy gallop.

تن - - *tan*, four persons. The first four Caliphs of the Prophet Muḥammad. See چار آئین . *Khāqānī* says :—

کنون چون ناصرالدین کیست کز بهر ثنایت را

ز بعد چار تن در چار بالش های او آمد

جامه - - *jāma*, four garments. (1) A saddle without a tree. *Ashraf* says (ChirH.) :—

سواری کی توان بر اسب عمری که باشد از عناصر چار جامه

and 'Abdul' *Ghanī* has (*Bahār*) :—

منشین ز سعی هم چو نفس در ره طلب تا چار جامه مرکب تن از عناصر است

(2) A garment made of velvet and the like, put as a decoration upon horses in old age.

جل - - *jull*, four horse-cloths. A horse bearing the چار جامه q. v. Also used absolutely in the sense of چار جامه.

جوهر - - *jawhar*, four pearls. (1) The four elements. (2) Name of four stars in the Bear.

جوی - - *jūy*, four streams. (1) The four elements. (2) The four rivers in Paradise : (1) of milk, (2) of honey, (3) of wine and (4) of water. *Madāru'l Afāḍil* thinks that the fourth stream is one flowing with camphor, and not water. *Khāqānī* says. :—

منم سر آمد دوران که طبع من داند چهار جوی جنان از پی جهان کندن

(2) The four rivers : Jayhūn (Bactrus), Jaxaries, Euphrates, and Tigris. (4) A province in *Khurāsān*. (5) Four constitutional habits of man : sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic, and melancholy.

(2) چار جوی - - *jūy bihištī*, four streams of Paradise. See جوی بهشتی

چار

جوى فطرت - - *jūy fiṭrat*, four streams of nature. (1) Four constitutional habits of man. See چار جوى (5). (2) The four elements.

جهت - - *jihat*, four sides. (1) The four dimensions: East, West, North, and South. (2) The whole of a thing.

چادر - - *chādar*, four sheets. (1) A cloth surrounding a woman's grave. (2) A kind of horse-cloth.

چار زدن - - *chār zadan*, to strike four by four. To speak slander. Ṭughrā says (ChirH.):—

چون نه گردد سبزه تر کز بی حیائی می زند در جواب يك دو حرف او سه برگه چارچار

چارگفتن - - *chār guftan*, to speak four by four. To talk nonsense.

چار گوی - - *chār gūy*, sayer of four by four. A babbler, nonsense-talker. Qubūl says (ARaj.):—

ارباب سخن گرچه که پیرم دانند از طبع جوان من سخن می رانند
خواهم که کنم فکر رباعی چندی گو شاعر چار چار گویم خوانند

چشم - - *chashm*, four-eyed. (1) A dog or a sheep, having a black spot over each eye. Qudsi says (Bahār):—

سگ نفس را رفته از کار چشم تو از عینکش کرده چار چشم

and Shaṭranjī Samarqandī (ibid.):—

بمثل آن که او بود احمق مردمان فیلسوف دانندش
هم چو آن سگ بود که باشد کور مردمان چار چشم خوانندش

(2) One who wears spectacles. (3) A meeting, an interview. (4) Full of desire, anxious. Ṭughrā says (ChirH.):—

من چار چشم زان دو رخ چاری دگر می داشتم

می داشت چون شطرنج اگر آن شاه خوبان چار رخ

Āzurī says (ibid.):—

تا که از ناز پس پشت خود انداخته چار چشم است پی دیدن روی تو سپهر

چشم شدن - - *chashm shudan*, to become four-eyed. (1) To see or look for earnestly. (2) To meet, to fall in with, to face each other.

چار

چمن - - *chaman*, four gardens. The world.

چوب - - *chūb* (also چوبه *chūba*), four sticks. (1) A window blind. (2) The four beams of a door. Nāṣir *Khusraw* (*Bahār*):—

پیش ازین چون چار چوب جسم چون مهرم بسوخت

سقف نو گردون ز آه عاشقان پردود بود

and Qudṣī says (*MusSh.*):—

به دریا کشید چار موجم ازان که چون چار چوب بود جا بهر در

chūb-i fiṭrat, four sticks of nature. The four elements.

حاشیا - - *hāshīya*, four borders. Having four edges embroidered.

حال - - *hammāl* four bearers. The four elements.

خانه - - *khāna*, four houses. (1) The ventricle of a sheep; also a pudding of it stuffed with meat, rice, butter, herbs, and spices. (2) Thin cakes dressed with soup; a species of macaroni. (3) A large cauldron divided into four compartments; checker-work. (4) A kind of cloth. (5) Any one who assumes more than his condition entitles him to.

خم - - *kham*, four bends. (1) A move in wrestling. (2) A kind of bow, a bow completely drawn. Ṭughrā says (*ChirH.*):—

به يك خمی ز کمان دو ابروت مردم کرشمه‌ات اگرش چار خم کند چه علاج

I'jāz Iṣfahānī, describing a scrubber in a public bath (حمام) says (*Bahār*):—

نهد دست و پا چون به پشت و شکم کند نام این شیوه را چار خم

When a bow is drawn from ear to ear they say چار خم شد *chār kham shud*. Ṭughrā says (*MusSh.*):—

سرکش به يك دو ضرب نه گیرد فروتنی تا زور ما ندید کمان چار خم نه شد

(1) and (2) چار جوی *khw n*, four dining-tables. Same as خوان *Khāqānī* says:—

هست هرچه چار خوان هشت خلد من سه جان بر چار خوان خواهم نشانند

dāng, four quarters. (1) The four quarters of the globe. (2) Any thing which is double of another of its own kind, The epithet

چار

is sometimes used in relation to India, because the length and breadth of this country is more than those of most of the other countries of the world, or, because India is situated in the fourth clime.

در چار - - *dar chār*, four into four. On all sides, in all quarters.

در چار گفتن - - *dar chār guftan*, to speak four into four. To talk nonsense.

دری - - *darī*, of four doors. The world—the four dimensions.

دریچه - - *darīcha*, four windows—(1) of the body : the eye, the ear, the nose, and the mouth. (2) A person who does not stick to one statement—as if he manages to make free out of any of the four (supposed) windows, and thus avoids fulfilling his promise or pledge.

دوال - - *dawāl*, four straps. An oxgoad. It is a stick, about six inches long, at one end of which a small iron bar is attached, and also a chain with a few rings and four straps. By shaking it a noise is produced which incites the animal to go faster. *Raḍī Nishāpūrī* says (Rsh.):—

آن خداوند که همواره هایون صیش هفت اقلیم همی برد پی چار دوال

دیوار - - *dīwār*, four walls. (1) The four quarters of the world. (2) The four elements. *Nizāmī* laments (ARaj.):—

که در چار بالش نه دیدم درنگ نشستم درین چار دیوار تنگ

دیوار جهان - - *dīwār-i jahān*, four walls of the world. The four elements. See بام هفت.

دیوار خانه روزن شدن - - *dīwār-i khāna rūzan shudan*, becoming hole of the four walls of a house. Falling down of a house. *Khāqānī* says (ARaj.):

چار دیوار خانه روزن شد بام بنشست و آستان برخاست

دیوار ظلماتی - - *dīwār-i zulmātī*, four dark walls. (1) The world. (2) The body of man.

دیوار نفس - - *dīwār-i nafs*, four walls of the soul. (1) The body. (2) The heart. (3) The world.

دکن - - *rukn*, four pillars. (1) The minarets of Syria, Yaman, Irāq, and the Black Stone, which all together make the Ka'ba. (2) The four elements.

چار

رئیس - - *ra'is*, four lords. The four elements.

زانو - - *zānū*, four knees. A mode of sitting like tailors at work.

زانو زدن - - *zānū zadan*, to sit on the four thighs. To sit flat, to squat. (Bahār):—

چارزانو چون توان در مجلس سلطان زدن تا به خدمت چست باشی بر سړيك پا نشين

زبان - - *zubān*, four tongues. (1) An incessant talker. (2) One who does not stick to his word, a quibbler. (3) A prevaricator. (4) The four elements. See دو حور لقا.

زن - - *zan*, four women. The four elements. See نه شوهر.

سنگ - - *sang*, four stones. A mode of worship observed by the Pārsīs.

سو - - *sū*, four sides. (1) A square, a market-place. (2) A cross-road. Nizāmī has (Bahār):—

درين چارسو چون نهم دستگاه كه ايمن نه باشم ز دزدان راه

Also see پنج نوش (3) Expectation.

سواره - - *sawāra*, four horsemen. A place where four ways meet.

شاخ - - *shākh*, four branches. (1) A pronged implement for winning grain. (2) A kind of punishment.

شانه - - *shāna*, four shoulders. (1) A dwarf. (2) Fat, tough, hardy, lusty. Ashraf says (ChirH.):—

کمان ابروش کوتاه خانه قد شمشاد پيش چار شانه

and Muḥammad Qulī Salīm (Bahār):—

ز ضرب گرز کين از هر کرانه شده بالا بلند از چار شانه

شدن گوش - - *shudan-i gūsh*, becoming four of the ear. To hear attentively. Badr Chāch says:—

به دو دیده نتوانند رخ عيسى دید چار گشته همه را گوش سوى نغمه خر

ضرب - - *darb*, four strokes, four forms. (1) Sensible, intelligent, (applied to slaves). (2) A practice of the Šūfīs. (3) A note of music.

چار

(4) The cutting of the beard, the eyebrows, and the lashes in the fashion of the *darwīshes*. Zulālī says (MusSh.):—

مه تازه گدائی شرق و غرب است در زیر تراش چار ضرب است

(5) Sturdy and strong. Muḥammad 'Alī Māhir says (ibid.):—

زبس قوت گذشته روز حربش ز چار آئینه تیر چار ضربش

(2). چار ضرب *darb-i abdāl*, four strokes of Abdāl. Same as Ibrāhīm Adham (ibid.):—

در چار ضرب ابدال ابرو تراشد ازرو تا هیچ کس نگوید بالای چشمش ابرو

(4) q. v. To forsake the world and its ways. *darb zadan*, to strike the چار ضرب Qāsim Mashhadī says (Bahār):—

مرا ز صحبت اضداد عشق یار برید چهار ضرب کسی زد کزین چهار برید

ṭāq, four vaults. (1) A principal room on the top of a house open in the front and supported by four pillars. (2) A quadrangular tent used specially as a kitchen, in Irāq called *Shirwānī*. 'Abdu'l Razzāq Fayyād says (ibid.):—

چو قطع گردد میخ و طناب و هر دو رنگ چهار طاق عناصر شود شکسته ستون

(3) The four elements.

ṭāq-i arkānī, four vaults of the elements. The world. Munīr says (Bahār):—

به شمع روشن خورشیدی زند پنجه چراغ بخت تو در چار طاق اردکانی

ṭāqī, of four vaults. A cap with four sashes.

Qāsim Mashhadī says (ibid.):—

بیرون رود ز زیر فلک مشیت خاک را گو چار طاقی به سر خاک مامپوش

ṭab', four tempers. Heat, cold, dryness and moisture. Khāqānī says:—

ز عدل شاه که زد پنج نوبه در آفاق چهار طبع مخالف شدند جفت و طاق

tūfān, four deluges: (1) of water on the nation of Noah; (2) of storm and tempest on the people of Hūd; (3) of fire on the tribe of Lot; and (4) of dust on the people of Ṣāliḥ. Khāqānī says:—

نه مرد این دبستانست هرگز حبشی و رومی به هردم چار طوفانست در بنیاد اردکانش

چار

(2) Ignorance as opposed to learning, cowardice as opposed to bravery, greed as opposed to piety, and oppression as against justice. (3) The four elements. (4) The four temperaments. Khāqānī says :—

چار طوفان نو از چار گهر بکشائید که شا جان ستم کش به گهر باز دهید

(4). چار آئین - - *alam*, four standards. Same as elements.

ایال - - *ayāl*, four children. The four elements.

کان - - *kān*, four mines. The fiery mine from which sulphur and salammoniac is dug out, and, according to some, a mine of rubies and emeralds ; the watery mine which produces pearls and corals ; the airy mine which stimulates the growth of valuable herbs ; and the earthy mine which gives diamond, gold and silver.

کرگس - - *kargas*, four vultures—(1) The four elements. (2) The throne of Shaddād (شداد), or *Kā'ūs* (کاوس).

کوب - - *kūb*, four beats. Same as چار سنگ q. v.

گامه - - *gāma*, four-footed. (1) A swift and ambling nag, so called because at this stage of running, all the four feet of the horse are up in the air at the same time. (2) Tumultuous mirth. (3) (With a ك) enjoyment. Khāqānī says :—

ساقیا اسپ چار گامه بران تارکاب سه گانه بستانم

گاه - - *gāh*, four times (seasons). (1) A note in music. (2) The elemental body, as composed of four elements.

گل - - *gul*, four flowers. (1) The impression of the foot of a dog. (2) The scar of a brand of an animal's body. Tughrā praises the *Burāq* (*Bahār*) :—

بود نزد فارس خط چار گل

گلخن - - *gul Khan*, four furnaces (stoves). (1) The four quarters of the world. (2) The four elements.

گوشه - - *gūsha*, four corners. (2) A bier, a small table. Nizāmī says (*Rsh.*) :—

دو گوشه نشست و ساخت توشه تاکی رددش چهار گوشه

چار

(3) A turban worn by the *darwīshes*. Cf. چار ترك.

چارگوشی - *gūshī*, four-handled. A four-handled ewer, a four-sided flask or goblet. *Mashhadī* says (Rsh.) :—

چارگوشی و چارگوشه باغ گر به دست آیدت فرو مگذار

گون - *gūn*, four-coloured. A mace, a saddle-tree.

گوهر - *gawhar*, four essences. The four elements. *Khāqānī* :—

خسرو کشور پنجم که ز عدلش به سه وقت چار گوهر همه در یک مقر آمیخته اند

لنگر - *langar*, four anchors. (1) The legs and feet of quadrupeds.
(2) A big boat having four anchors. *Tughrā* says (Bahār) :—

چو طوفانی دیده تر شدم ز مرگان خود چار لنگر شدم

Zuhūrī commends the elephant thus (Bahār) :—

نگه تا شنا کرد در بحر دید چنین کشتی چار لنگر نه دید

مادر - *mādar*, four mothers. (1) The four elements. *Badr Chāch* :—

شش جهت و سه بعد را چون تو نه زاد یک خلف

تا که به زیر نه پدر جنبش چار مادر است

Also see (2) Four stars in the Bear.

ماه و چار شش ستاره - *māh wa chār shash sitāra*, four moons and twenty-four stars. The four horse-shoes with their twenty-four nails, six in each. *ARaj.* :—

پر ماه و پر ستاره شود روی هر زمین زان چار شش ستاره که در چار ماه اوست

مذهب - *madhhab*, four creeds. The four schools of the *Sunnī* sect in Islam, viz., *Ḥanafī*, *Shāfi'ī*, *Mālikī*, and *Ḥanbalī*. The *Shi'a* Muslims, however, explain it as denoting the four religions of the four prophets Moses, David, Christ, and Muḥammad. *Shifā'ī* says (Bahār) :—

پیر مابونی چو او در چار مذهب کشتنی است قاتل آن سگ به فردوس مخلد می رود

مسکون - *maskūn*, the four inhabited (quarters). The habitable world in Arabic is called *rub'-i maskūn*.

چار

مغز - - *maghz*, four kernels. A walnut, Bīdil says:—

سختی کشند چرب پرستان روزگار از زخم سنگ چاره نه دارد چهار مغز
میکائیل، جبرئیل، *malāyak*, four angels. The four archangels, viz., ملائک
پنج هنگام. See عزرائیل and اسرافیل.

ملت - - *millat*, four creeds: those of Muḥammad, Jesus, Moses and David. Thus in Badr Chāch:—

ای که کینه مادحت مفتی چار ملت است وی که کینه چاکرت حاکم هفت کشور است
سه نوبت *malak*, Same as ملایک above. Also see ملک.

منزل - - *manzil*, four stages. The four stages through which a mystic has to pass before he attains to perfection. They are the Law (شریعت) the Path (طریقت), the Knowledge (معرفت), and the Truth (حقیقت).

منقطه - - *manqūṭa*, four dotted-ones. The orbits of the zodiacal signs, so called because of the four points in the four directions.

موجه - - *mawja*, four waves. Waves from all the four directions, a whirlpool. Šā'ib says (Bahār):—

آید به چار موجه دریای حسن تو لرزد به خود چو کشتی بی لنگر آئینه
and Sirāju'l Muḥaqqiqīn says (ibid.):—

کسی کز شش جهت گیرد کناره فتد در چار موج از حسن پنجاب

mīkh, four nails. (1) A mode of punishment, in which the convict is made to lie down either on his back or on his chest, and then all his four hands and feet are nailed. This torture is said to have been first practised in the days of Pharaoh. A cross, a gibbet, a gallows. See کشیدن میخ. Also see دو میخ ذنب فعل. (2) The rope upon which rope-dancers walk or tumble; also the poles supporting it. (3) The wooden frame of saddles, or of pack-saddles. (4) The four elements. *Khāqānī*:—

جان یوسف زاد را کازاد کرد همت است

وارهان زین چار میخ و هفت زندان واهان

mīkh-i ḥayāt, four pegs of life. The four elements because the life of every man hangs upon these.

چار

بر چار میخ زدن *bar chār mīkh zadan*, to strike on 'four nails.' Same as کردن میخ (2) and (3).

میخ شدن - *mīkh shudan*, to become 'four pegs.' (1) To stand bolt up-right. (2) Becoming perfectly strong (arrow). (3) A punishment, see چار میخ. Nizāmī says (ARaj.) :—

جناح از هوا در زمین برد بیخ پس آهنگ شد در زمین چار میخ

میخ کردن - *mīkh kardan*, to render 'four-nailed.' (1) To stretch a cord for rope-dancers to dance upon. (2) To crucify. (3) To practise sodomy.

بر چار میخ کشیدن *bar chār mīkh kashīdan*. Same as زدن میخ. Ashraf says (AsLugh.) :—

اصل قانون شریعت کاحتساب شرع اوست می کشد آهنگ را بر چار میخ چار تار

(4) چار آئین - *mīr*, four *mīrs*. Same as

نظم - *naẓm*, four orders or arrangements (1) The four elements. (2) The four temperaments.

هفت و - *wa haft*, four and seven. The four elements and the seven planets.

هفته - *hafta*, four weeks. A trifling, silly thing. Nothing. Non-existent.

یار گزین - *yār-i guzīn*, four chosen companions of the Prophet.

پنج

پنج *panj*, five. The five senses : hearing, sight, touch, taste, and smell. Khāqānī says :—

نقش يك تنها به روی کعبتین پیداشده پس شش و پنج و چار و سه دو پنهان آمده

پنج ارکان *panj arkān*, five pillars, i.e. of Islam : توحید (*Tawhīd*)—Unitarianism, صلوٰة (*Ṣalāt*)—Prayer, صوم (*Ṣawm*)—Fasting, حج (*Hajj*)—Pilgrimage, and زکوة (*Zakāt*)—Almsgiving.

پنج

اردکان حج — — *arkān-i Hajj*, five pillars of the Pilgrimage. According to the *Shāfi'ī* school of the *Sunnī* Muslims, it signifies (a) احرام بستن (*Ihrām Bastan*)—putting on of the habit in which the pilgrims enter Mecca to celebrate the festival of the tenth day of the penult month of the Muslims ; (b) سعی (*Sa'y*) running between the two hills near *Şafā* and *Marwat*, situated near Mecca ; (c) وقوف عرفات (*wuqūf-i 'Arafāt*)—standing on the عرفات, a mountain near Mecca ; (d) مزدلفه (*muzdalifa*)—a place near Mecca between mounts 'Arafāt and *Minā* ; and (e) طواف کعبه (*tawāf-i Ka'ba*)—going round the *Ka'ba*. *Khāqānī* says :—

عیدایشان کعبه وز ترتیب پنج اردکان حج رکن پنجم هفت طوف چار اردکان دیده اند

انگشت — — *angusht*, five fingers. (1) A place near *Marāgha* in *Tabrīz*. (2) A fork with five prongs. (3) Cinquefoil : a herb also called دلاشوب (*dila-shūb*), found on the banks of rivers. It is sometimes written without the *hamza* as پنجنگشت whence comes the Arabicised form فنجنکشت. *Yūsufī Ṭabīb* says (*Jah.*) :—

کند چون دود پنجنگشت را زن به زیرخود کند کم شهرتش را

(4) The herb alkali and the ashes which are made from it, with which people wash clothes.

آیت — — *āyat*, five verses (of the *Qur'ān*). The five chapters of the *Qur'ān*, read during the mourning for a Muslim, usually on the morning of the third day after a person's death, and considered to be of special service to the dead in his life hereafter.

بیچاره — — *bīchāra*, five helpless ones. The five wanderers, *viz.*, زهره *Venus*, عطارد *Mercury*, known to the Iranians as ناهید (*Nāhīd*) زائوش (*Zāwūsh*), کیوان (*Kaywān*), بهرام (*Bahrām*), and تیر (*Tīr*) respectively.

پا — — *pā*, five feet. (1) An animal, the crab, which can live in water as well as on earth. *Sanā'ī* says (*Jah.*) :—

هر که دزدی کند ازین گفتار پنج پایه است و دست کج رفتار

In Arabic it is called سرطان (*Sarṭān*) cancer ; hence also : (2) the sign of the zodiac known as سرطان (Cancer). *Daqā'iq-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, a book on

پنج

astrology, contains (Jah.) :—

دلی باشد ز عقل با کفایت به سخت سر آمد از پنج پایت

پنج پا — — *pāyak*, of five little feet. Same as پا — — پایک

پنج پا — — *pāya*, of five feet. (۱) A herb having five feet. Also see پا — — پایه

پوشیده — — *pūshīda*, five hidden ones. Persian term for the Arabic *Khamsa-i Muhtajiba*, a composite name given to the five sciences of *خمسة محتجبه* *Kimīyā* (alchemy), *لیمیا* (*Līmiyā*), *سیمیا* (*Sīmiyā*), natural magic, or the art of divination from signs or portents, *ریمیا* (*Rīmiyā*), and *هیمیا* (*Hīmiyā*). All these “sciences” are connected in some way or other with divination, prognostication, cheirosophy, cheiromancy, numerology, thought-reading, and such occult pursuits.

تام — — *tāh*, penta-plied. A rope of five strands.

تریاق — — *tiryāq*, five antidotes. A kind of syrup or treacle. A medicinal antidote constituting five ingredients *جنطیانا رومی* (*Janṭiyāna Rūmī*)—gentian, *حب الغار* *Habbu'l Ghār*—laurel-berried bay, *راوند* (*Rāwand*)—rhubarb, *مر* (*Murr*)—myrrh, and *شهد* (*Shahd*)—honey. With the omission of the last, the remaining four constitute the wellknown *Tiryāq-i Arba'a*.

تن پاک — — *tan-i pāk*, five holy beings (or persons): Muḥammad the Prophet, Fāṭima, Muḥammad's daughter by *Khadija*, 'Alī, the cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, and the husband of Fāṭima, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn, the sons of 'Alī—all considered together.

توسن سلامت — — *tausan-i salāmat*, five immune steeds. The five internal senses :— *حس مشترك* (*hiss-i mushtarak*)—common feeling; *خیال* (*khayāl*) thought *متخیله* (*mutakhayyila*) intellection; *وهم* (*wahm*) fancy; and *حافظه* (*hāfiẓa*) memory, also known as *ذاکره* (*dhākira*) recollection.

چوبه — — *chūba*, of five sticks. A tent, supported by five posts.

روزه — — *rūza* (also *rūz*), (of) five days. The span of human life, so called because of the seven days in the week, one day a man is born and another day he dies, and lives only for five days. Very short time. *Hāfiz* says :—

دور بمنور گزشت و نوبت ماست هر کسی پنج روزه نوبت اوست

پنج

and Sa'di :—

ای که پنجاه رفت و درخوابی مگر این پنج روزه دریابی

— *sūra*, five *sūras* (chapters—of the Qur'ān). The five *sūras* (chapters) of the Qur'ān, considered as being of some special merit, and recited by devout Muslims at special times of the day. They are *Sūras* Nos. XXXVI (یس), XLVIII (الفتح), LV (الرحمن), LXVII (الملك), LXXIII (الزلزل). But there are also other combinations of five *Sūras*. The difference in choice depends mainly upon taste and inclination of the devotee.

— *shākh-i darakht*, five off-shoots of a tree. (1) The five fingers of a man's hand. See هفت شمع. (2) A herb, called دلاشوب *delāshūb*. See پنج انگشت (2).

— *shākh-i dast*, five off-shoots of the hand, i.e. the fingers. Also see. هفت شمع.

— *shu'ba*, five departments. The five senses. See چار اصل . شعبه

— *shūya mutrib*, also مطرب پنج شوی *mutrib-i panj shūy* (see (سه خواهران), the minstrel with five husbands. The planet Venus. These five husbands are the five planets other than the sun which is also regarded as a feminine person. Badr Chāch says :—

گر عدل تو نبودی این پنج شویه مطرب با قطب جمع گشتی با مرکز سه خواهر

— *'ayb-i shara'ī*, the five vices (condemned by the Law), namely, robbery (سرقة), adultery (زنا), gambling (قمار), drunkenness (شراب), and falsehood (دروغ). Very vicious.

— *kūha*, (of) five waves. A full army consisting of five parts, known as مقدمه (vanguard), قلب (centre), میمنه (right), میسره (left), and ساقه (rearguard).

— *gāh*, five times or periods. (1) The five times of Prayer offered by Muslims. (2) A note in music. (3) (Sometimes) the five senses.

— *ganj*, five treasures. (1) The five senses. (2) The five daily prayers of the Muslims. (3) A composite name for the five *mathnawīs*

پنج

by Nizāmī, viz., مخزن اسرار *Makhzan-i Asrār*, خسرو و شیرین *Khusraw wa Shirin*, لیله مجنون *Laylā Majnūn*, سکندر نامه *Sikandar Nāma*, and هفت پیکر *Haft Paykar*. (4) Five of the seven treasures of *Khusraw Parwiz*, viz., گنج باد آورد *Ganj-i Bād Āwurd*, also called گنج شایگان *Ganj-i Shāyagān*, گنج گاو *Ganj-i Gāw*, گنج عروس *Ganj-i 'Arūs*, گنج سوخته *Ganj-i Sūkh̄ta*, and گنج شاد آورد *Ganj-i Shād āwurd*.

ماه نو — — *māh-i naw*, five new moons. The five nails and, therefore, also the fingers of the hand. Badr Chāch says :—

چو این ماهی زرین را به بحر کف برد خسرو مراورا پنج ماه نو بسوی مه شود دهر

نوبت — — *nawbat*, five periods. (1) The five daily prayers of the Muslims. (2) The five times during a day when music is played before the house of a king, a lord, a noble. HQul. traces the beginning of this practice from the time of Sultan Sanjar, the Saljūq. He also says that the practice was in vogue even before the time of the said Sultan, and had begun as early as the time of Alexander the Great. According to HQul. the enemies of Sultan Sanjar had appointed a number of magicians to direct their spell upon the Sultan to bring about his death. The health of the Sultan began to decline rapidly and he found himself in great trouble. All remedies having failed, the wisemen thought of a new plan. They arranged to announce the death of the Sultan at an unusual hour and declared that another person had succeeded him. The magicians being thus outwitted gave up their practice of reciting charms and the Sultan recovered. Since then the five times were taken as auspicious. The author is not very clear as to how three changed into five times. The fact, however, remains that such was the beginning of the Panj Nawbat. Nizāmī has (ARAJ.) :—

زده در مکتب سلطان سوارش بنوبت پنج نوبت چا ریارش

(3) The five instruments of war, viz., دهل (*duhul*, drum), دما (*damāma*, small brass drum), طبل (*ṭabl*, tambourine), دف (*daf*, small drum), and صنج (*sanj*—Pers. چنگ *chang*, Arabian cymbal). Nizāmī says (AsLugh.) :—

در آور دند مرغان دهل ساز سحرگه پنج نوبت را به آواز

نوبت زدن — — *nawbat zadan*, to ring the five periodical songs. (1) To rejoice. (2) To play the great man ; to give a display of one's wealth and position. See چارطبع.

پنج

نوش — — *nūsh*, five drinks. (1) An electuary made up of five ingredients, namely, mercury (سیاب), copper (مس), iron (آهن) steel (فولاد), and dross iron left in a furnace (دیم آهن). It is a good tonic and gives strength to the heart. (2) The five internal senses, and the five external senses. (3) A wine, composed of five antidotes. *Khāqānī* says:—

در چار سوی فقر در آ تا ز راه ذوق دل را ز پنج نوش سلامت کنی دوا

و چهار — — *wa chahār*, five and four. (1) The (nine) heavens. (2) The five senses and four natures.

و شش و هفت و چهار — — *wa shash wa haft wa chahār*, five, six, seven, and four. The five senses, the six sides of the world, the seven planets and the four elements. Also see پنج supra.

هلال — — *hilāl*, five new moons, crescents. The five nails of the hand, and, therefore, the fingers and the thumb. *Badr Chāch*:—

کان ماه دو هفته است که با پنج هلال است هر لحظه در آن جانب پروین گذر افتد

هنگام — — *hangām*, five times. Same as پنج نوبت. *Khāqānī*:

از سریر در او چار ملایک به سه بعد پنج هنگامه و دو صور به یک جاشنوند

شش

شش *shash*, six. Same as شش جهت. Also see پنج supra.

شش انداز *shash andāz*, thrower of six. (1) A player at the game of dice (نرد) who throws sixes. (2) One who takes six coloured-balls (of wood or any other material) and tosses them so that four of them are always in the air. *Nizāmī* says (*Rsh*):—

برون آمد ز پرده ساز کرده شش اندازی به جای شیشه بازی

(3) The full moon.

بانو — — *bānū*, six ladies. The six planets, viz., Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury and the Moon. It is an irony of facts that though in Arabic *shams*, the sun, is regarded as feminine, as here the poets mean to praise him or (her), they make all others his ladies. It is so in poetic technique only and not in real idiom.

شش

شش بانوی پیر — — *bānū-i pīr*, six old princesses. Same as شش بانو q.v. *Khā-qānī* says (*Bahār*):—

شش بانوی پیر کرده هر هفت عالم به تو دید هفت در هفت

بندان — — *bandān*, six binders. (1) The six days—second to the seventh of the month of Shawwāl, during which the pious Muslims fast. (2) The wild vine, which, like ivy, twists round trees. A bunch does not number more than ten grapes. In the beginning the grape is green, but turns red. The flower is blue. In the *Shīrāzī* idiom it is known as *Siyāh Dārū* (سیاه دار و).

پا — — *pā* six feet. A worm with six feet, an earwig, an eft, a scolopendra, a beetle.

پر — — *par*, six feathers. An iron mace of six sides, a halbard. Ta'thīr praises Sultan Ḥusayn:—

غم نامۀ دشمن سیه رو . بسته است به بال شش پر او

Also see هفت جوش *Ashraf* says (*ARaj.*):—

چون خانه مسدس زنبور می شود از باد شش پر غضبت پر نیان برفت

and 'Alā'uddīn Fāyiz (*ibid.*):—

دینخته از شش پرهیت شکوه مورچه زلزله از مغز کوه

پستان — — *pistān*, six teats. (1) A bitch. (2) A name of reproach for a woman. *Khāqānī* says:—

هیگست شش پستان زنی رومی دل زنگی تنی مریم صفت آبستنی عیسی دهقان بین درو

پنج باز — — *panj bāz*, a player of six and five. A deceiver, a prevaricator.

پنج زن — — *panj zan*, a striker of six and five. Same as above q.v. *Khāqānī* says (*Bahār*):—

شش پنج زنان داد برده اما همه نقش یک شمرده

تار — — *tār*, six strings (also تا — — *tā*, six times) (1) A lute with six strings. *Nizārī*:—

می خورد شش تازند غیبت کند لوطی بود او مسلمان باشد و من ملحد ازهر خدا

تا زدن — — *tā zadan*, to strike (or play) the six. To throw sixes at dice

شش

Cf. شش انداز. Hence شش تا زن (*shash̄tā zan*) is a player who throws sixes at dice.

جهت — — *jihat*, six directions, sides: East, West, North, South, Overhead and Underfoot. The whole world. Ṭāhir Wahīd says :—

خرد شش پرش را ازان راست کرد که از شش جهت پرزند در نبرد

Also see دوسرای .

هفت گیسودار — — *khātūn*, six ladies. Same as شش بانو q.v. Also see هفت گیسودار .

خان — — *khān* (also خانه *khāna*), six courts. (1) A circular tent used by the Persians. Sirājuddīn Sakzī has (Jah.) :—

مشری بر طالع ایام تو موقوف بود هر سعادت کاندین شش خانه اصطرلاب یافت

(2) A curtain especially at the door of a royal palace or pavilion. (3) A building divided into six courts. (4) A musical instrument.

خنج — — *khānj*, MF. regards this as an equivalent of شش خنج (1) q.v.

خنج — — *khānj*, six gains. (1) A walnut hollowed and filled with lead, with which boys play ; also used as a plaything in gambling. (2) Drawers. (3) A beardless person.

دامن — — *dāman*, six laps. The sixth country (کشود) i.e. Rome.

دانگ — — *dāng*, six quarters. (1) The whole of a thing, for six *dāngs* (شش دانگ) make one *dīnār*. (2) Perfect man. (3) A whisperer.

دانگ عیار — — *dāng 'iyār*, six *dāng's* standard. Perfect.

دانگه — — *dānga*, of six *dāngs*. Anything complete in itself and having nothing above it. When any one is perfect in the use of idioms, they say درین کارش دانگه است (he is perfect in this affair). *Khāqānī* says :—

کو آن که نقداو به ترازوی هفت چرخ شش دانگه بود راست به هر کفّه که سفت

در — — *dar*, six doors. (1) A point of the table at the game of *nard*, from which it is not possible to extricate one's self. It really means six squares in the game of *nard*. As every one of the dice has six sides, and there are two boards each having twelve squares in such way that on the

شش

right and on the left sides of each board there are six squares, and in-between the squares on the left and then on the right there is a little space. So, whenever a die falls in one of the squares on the extreme, it is not possible for it to get back to any square, unless released by the dice of the opponent. Chess-table ; a cube, a die. (2) Wonder-struck, confounded. Says Hāfiz :—

منصوبه هوای تو حافظ کنون چو باخت در ششدر غمت دلش افتاد مهره وار

(3) The six sides of the world ; the six directions : right, left, front, behind, up, and down ; hence the world.

در بازی — — *dar bāzī*, playing the 'six doors.' (1) Any game at dice.

(2) The world. (3) Astonishment.

در تنگ — — *dar-i tang*, six narrow doors. (1) The world. (2) Shame.

در فنا — — *dar-i fanā*, six doors of annihilation. Same as شش در تنگ in both senses.

دره — — *dara* (also دری *darī*), of six doors. (1) A place, or an occasion of death. (2) Wonder, amazement. (3) The world, as having six directions. (see شش جهت). *Khāqānī* says :—

برده به چارم منظره مهره برون از شش دره نزل جهان را از بره صد خوان نو پرداخته

(4) Same as شش در (1). (5) A chess-board. A die, dice.

روز کون — — *rūz-i kawn*, six days of 'being,' (also روز شش). The six days during which the world was made. The idea is based on the Old Testament account of the Creation of the Universe. See چار اصل.

روزن — — *rawzan*, six holes. (1) The world, in respect of شش جهت (six sides). (2) A living creature, in respect of the holes of the ears, the mouth, the nose, in the front, and behind. (3) The six planets. See شش بانو.

روزه — — *rūza*, of six days. The wonder believed to have been made by God in six days. See شش روز کون *Khāqānī* says :—

بر پنج فرض عمر بر افشان دوانگ هست شش روزه آفرینش از ین پنج بانوا

ضرب — — *darb*, (also ضربه *darba*), six hits. Sixes at dice. Stakes at dice which are swept off at a blow. *Khāqānī* says :—

بر نطع جلال نه فلك را شش ضربه دهد ز قدر امکان

شش

شش نتیجه خوب — — *darb-i natīja-i khūb*, six fine results. (Also شش نتیجه خوب *shash natīja-i khūb*.) Gems, gold, musk, sugar, honey, and fruits of different sorts.

طاق — — *ṭāq*, six vaults (or arches). A royal tent.

عروس — — *arūs*, six brides. Same as شش بانو q.v.

عروس رعنا — — *'arūs-i ra'nā*, six beautiful brides. Same as شش بانو q.v.

علم — — *'alam*, six standards. A smooth carpet.

قبرغه — — *qaburgha* (also قبرقه *qaburqa*), six bones (or ribs). A foolish person. The story runs that a man told his slave that, contrary to the general rule of nature, instead of having seven ribs, he had only six, and it meant that he would die soon. The slave took it to heart, and soon after died of grief. Hence, a foolish person is so called.

کائج — — *kānj*. Same as شش خان q.v.

مسکن — — *maskan*, six abodes. (1) An oyster-shell with its contents. (2) A gold mine. (3) A fruit-bearing tree. (4) A shrub with manna upon it. KashLug. reads it as ششم مسکن *shashum maskan*, which, however, does not seem to be correct.

وپنج — — *wa panj*, six and five. (1) Confusion, perplexity. (2) A kind of gambling, dice. (3) A place of ruin and destruction. *Khusraw* says (BA.):—

تاشدی بهر هفت و نه در دنج نقد عصمت قتاد در شش و پنج

وپنج بازی — — *wa panj bāzī*, playing six and five. Fraud and treachery.

شش *shasha*, the six (days). Same as شش بندان (1).

AMINUDDIN KHAN.

(To be continued)

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

FOREIGN COUNTRIES

YAMAN

THE *at-Tamaddun al-Islāmīy* of Damascus contains in a recent issue an article by Aḥmad Waṣṣīy Zakarīyā on the educational conditions in Arabia Felix. He says, although educationally Yaman is very backward as far as modern systems are concerned—so much so that there is not a single institution for the education of girls,—yet practically every mosque in the country is a full-fledged school. In the capital, Ṣan‘ā’, however, there are some primary schools of recent origin. Under the personal direction of Prince Saiful-Islām ‘Abdallāh, some primary schools are also being opened in the bigger towns of the realm.

There are, however, very big collections of Arabic MSS., one of which is in the cathedral mosque of Ṣan‘ā’. The private library of H. M. the Imām is also one of the finest in the East.

There is only one journal, the official *al-Imān*, a monthly, in the whole country.

SYRIA

IN the Arab Academy of Damascus, an important lecture was delivered on military architecture of the Umayyads and the citadel of Damascus.

The Emir of Transjordan has issued a proclamation in which he has exhorted his people to pay greater attention to the Qur’ānic commands regarding the veil. The proclamation has attracted the attention of Syrian reformers also, and it is being widely discussed in the press of Damascus.

The Government of Egypt has recognised the degree of the medical faculty of the University of Damascus.

Some missionary schools in Haleb have included compulsory religious (Christian) teaching in their schools even for non-Christian students. The matter has produced strong resentment and protests on the part of the public.

IRAQ

THE Ministry of Education in ‘Irāq has, according to *at-Tamaddun al-Islāmīy* of Damascus, ordered all the schools to inscribe in a conspicuous place the dictum of the Prophet (اخشوشنوا فان الترف يزِيل النعم) : ‘Prefer the harsher life, since a luxurious way of life is fatal.’

BRAZIL

THE Arabic Newspaper *ar-Rābiṭah* of Brazil records the speech of Rashīd Salīm al-Khūrīy which he delivered on the occasion of the recent birthday of the Prophet. The meeting was attended by great numbers of Muslims as well as Christians, and the occasion was a rallying point for all the Arabs irrespective of creed.

MALTA

A MALTESE-ARABIC Dictionary has recently been published by C. L. Dessoulavy, and gives etymological notes from all the Semitic languages.

GENERAL

A COLLECTION of the writings of Abū Bakr ar-Rāzīy has been published by Dr. Paul Kraus, extending to over three hundred pages. These concern philosophical subjects.

The death has occurred in Budapest of the Grand Mufti of Hungary. He came to India some years ago in order to collect subscriptions for the construction of a mosque in Budapest.

The Emir of Transjordan has published his autobiography under the title *من أنا* (Who am I?). It contains a variety of interesting data, and the *de luxe* edition has been reviewed by the daily *Filastīn* of Palestine, of April 7th last.

DECCAN

Urdu Transcription of Latin Script.

THE European Orientalists have long since evolved a tolerably complete system for transcribing Arabic sounds. The transcription of European sounds, vowels as well as consonants, in the Arabic script of the Urdu language, has been engaging the attention of Indian savants for almost half a century. The want of knowledge of European languages other than English has been the primary cause for the defects of all the different proposals put forward hitherto. For, even English books cannot wholly exclude French, German and other European names, and sometimes even technical terms and it is a commonplace that the same letters of the Latin alphabet have greatly differing sounds in different European languages. To take but one example, the English *J* is pronounced in French like *S* in *pleasure*; and in German like the English *Y*; and so on.

To transcribe French, German and other European names as they are to be pronounced according to the English phonetics would not serve the purpose of general culture. Obviously the Translation Bureau of the Osmania University feels this more than any other body in the whole of India. For, the activities of the Translation Bureau are not limited to English alone. Consequently, a committee was appointed some time ago, with experts in German, French, Italian, Greek, Latin and English phonetics, in order to suggest and evolve a complete system of transcription, adding new diacritical signs and letters of the alphabet if necessary, and preparing a convenient guide to the phonetic values of different letters in different languages. In the interest of science, I venture to disclose here some of its more important and useful proposals. I apologize to the Committee if some mistakes are committed inadvertently in giving the details of its recommendations which have not yet been published for the benefit of the public.

The Committee has constantly had it in view to recommend as few additions as possible to the existing alphabet and diacritical signs of vocalisation. Again, whenever new additions have been found unavoidable, they should be in complete harmony with the existing letters and signs. Further, they should be so simple that they might be correctly utilized by a writer of average intelligence who does not know the language of the name he is transcribing in Urdu.

Fortunately, the Urdu alphabet has, in addition to all the Arabic letters, the following :—

پ	p
چ	ch
ژ	s (as in <i>pleasure</i>)
گ	g
ٹ	t (harder than English t)
ڈ	d (harder than English d)
ر	r (much harder than English r)
ھ	-h (h preceded by a consonant)
ں	n̄ (nasal sound as in French)
ے	ē (as a in <i>dare</i>)

To which may be added :—

و	v
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which is in great vogue now in Egypt and all the other Arabic speaking countries.

As may be seen, Urdu alphabet is richer in consonants than the Arabic one, yet curiously enough, the Urdu writers have added practically nothing

to the diacritical signs of vocalisation in spite of the fact that the requirements of Urdu are wider than those of Arabic ; for instance, e, o, ē, ō in such words as *يه*, *وه*, *ايك*, *زور* (as contradistinguished from i, u, ī, ū in

(*دور*, *نيم*, *اس*, *اس*).

The Committee has suggested that, although the requirements of the science of phonetics, through the medium of Urdu, would certainly be greater, the more subtle differences need not be taken notice of in ordinary books. However, the Committee has unanimously recommended that a new letter should be added to the alphabet to represent jointly the French *u* and the German *ü*. As the sound is midway between *ee* and *oo* (*ي* and *و*), the proposed letter should be a combination of both with the shape (*و*), that is, a (*و*) with two points below it.

Again there was a suggestion to distinguish the soft and harsh German sounds *ch* and *sch* by *ش* and *س* (with a difference in the three-points of the letter). Although the importance of the difference was realised, it was relegated to the department of phonetic science.

Regarding the vowels, as is known, we now possess *َ* *ِ* *ُ* to represent the short sounds of *a*, *i*, *u*. And the longer sounds of *ā*, *ī*, *ū* are represented by the same diacritical signs followed by (*ا*, *ي*, *و*) respectively. So far as it goes, this is all right, yet the *e*, *o*, *á* (as *a* in English *at*), and *aw* (as *o* in *on*, *of*, etc.) have remained unrepresented. For these the proposal was *ـَـِـُـ* and (*ا*), that is to say, inverting the signs and combining (*ا*) and (*و*) respectively. The first three are to be called the *majhūl kasra*, *fat'ha* and *damma*. Some illustrations might be useful :—

دود - دهنّا - وه - پهي - كه - ايك -

(Montesquieu) مون تس كيوي

(Von Müller) فون موئر

(International Law) انتر ناسنل لاءِ

The Committee has recommended the majority of these proposals as worthy of adoption.

Jāmi'ah Nizāmiyah.

Jāmi'ah Nizāmiyah, the University of Islamic Religious Studies founded in 1292 H. (67 years ago) in Hyderabad, is making rapid progress under the new managing Council. Its degrees are recognised by the Osmania University as were those of the late *Dārul-'Ulūm*, and, for instance, a

Nizāmīyah *Maulvī* has to appear only for the English test, and then he is admitted to the Osmania University Intermediate class. The Nizāmīyah University Council has recently appointed a competent committee to investigate and recommend the desirability of changing the courses of study. The Hyderabad Government maintains simultaneously the Osmania Matric, the Madras H.S.L.C., and the Senior Cambridge, and also the Nizāmīyah *Maulvī*, in order to meet all the different tastes and requirements of the inhabitants of the country.

Nobel Prize to an Osmanian.

The Osmania University of Hyderabad is the youngest University in the world to produce a Nobel laureate who is also probably the youngest recipient of the prize in the world. Dr. Radiuddin is still in his thirties and his paper on the quantum theory of relativity has received this international recognition. An old boy of Dārul-'Ulūm High School and one of the first batch of the Osmania Graduates, he was awarded a scholarship by the Hyderabad Government to continue his mathematical studies in Cambridge and Leipzig. On his return he was appointed as a first grade professor of mathematics in his own *alma mater*, the Osmania University, where he has ever since continued to attract swarms of students from all parts of India.

Hyderabad Independence Day.

Seventeen years ago, the reigning Nizām celebrated with great pomp the two-hundredth anniversary of the declaration of Independence of the Deccan by the first Nizām, and ordered an annual public holiday on the occasion. The speech he delivered seventeen years ago in the *darbār* was published at that time in a gazette extraordinary. It has become a classic, and young Hyderabad observes the Day every year with ever-increasing zeal, and the royal speech is ceremoniously recited in mosques, temples, and other public places. The special numbers of local journals, cuttings of special articles and news of the celebration all over India of this year's feast form several hundred pages of most interesting reading. The Hyderabad radio also arranged a special programme for the occasion. The Hyderabad Municipality was beflagged, and the metropolis was illuminated by private enterprise of the public. Reports show that Kurnool, Bezwada and other places under the Nizām's sovereignty yet in British administration are increasingly taking part in this feast and reviving their sentiment for Hyderabad. The Political Department of Hyderabad received loyal and congratulatory telegrams on the occasion from these and other places.

Dr. S. Qāsim's Library.

By order of the Nizām, the library of the late Dr. Syed Qāsim of Hyderabad has been acquired by the Hyderabad Government. The

several thousands of MSS. on palm leaves, in Kanarese, Sanskrit, etc., will go to the Osmania University ; illuminated MSS. will be exhibited in the Hyderabad Museum ; and the rest of the collection, including a vast number of Arabic, Persian and Urdu MSS. will be placed at the disposal of the Hyderabad State-Library. The last named institution, under the capable curatorship of Dr. Rāḥatullāh Khān, who took charge less than a year ago, is making very rapid strides not only in the upkeep of the library but also in public utilization. Library hours have been considerably extended, a card-index has been taken in hand and is fast approaching completion, and special facilities are daily multiplying for research workers in the department of MSS. Special exhibitions of the rare treasures of the library are planned from time to time.

New Publications of Dā'ira and others.

The Oriental Publication Bureau (Dā'iratul-Ma'ārif) of the Osmania University has newly published the *Rasā'il at-Ṭūsīy* in two volumes. Another collection of *Rasā'il Ibn al-Haitham*, on scientific subjects, has also been published with very many illustrations.

The latest issue of the quarterly *Siyāsāt* of Hyderabad contains an article on Arab colonization and exchanges of population in the time of the Prophet and the first two Orthodox Caliphs, by the pen of Dr. Ḥamīd-ullāh. It is a new departure in the study of early Islamic policies and opens new avenues of research.

The latest number of the Research Journal of the Osmania University Staff (Arts and Theology Section) contains a very learned article by Prof. Manāẓir Aḥsan, Head of the Theology Faculty, on the writing of *Ḥadīth* in the time of the Prophet and his companions. It finally dispels the erroneous conception that this work was undertaken two hundred years after the death of the Prophet, and conclusively proves that at least twelve thousand traditions were recorded in writing by the very companions of the Prophet.

Hyderabad Academy.

The Hyderabad Academy has completed now its second year of existence, and its second annual number, containing learned papers by the academicians, is one befitting such a learned institution of Hyderabad, in the reign of the Sultānul-'Ulūm.

M. H.

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"Evolution of Islamic Culture."

Mr. A. A. A. Fyzee, the Secretary of the Islamic Research Institute, Bombay, speaking at the P. E. N. Bombay centre, said : " For understanding Islamic culture, two things must always be remembered. First,

in any given age there is generally speaking but one focal point of culture, and secondly, Islamic culture is the result of the joint efforts of the adherents of many religions and not merely Muslims ; it is the achievement of not one race or country, but many races and nationalities have contributed to its extraordinary richness. The rise of Islamic culture was due to a number of causes. But, according to Professor V. V. Barthold, the chief reason for the supremacy of Islamic culture was the possession of trade routes and the opportunity of cultural contacts in consequence. In the early centuries, Islamic scholars learnt at the feet of Christian scholars ; but they learnt much from the Greeks and Indians as well." Mr. Fyzee added : " Gradually the pupil became stronger than the master. Baghdad became the centre of sciences, philosophy and theology. The Arabic language, rich in its scientific vocabulary and in its poetry, became the medium of culture. In a sense, it is still the language of Muslim culture. At Cairo under the Fatimid domination, Neo-Platonic philosophy was studied and science was highly developed. The Turks were great conquerors and were supreme in the arts of administration and military organization. In India they produced in the Great Mughals six Emperors, the like of whom the world has never seen. They came, conquered and settled in India ; they gave it a stable government ; they had a great sense of beauty, and their architecture is one of the supreme achievements of the world. Europeans gradually made better use of trade routes and printing and gunpowder, and the supremacy passed to them by the eighteenth century. The study of a culture like that of Islam or Hinduism is only a means and not an end in itself ; the end is the attainment of a true conception of culture in the absolute sense of the term, without undue importance being given to any religion, race, country or language, and in the firm belief of the pursuit of scientific truth for its own sake."

At the end Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, who presided over the meeting, summarized Mr. Fyzee's thesis and said that the seeking of knowledge for itself was a tendency of the Hindu and the Greek mind. Islamic culture, as found in India, was due to the impact with the Hindu mind. He also maintained that Islamic culture at present was neither stagnant nor dead and quoted the modern contributions of the late Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl.

Firdausī Day Celebration.

A large and successful meeting was held at the Cowasji Jahangir Hall, Bombay, under the auspices of the Iran League and the Jashan Committee to celebrate Firdausī Day, when Mr. S. H. Adenwala presided. Prof. A. S. Moulvi, who had been specially invited to speak on the occasion, raised a most interesting issue when he stated that the story, which had been current for thousand years about Firdausī's writing the *Shāhnāma* at the dictation of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, who is alleged to have promised

to pay him one gold dinar for each couplet, and who on the completion of the book offered him 60,000 silver coins instead of gold dinars, has been proved incorrect. He cited in support of his statement the fact that Firdausī had said in the *Shāhnāma* that he had spent thirty-five years writing it and had completed the work in 400 A.H., which meant that he must have begun it somewhere in 365 A.H. Maḥmūd of Ghazna did not come to the throne till 388 A.H. and so could not have, as the story runs, commissioned Firdausī to write the poem or broken his promise about the payment. We should point out here that Prof. Shairānī of the Punjab University first expressed this view about Firdausī in a long article in the *Urdu* quarterly, Aurangabad. We are glad to find that the theories propounded by Prof. Shairānī have been now accepted by other scholars and students of Firdausī.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

Muslim Population of the World.

MR. HĀTIM A. 'Alavi, the ex-Mayor of Karachi, writes that there have been many attempts to estimate the number of Muslims throughout the world, resulting in considerable discrepancies between the various estimates. Prof. Louis Massignon was probably the first European writer to deal seriously with this subject in his *Annuaire du Monde Mussalman* in 1929. Since then considerable progress has been made in this direction mainly due to the Islamic countries having been linked up with modern civilization and having a census in their own countries. The world distribution of Muslims shows that the majority are found in Asia and that the largest single unit of Muslims inhabiting any single country is India, which has, according to the 1931 census, a Muslim population of over eighty-two millions. Operations for the decennial census of 1941 have already been taken in hand and having regard to the recent birth and death ratio of areas preponderatingly Muslim, it is reckoned that the Muslim population of the Indian peninsula proper will easily exceed a hundred millions. In Africa the followers of Islam outnumber by many times those of other religions, and constitute over half of the total population. In Europe, Muslims are found in the Balkan States and in South Russia numbering in all several millions. It is interesting to note that out of a total population of two hundred thousand Muslims in France, slightly more than half that number resided in Paris. In the two Americas and in Australia and the Philippine Islands, there are two and a half million Muslims, according to authentic and up-to-date computations.

“ *Zakāt or the Divine Property-tax.* ”

Sayed Ghulām Bhīk Nairang draws the attention of the Musalmans of India to the importance of *zakāt* and its appropriate utilization for the

cause of *Tabligh*, the propagation of Islam. He publishes his appeal in *The Eastern Times of Lahore*. He says : " I have absolutely no desire to monopolize the whole of your *zakāt* money and thus deprive other fit objects and deserving persons. I want only this—that you should give one-fourth of your *zakāt* to *Tabligh* and give the remaining three-fourths to other deserving causes and persons."

Urdu, Delhi (April - July).

Moulvi Muḥammad Husain Maḥvī of the Madras University writes a long article on *Mirza Zāhīr-ud-Dīn 'Alī Bakht Azfarī*, who was born in 1172 A.H. in the fort of Delhi and died at the age of sixty-four in 1234 A.H. He was a great scholar of his time and had learnt English too which was a remarkable addition to his literary attainments. He was an expert in music, astrology, medicine, etc. *Mirza Azfarī* has given in his book the *Waq'āt-i-Azfarī* some letters of his contemporaries from which we gather that he once put up the proposal before Nawāb 'Umdatul-Umra to invite *Mir Taqī Mir* to Madras. He was also well versed in Turkish which he learnt from *Mir Karam 'Alī*. He has well depicted the rebellion of *Ghulām Qādir Rohilla* in one of his works. He visited Lucknow, Deccan, Madras, etc., where he met great literary personalities. Moulvi Maḥvī has given *Azfarī's* full account in a very lucid way which extends over no less than fifty pages.

Mathnavī Gauhar Jauharī of *Ghulām Sarwar* entitled *Shāh Āyāt-Allāh* son of *Shāh Muḥammad Makhdūm* (1126-1210 A.H.) is described by Sayyad Ḥasan Askarī Naqavī. So far this piece of Urdu literature was lying in abeyance. The learned writer has used the MS. of it which was some time ago presented to the Patna University Library by one of his old pupils, Rai Shevander Bahadur. Dr. Moulvi Abdul Haq has contributed a brief but valuable note on *Gujarāt ka ēk Qadīm Shā'ir* (An Early poet of Gujarat)—*Qāzī Maḥmūd Daryāi*, who belonged to the family of saints of the order of Qutb 'Ālam and *Shāh 'Ālam* of Ahmadabad. He was a resident of Birpur in Gujarat. Several specimens of his poetry are quoted to elucidate certain important information about *Maḥmūd Daryāi*. He lived for a time in Ahmadabad, from where he returned to his native place, Birpur, in 920, dying there in 941 A.H. at the age of sixty-seven. His whole poetry reflects mystic colour and its language is Hindi (old Hindustani or Urdu) which was the local vernacular of those days. But it cannot be denied that *Daryāi's* work provides a valuable link in the development of modern Urdu.

Dār-ul-Islām, Pathankot.

This is an Urdu organ of the *Dār-ul-Islām* movement of Pathankot which has been started by *Khān Sāhib Chaudhrī Nayāz 'Alī*. He has given this name to his colony, established by himself with the object of training

young Muslims strictly according to Islamic teachings. Chaudhri Nayāz 'Alī also aims at imparting industrial education to the colonists.

Jauhar, 'Abdul Haq Special Number, Delhi.

The Anjuman-i-Ittiḥād Jāmi'ah has published the special number of their organ, *Jauhar*, celebrating the septenary of Dr. Maulvi Abdul Ḥaq, the secretary of Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Delhi. It contains contributions by such eminent people as Syed 'Aṭā Ḥusain of Hyderabad, Prof. E. E. Speight of the Osmania University who was contemporary of Moulvi Sahib on the University staff, and has depicted Moulvi Sahib in his special lucid and humorous style.

M. A. C.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

HINDUS AND MUSALMANS OF INDIA by Atulananda Chakrabarti, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, pp. 184, price Rs. 2-8-0 or 5 Shillings.

IN this interesting little booklet, the author has remarkably succeeded in avoiding offence to either the Hindus or the Muslims while dealing with the vexatious problem of the communal relations in India.

After dealing with the history of Hinduism and Islam in a score of pages each, the author turns to the question how the two streams meet. The interaction of the Hindu and Muslim cultures has objectively been dealt with. The purpose of the author seems to have been so to interpret history to our youth that no section should feel vindictiveness against the other, but they should be taught to understand each other and thus be able to respect each other and live the life of good and peaceful neighbours. And the author has well succeeded in this laudable aim of his.

His method may be gauged from a random quotation when instead of saying "he did," the author prefers to say: "He did what bigoted doctors of Divinity in all faiths do." Thus he avoids bitterness even when he criticises someone's opinion.

TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING ISLAM by Syed Abul A'lā Maudūdī, translated from Hindustani by Dr. 'Abdul Ghani, pp. 186, price Rs. 1-8-0. To be had from the Tarjumānūl Qur'ān Office, Poonch Road, Lahore.

THE author, Mr. Maudūdī, is a well-known writer among Islamists who write in Hindustani. Some time ago, he compiled a book at the instance of the Osmania University, for the Muslim Theology course of the Matriculation students. The present is an English translation of the same, intended for general use. It is a lucid exposition of the orthodox opinions on faith, daily services, fasting, religious tax on surplus property, pilgrimage, *jihād*, religious law or *sharī'at* etc. It may profitably be consulted by curious non-Muslims who desire to obtain an elementary knowledge of Islam.

The Osmania University leads India in not only adopting the national tongue as the medium of instruction and research but also in making the study of religion a compulsory subject for all the students: Islam for Muslim students and Ethics for others.

The neglect of religious instruction in modern education has done so much harm to the cause of citizenship that even a non-religious paper like the London *Times* had recently (17-2-1940) to protest vehemently in a leading article. *Mutatis*

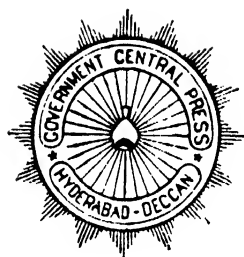
mutandis the same is true of our conditions. Here is part of the article :—

" Among the incidental results of the evacuation scheme has*been the discovery that large numbers of town children are being brought up with no religious knowledge at all. Last Christmas, to take one example typical of many, a country parson asked a class of evacuated children, with an average age of 12, why we keep Christmas and who was born on the first Christmas Day. Of those 31 children, 19 did not know the answer. Further questions showed that they knew absolutely nothing of the Bible and had never been taught to pray... The common argument that while the provision and supervision of 'education' must be the business of the State, 'religious instruction' must be considered as altogether the affair of the Churches, is not only worthless but mischievous. It is mischievous because it encourages the fallacy that essential education can be completed by secular instruction alone, and that the teaching of religion is merely a kind of optional supplement. The truth, of course, is that religion must form the very basis of any education worth the name, and that education with religion omitted is not education at all. Yet in some of the schools, provided by the State, there is no religious teaching. In some of the secondary schools it is supplied for the junior pupils only, and dropped, as a subject comparatively unimportant, when they reach the upper forms... In every other subject the educational authority rightly demands a high standard of competence from its teachers. But if those

who give religious instruction have had no training for the work, or if a head teacher is openly antagonistic to Christianity, the State regards such matters as outside its purview, and does not interfere... Again and again the odious fallacy recurs that education is one thing and religious instruction quite another. It is a right purpose of national education to produce men and women with healthy bodies and intelligent minds, and the immense sums devoted to this purpose are well spent. Yet the highest educational aim is to produce good citizens. The basis of good citizenship is character, and a man's character depends upon his beliefs. How, then, can the State afford to ignore these simple truths, and to view the teaching of religion as a task with which it has no direct concern?... Yet if the war has emphasized the deficiencies of our present educational system, something more than war-time expedients will be needed to remedy them. More than before, it has become clear that the healthy life of a nation must be based on spiritual principles... The highest of all knowledge must be given frankly the highest of all places in the training of young citizens. It will be of little use to fight, as we are fighting to-day, for the preservation of Christian principles if Christianity itself is to have no future, or at immense cost to safeguard religion against attack from without if we allow it to be starved by neglect from within."

There is some food for thought, in the above cry, for our educational authorities.

M. H.



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